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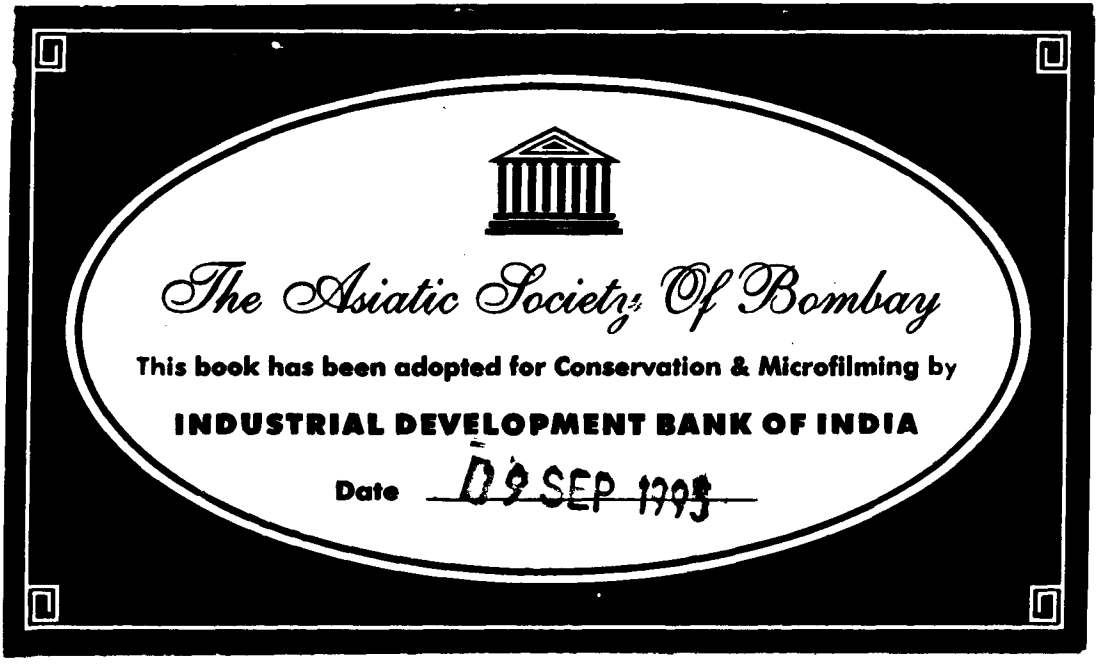
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AUTHORS'

INTRODUCTION

Much disappointment has been felt in Europe at the sterility of the historic mass of Hindusthan. When Sir William Jones first began to explore the vast mines of Sanskrit literature, great hopes were entertained that the history of the world would acquire considerable accessions from this source. The sanguine expectations that were then formed have not been realized; and, as it is usually happens, excitement has been succeeded by apathy and indifference. It is now generally regarded as an axiom, that India possesses no national history; to which we may oppose the remark of a French Orientalist, who ingeniously asks, whence Abul Fazl obtained the materials for his outlines of ancient Hindu history?* Mr. Wilson has, indeed, done much to obviate this prejudice, by his translation of the *Raj Tarangini*, or the History of Cashmere,† which clearly demonstrates that regular historical composition was an art not unknown in Hindusthan, and affords satisfactory ground for concluding that these productions were once less rare than at present, and that further exertion may bring more relics to light. Although the labours of Colebrooke, Wilkins, Wilson, and others of our countrymen, emulated by many learned men in France and Germany,‡ have revealed to Europe some of the hidden lore of India; still it is not pretended that we have done much more than pass the threshold of Indian science, and we are consequently not competent to speak decisively of its extent or its character. Immense libraries, in various parts of India, are still intact, which have survived the devastations of the Islamite. The collections of Jessulmeer and Puttun, for example, escaped the scrutiny of even the lynx-eyed Alla, who conquered both these kingdoms, and who would have shewn as little mercy to those literary treasures, as Omar displayed towards the Alexandrine library. Many other minor collections, consisting of thousands of volumes each, exist in Central [illegible] India, some of which are the private property of princ[illegible] [illegible] to the Jain communities.§

[illegible] his *Melanges Asiatiques*, makes many appo[illegible] [illegible] subject, which, without intention, [illegible] [illegible] of our countrymen. The institutio[illegible] [illegible]lly that branch of it devoted [illegible] [illegible]ch.

[illegible]

If we consider the political changes and convulsions which h[illegible] happened in Hindusthan since Mahmood's invasion, and the intolerance [illegible] bigotry of many of his successors, we shall be able to account [illegible] the paucity of its national works on history, without being driven to the improbable conclusion, that the Hindus were ignorant of an art which has been cultivated in other countries from almost the earliest ages. Is it to be imagined that a nation so highly civilized as the Hindus, amongst whom the exact sciences flourished in perfection, by whom the fine arts, architecture, sculpture, poetry, music, were not only cultivated but taught and defined by the nicest and most elaborate rules, were totally unacquainted with the simple art of recording the characters of their princes, and the acts of their reigns? Where such traces of *mind* exist, we can hardly believe that there was a want of competent recorders of events which synchronical authorities tell us were worthy of commemoration. The cities of Hastinapur and Indraprastha, of Anhalwara and Somanath, the triumphal columns of Delhi and Cheetore, the shrines of Aboo and Girnar, the cave-temples of Elephanta and Ellora, are so many attestations of the same fact; but can we imagine that the age in which these works were erected was without an historian. Yet from the Mahabharat, or Great War, to Alexander's invasion, and from that grand event to the era of Mahmood of Ghizni, scarcely a paragraph of pure native Hindu history (except as before stated) has hitherto been revealed to the curiosity of western scholars. In the heroic history of Prithi Raj, the last of the Hindu sovereigns of Delhi, written by his bard Chund, we find notices which authorize the inference that works similar to his own were then extant relating to the period between Mahmood and Shabudin (A. D. 1000—1093); but these have disappeared.

After eight centuries of galling subjection to conquerors totally ignorant of the classical language of the Hindus; after almost every capital city had been repeatedly stormed and sacked by barbarous, bigotted, and exasperated foes, it is too much to expect that the literature of the country should not have sustained, in common with

---

Of the vast numbers of these MSS. books in the libraries of Puttun and Jesselmeer, many are of the most remote antiquity and in a chara[illegible] [illegible] understood by their possessors, or only by the supreme [illegible] [illegible] initiated librarians. There is one volume held so [illegible] [illegible]ents, that it is suspended by a chain in the temp[illegible] [illegible]-named capital in the desert, and is only [illegible] [illegible]ing renewed, or at the inauguration [illegible] [illegible]uthorship to Somaditya Bara Acharya [illegible] [illegible]amute had crossed the waters of [illegible] [illegible]beyond that stream. [illegible] [illegible] on every new installa[illegible] [illegible] and con[illegible]

so despicable materials for the historian, who would, moreover, be assisted by the Synchronisms which are capable of being established with ancient Pagan and later Mahumedan writers.

From the earliest period of my official connexion with this interesting country, I applied myself to collect and explore its early historical records, with a view of throwing some light upon a people scarcely yet known to Europeans, and whose political connexion with Ireland appeared to me to be capable of undergoing a material change, with benefit to both parties. I accordingly recommended to the student to be minutely informed of the process I adopted to collect the scattered relics of Rajpoot history, and the means and substance by which he accomplished them. I began with the sacred genealogy, from the *Puranas*, examined the *Mahabharat*, and the poems of Chund the complete chronicle of his times; the voluminous historical poems of Jessolmeer, Marwar, and Mewar;* the histories of the Khechchies, and those of the Hara princes of Kotah and Boondi, &c., to their respective heads. A portion of the materials compiled by Jey Sing of Amber or Jeypur (one of the greatest patrons of science among the modern Hindu princes), to illustrate the history of his ancestors, my hands. I have reason to believe that these extracts, with the copious materials which his profligate descendant, the last Mogul Emperor, division of the empire with a prostitute, may have been saved from the partition of the libraries of the states which composed the collection in Rajasthan. Like some of the renowned princes of the Timur dynasty, Jey Sing kept a diary, named *Carjanama*, in which he noted every event; a work written by such a man under such circumstances would be a valuable acquisition to history. From the Dutton prince I obtained a transcript of the journal of his ancestor who served with such éclat amongst the most fashionable of Aurungzebe's army, and from which Scott Waring has made many extracts in his History of the Deccan.

For a period of ten years I was employed, with the aid of a learned Jain, in ransacking every work which could contribute facts or incidents to the history of the Rajpoots or throw any light upon their manners and character. Extracts and versions of all such passages were made by my Jain assistant into the more familiar dialects which are formed from the Sanskrit of these tribes, to whom his language and long residence amongst them enabled me to converse with facility. At much expense, and during many wearisome hours, I

* Of Marwar, there were the *Jodye Bilas*, the *Surya Prakas*, and *Khyat*, or legends, besides detached fragments of reigns. Of Mewar, there was the *Khoman Rasau*, a modern work formed from old materials, which are lost and commencing with the attack of Chentore by Mahmood, supposed to be the son of Kasim of Sinde, in the very earliest age of Mahumedanism: also the *Jeypur Vans*, the *Raj Prakas*, and the *Jeya Vilas*, all recent compilations in the reigns of the princes whose name they bear, but generally introducing succinctly the early parts of history. Besides these there were fragments of the Jeypur family from their archives; and the *Wans Chrichi* or history of Raja Man.

empire; the laws of grammar and composition, lessons in diplomacy, home and foreign, &c.," and he fulfils his promise, by interspersing precepts on these points in various episodes throughout his work.

Again: this latter, although he is admitted to the knowledge of all the secret springs which direct each measure of the government, enters too deeply into the intrigues as well as the festivities of the court to be qualified to pronounce a sober judgment upon its acts.

Nevertheless, although open to all these objections, the works of the native bards afford many valuable data, in facts, incidents, religious opinions, and traits of manners, many of which, being undesigned, are, hence to be regarded as the least suspicious kind of historical evidence. In the heroic history of *Prithwi raj*, by Chand, there occur many geographical as well as historical details in the description of his sovereign's travels, of which the bard was an eye-witness, having been his friend, his herald, his ambassador, and finally, discharging the melancholy office accessory to his death, that he might save him from dishonour. The poetical histories of Mewar were collected by the great Coom sung of Mewar, a patron of letters as well as a warrior and a legislator.

Another species of historical records is found in the sixty-six Brahmins of the endowments of the temples, their revenues, and regent, which furnish occasions for the introduction of general traditions, as the legends respecting places of pilgrimage and religious resort, profane events are blended with the rites and ordinances, local ceremonies and customs. The [illegible] of the land furnish also much historical information, [illegible] with reference to Cheera and Nehrwala during the Chaulic [illegible] From a close and attentive examination of the [illegible] which embody all that those ancient scriptures know of science, many [illegible] in Hindu history might be filled up. The party spirit of the [illegible] of India was doubtless diverse to the purity of his [illegible] and the very ground upon which the Brahmins built their [illegible] was the ignorance of the people. There appears to have been in India, as well as in Egypt in early times, a coalition between the priesthood and the state, with the view of keeping the mass of the people in darkness and subjugation.

These different records, works of a mixed historical and geographical character, which I know to exist, *records* or eloquent legends of princes, which are common local *Puranas*, religious commentaries, and [illegible] couplets,* with authorities of a less dubious character, namely, inscriptions + cut on rock, coins, copper-plate grants, [illegible] containing characters of communities and expressing many singular features of civil Government, constitute, as I have already observed,

* Some of these preserve the names of princes who invaded India between the time of Mahmood of Ghizni and Shahabdin, who are not mentioned by Ferishta, the Mahomedan historian. The invasion of Timur and the capture of Delhi, the seat of the Yadu princes, were made known to us by this means.

r important interests, irretrievable losses. My own animadver-
e upon the defective condition of the annals of Rajwarra have
e than once been checked by a very just remark: "when our
ces were in exile, driven from hold to hold, and compelled to
ll in the clefts of the mountains, often doubtful whether they
uld not be forced to abandon the very meal preparing for them,
that a time to think of historical records?"

Those who expect from a people like the Hindus a species of
mposition of precisely the same character as the historical works
Greece and Rome commit the very egregious error of overlooking
peculiarities which distinguish the natives of India from all other
es, and which strongly discriminate their intellectual productions
every kind from those of the West. Their philosophy, their poetry,
eir architecture, are marked with traits of originality; and the
me may be expected to pervade their history, which, like the arts
generally, took a character from its intimate association with the
igion of the people. It must be recollected, moreover, that until a
ate comparatively recent date, a similar taste was imparted to the literature of England and of
rance, by the study of classical models, the Chronicles of both these
untries, and indeed of all the polished nations of Europe, were, at
much recent date, as crude as wild, and as barren, as those of the
arly Rajpoots.

In the absence of regular and legitimate historical records, there
re, however, other native works (they may indeed be said to abound),
hich, in the hands of a skilful and patient investigator, would afford
t despicable materials for the history of India. The tone of these
rks, the *Puranas* and genealogical legends of the princes styled
ajpoot, as they are by mythological details, allegory, and improbable
circumstances, contain many facts that serve as beacons to direct the
esearch of the historian. What Hume remarks of the annals and
nnalists of the Saxon Heptarchy, may be applied with equal truth
o those of the Rajpoot States: "they abound in names, but
re extremely barren of events; or they are related so much without
circumstances and causes, that the most profound and eloquent writer
must despair of rendering them either instructive or entertaining to
the reader. The monks" (for which we may read "Brahmuns"),
"who lived remote from public affairs, considered the civil transac-
tions as subservient to the ecclesiastical, and were strongly affected
with credulity, with the love of wonder, and with a propensity to
imposture."

The heroic pages of India constitute another resource for history.
Bards may be regarded as the primitive historians of mankind.
Before fiction began to engross the attention of poets, or rather,
before the province of history was dignified by a class of writers who
made it a distinct department of literature, the functions of the bard
were doubtless employed in recording real events and in commemo-
rating real personages. In India, Calliope has been worshipped by

* Mewar, Marwar, Amber, Bikaneer, Jessulmeer, Kotah, and Boondi.

the bards from the days of Vyasa, the contemporary of Crishna, to those of Beni-dasa, the present chronicler of Mewar. The poets, the chief, though not the sole historians of Western India, nor is there any deficiency of them, though they speak in a peculiar tongue, which requires to be translated into the sober language of probability. To compensate for their magniloquence and obscurity their pen is free: the despotism of the Rajpoot princes does not extend to the poets lay, which flows unconfined except by the shackles of the *grand pharaoh*, or 'serpentine stanza,' no slight restraint it must be confessed, upon the freedom of the historic muse. On the other hand, there is a sort of compact or understanding between the bard and the prince, a barter of "solid pudding against empty praise," whereby the fidelity of the poetic chronicle is sometimes impaired. This sale of "fame," as the bards term it, by the court laureates and historiographers of Rajasthan, will continue until there shall arise in the community a class sufficiently enlightened and independent, to look for no other recompense for literary labours than public distinction.

Still however, their chroniclers dare utter truths, sometimes most unpalatable to their masters. When offended, or actuated by a virtuous indignation against immorality, they are fearless of consequences and woe to the individual who provokes them! Many a reputation has sunk under the lash of their satire, which has condemned to eternal ridicule names that might otherwise have escaped notoriety. The use or poison of the hard lessons received by the Rajpoot princes dwelled on the lips.

The absence of all mystery or reserve with regard to public affairs in the Rajpoot principalities, in which every individual takes an interest, from the nobles to the poorest of the city-suters is of great advantage to the chronicler of events. When matters of moment in the disorganised state of the country rendered it imperative to observe secrecy, the Rana of Mewar, being applied to on the necessity of concealing them, returned as follows: "this is *Chamunda's rau*." Entrust the management of his viceregents, in him I trust, and I have no secrets from my children." To this publicity may be partly ascribed the inefficiency of every general alliance against common foes: but it gives a kind of patriarchal character to the government, and inspires, if not loyalty and patriotism in their most exalted sense, feelings of attachment to them.

A material drawback upon the value of these bardic histories is that they are confined almost exclusively to the martial exploits of their heroes, and to the *jujjarmahana* or 'field of slaughter.' Writing for the amusement of a war-like race, the authors disregard civil matters and the arts and pursuits of peaceful life: love and war are their favorite themes. Chand, the last of the great bards of India, tells us, indeed, in his preface, "that he will give rules for governing

* 'Government of *four quarters*' alluding to the quadriform image of the military deity.

support which inspired no ordinary degree of enthusiasm. I endeavoured to possess myself not merely of their history, but of their religious notions, their familiar opinions, and their characteristic manners, by associating with Chatechists and native chroniclers, and by listening to their traditionary tales and allegorical poems. I might, ultimately, as the results of my researches disclosed, have naturally augmented my knowledge of these subjects, but ill health compelled me to relinquish this pleasing though laborious pursuit, and forced me to revisit my native land, just as I had obtained permission to look beyond the threshold of the Hindu sanctuary. Hence, however, I brought away only the gratification of which I have endeavoured to share. The large collection of sculpture, Sanskrit and Bardic MSS., which I conveyed to England, have been presented to the Royal Asiatic Society, in whose library they are deposited. The contents of many, still unexamined, may throw additional light on the history of ancient India; I claim only the merit of having brought them to the knowledge of European scholars, but I may hope that this will stimulate abler pens to attempt to make useful extracts.

Our dogmatical knowledge that Europe has hitherto acquired of the Rajpoot nation has probably engendered a false idea of the comparative importance of that portion of Hindustan. The splendour of the Rajpoot courts, however, at an early period of the history of that country, making every allowance for the exaggeration of the bards, must have been great. Northern India resembled, in many respects, that portion of it situated on either side of the Indus when the richest temple of Brahma at Nagracot was dismantled by the most striking events which constitute the materials for history; there is not a petty state in Rajpootana that has not had its Thermopylæ, and scarcely a city that has not produced its Leonidas; but the people of ages has shrouded from view what the magic pen of the historian might have consecrated to ranking admiration. Somnauth might have vied with Delphos; the spoils of Hind might have vied with the wealth of the Persian king; and contrasted with the array of the Bandha the army of Xerxes would have dwindled into insignificance. But the Hindus neither knew, had, or have unfortunately left, their Herodotus and Xenophon.

If "the moral effect of history depend on the sympathy it excites," the annals of these states possess commanding interest. The struggles of a brave people for independence during a series of ages, surveying whatever was dear to them for the maintenance of the religion of their forefathers, and stoutly defending to death and at the sword of every temptation, their rights and national liberty, form a picture which it is difficult to contemplate without emotion. Could I impart to the reader but a small portion of the enthusiastic delight with which I have listened to the tales of times that are past, and [illegible] where their events occurred, I should not despair of triumph[illegible] ing over the apathy which dooms to neglect almost every effort to enlighten my native country on the subject of India; nor should I apprehend any ill effect from the sound of names which, [illegible]

and expressive as they are to a Hindu, are dissonant and unmeaning to an European ear, for it should be remembered that almost every Eastern name is significant of some quality, personal or mental. Seated amidst the ruins of ancient cities I have listened to the traditions respecting their fall, or have heard the exploits of their illustrious defenders related by their descendants near the chaun erected to their memory. I have, while in the camp of the southern Cossas (the Mahrattas), as they carried devastation over the land, encamped on the unwasted battle, a field of battle, of civil strife or foreign aggression, to read in the rude memorials on the mound of the slain their names and history. Such anecdotes and records afford data of history as well as of manners. Even the couplet recording the erection of a "column of victory" or of a temple of its Jainist contributes something to our stock of knowledge of the past.

As far as regards the antiquity of the dramatic narrating in Central and Western India, there are but two, the origin of which is not perfectly within the limits of historical research; the rest having owed their present establishments to the progress of the Mussulman arms, their annals are confined to those of their conquerors. All the existing families, indeed, have attained their present settlements subsequently to the dismemberment of the Empire of Dehli, Jaunpoor, and other smaller principalities in the Doaub; while others of the principal tribes (such as the Puramra and Chauhil) who ruled at Dhar and Anhulwara, have no existence even to this day.

I have been so hardy as to attempt, and endeavour to prove the common origin of the principal tribes of Rajpootana and those of ancient Europe. I have examined at some length upon the evidence in favour of the existence of a feudal system in India, similar to that which prevailed in the early ages on the European continent, and of which relics still remain in the laws of customs of India. Hypotheses of this kind are, I am aware, viewed with suspicion, and sometimes dismissed with ridicule. With regard to the notions which I have developed on these questions, and the frequent allusions to them in the pages of this volume, I entertain no obstinate prepossessions or prejudices in their favour. The world is too enlightened at the present day to be in danger of being misled by any hypothetical writer, be that be ever so skilful; but the probability is that we have been induced, by the multitude of the theories which time has exposed, to fall into the opposite error, and that we have become too sceptical with regard to the common origin of the people of the east and west. However, I submit my proofs to the candid judgment of the world; the analogies, if not conclusive as the questions, are still sufficiently curious and remarkable to repay the trouble of perusal and to provoke further investigation; and they may, it is hoped, vindicate the author for endeavouring to elucidate the subject "by steering through the dark channels of antiquity by the feeble lights of forgotten chronicles and imperfect records."

I am conscious that there is much in this work which demands the indulgence of the public; and I trust it will not be necessary for

one to assign a more powerful argument in plea than that which I have already adverted to, namely, the state of my health, which has rendered it a matter of considerable difficulty, indeed I may say of risk, to bring my bulky materials even into their present imperfect form. I should observe, that it never was my intention to treat the subject in the severe style of history, which would have excluded many details useful to the politician as well as to the curious student. I offer this work as a copious collection of materials for the future historian; and am far less concerned at the idea of giving too much, than at the apprehension of suppressing what might possibly prove useful.

I cannot close these remarks without expressing my thanks to my friend and kinsman, Major Waugh, to the genius of whose pencil the world is indebted for the preservation and transmission of the splendid monuments of art which adorn this work.

CONTETNS.

GEOGRAPHY OF RAJASTHAN.

PAGE.

Extent of Rajasthan 1
Different States 2

MATERIALS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE AUTHOR'S MAP OF RAJASTHAN.

The Route of Colonel Palmer's Embassy ... 3
The New Survey from Rampura to Oodipur ... 4
The Parties under Shekh Abdul Berkat and Madarri Lall 5
Information gathered from Kasids 6
Trigonometrical Survey 6

THE PHYSICAL FEATURE OF RAJASTHAN.

The Saint's Pinnacle 9
The Plateau of Chitore 9
The Table land of Malwa 10
Kamalmeer... 11
The Rivers 12
Mineral Products 13
The Plateau of Central India 15
Mineral Wealth 15
The Rivers 16
The Thulca Teeba or Sand-hills 17

HISTORY OF THE RAJPOOT TRIBES.

CHAPTER I.

Genealogies of the Rajput Princes 21
The Puranas 21
Connection of the Rajpoots with the Scythic tribes ... 23

CHAPTER II.

Genealogies continued :—

Fictions in the Puranas... 26
Union of the Regal and the Priestly Characters ... 28
Legends of the Puranas confirmed by the Greek Historians 32

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

CHAPTER III.

Genealogies continued:—

Comparison between the List of Sir W. Jones, Mr. Bently, Captain Wilford, and the Author 35
Synchronisms 38

CHAPTER IV.

FOUNDATIONS OF STATES AND CITIES BY DIFFERENT TRIBES.

Ayodhya 41
Mithila 41
Prayag 42
Dwarica 42
Chedi 42
Surpur 43
Hastinapur 43
Kampilanagar 44
Canouj 44
Causambi 45
Rajgriha 45
Indraprasta 45
Palibothra 45
Arore 45
Mlechhadesa 46
Kalinjer 47
Tanjore 47
Chowal 47
Campa Malini 47

CHAPTER V.

The Dynasties which succeeded Ram and Krishna 49
The Pandu Family 51
The Period of the different Dynasties ... 56

CHAPTER VI.

Genealogical History of the Rajput Tribes subsequent to Vicramaditya 60
Foreign Races which entered India ... 64
Analogies between the Scythians, the Rajpoots and Tribes of Scandinavia 69

PAGE.

CHAPTER VII.

CATALOGUE OF THE THIRTY-SIX ROYAL RACES.

A Table of the 36 royal races 86
Surya 87
Chandra 87
Grahilote or Gehlote 87
Yadu 89
Tuar 91
Rahtore 92
Cushwaha 93
Pramara 94
Chahuman 98
Chalook or Solanki 101
Pritihara or Purihara 104
Chowura or Chaura 105
Tak or Takshac 107
Jit 110
Hun or Hoon 114
Catti 115
Balla 116
Jhala Macwahana 117
Jaitwa, Jetwa or Camari 118
Gohil 119
Sarwya or Sariaspa 119
Silar or Sular 119
Dabi 120
Gor 120
Dor or Doda 120
Gherwal 120
Birgoojur 122
Sengar 122
Sikerwal 122
Eyce 122
Dahia 122
Joyha 122
Mohil 123
Nicoompa 123
Raj-Pali 123
Dahirya 123
Dahima 124
Aboriginal Races 124
Agricultural and Postoral Tribes 124
Rajput Tribes to no Sacha is assigned ... 124
Catalogue of the 84 Merchantile Tribes ... 125

CHAPTER VIII.

Reflections on the present Political State of the Rajpoot Tribes 126

PAGE.

SKETCH OF A FEUDAL SYSTEM IN RAJASTHAN

CHAPTER I.

Introduction 133
Existing condition of Rajasthan 133
General resemblance between the ancient systems of Asia and Europe 135
Noble origin of the Rajpoot race 139
Rahtores of Marwar 140
Cutchwahas of Ambar 140
Sesodias of Mewar 141
Gradation of Ranks 145
Revenues and Rights of the Crown 146
Burrar 147
Khur Lakur 147

CHAPTER II.

Legislative Authority 149
Rozina 150
Military Service 151
Inefficiency of the Form of Government 152
General Duties of the Pattawal or Vassal Chief of Rajasthan 159

CHAPTER III.

Feudal Incidents 161
Relief 161
Renunciation of Reliefs 162
Tenant's power to alienate 163
Escheats and Forfeitures 163
Aids 164
Wardship 165
Marriage 166
Duration of grants 166
Grasya 167
Kala Puttas 169
Bhoomia, the Allodial Proprietor 171
Rajas of Bunera and Shapura 174
Form and Substance of grant 174
Division of Puttas, or Sub-infeudation 175
Chursa 176

CHAPTER IV.

Rekwalee 179
Servitude 181
Bussee 181

PAGE.
... ... 182
Private Feuds—Composition 185
Rajpoot Pradhans or Premiers 188

CHAPTER V.

Adopttion 194
Reflections upon the Subject treated ... 196

APPENDIX.

PAPERS REFERRED TO IN THE SKETCH OF A FEUDAL SYSTEM IN RAJASTHAN,

BEING

LITERAL TRANSLATION FROM INSCRIPTIONS AND ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS, MOST OF WHICH ARE IN THE AUTHOR'S POSSESSION.

I. Translation of a letter from the expatriated Chiefs of Marwar to the Political Agent of the British Government, Western Rajpoot States 201
II. Remonstrance of the Sub-Vassals of Deogurh against their chief, Rawut Gokul Das ... 203
III. Maharaja Sre Gakul Das to the four ranks of Puttaets of Deogurh 205
IV. Grant from Maharana Ur Sing, prince of Mewar to the Sindie Chief, Abdool Ruhim Beg 206
V. Grant of the Putta of Bhynsrore to Rawut Lal Sing, one of the sixteen great Vassals of Mewar 207
VI. Grant from Maharana Singram Sing of Mewar to his nephew, Prince Madhu Sing, heir-apparent to the principality of Jeypur 208
VII. Grant of Bhoom Rekwali (Salvamenta) from the village of Dongla to Maharaja Khooshial Sing. S. 1806 (A.D. 1750) the first of Savan (July) 209
VIII. Grant of Bhoom by the Inhabitants of Amlee to Rawut Futteh Sing of Amdit—S 1814 (A. D. 1758.) 210
IX. Grant of Bhoom by the Inhabitants of the town of Dongla to Maharaja Zoorawur Sing, of Bheendir 210
X. Grant of Bhoom by the Prince of Mewar to an inferior Vassal 211
XI. Charter of Privileges and Immunities granted to the town of Jhalra Patun, engraved on a Pillar in the City 212
XII. Abolitions, Immunities, Prohibitions, &c., &c., Inscription in the Temple of Latchmi Narayan in Akola 213
III. Privileges and Immunities granted to the Printers of Calico and Inhabitants of the town of Great Akola in Mewar 214

XIV. Prohibition against Guests carrying a way provisions from the Public Feast 215
XV. Maharana Singram Sing to the Merchants and Bankers of Bakrole 216
XVI. Warrant of the Chief of Bejolli to his Vassal, Gopal Das Suktawat 216
XVII. Maharaja Odykurn to the Suktawat Simboo Sing 216
XVIII. Bhoom in Mooudwkati, or Compensation for Blood, to Jait Sing Choudowat 217
XIX. Rowut Sing to his natural brother, Jumna Das 217
XX. Charter given by the Ranna of Mewar, accepted and signed by all his chiefs; defining the duties of the contracting parties A. D. 1818... 217

ANNALS OF MEWAR.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Ghilote Princes of Mewar ... 220
Authorities 222
Kanaksen, founder of the present Dynasty ... 224
His descent from Rama 224
His Migration to Sonrashtra 225
Bailabhipur 226
Its Sack and destruction by the Hunsor Parthians 227

CHAPTER II.

Birth of Goh 230
He acquires Edur 230
Derivation of the term Gehtole 231
Birth of Bappa 231
Early religion of the Ghelotes 231
Bappa's History 232
Ogun Panora 233
Bappa's inclination in the worship of Siva ... 235
He gains possession of Chetore 237
Remarkable end of Bappa 237
Four epochs established, from the second to the eleventh Century 238

CHAPTER III.

Alleged Persian extraction of the Ranasof Merwar
Authorities for it ... ...
Implied descent of the Ranas from a Christian Princess of Byzantium ... ...
The Author's reflections up on these points ...

PAGE.

CHAPTER IV

Intervening sovereigns between Bappa and Samarsi ... 251
Bappa's descendants. 257
Irruptions of the Arabians into India 260
Catalogue of Hindu Princes who defended Cheetore— 261

CHAPTER V.

Historical facts furnished by the bard Chund ... 267
Anungpal 268
Pirthwi Raj 268
Samarsi 269
Overthrow of the Chohan monarch by the Tatars ... 271
Posterity of Samarsi 272
Rahup 273
Changes in the title and tribe of its princes ... 273
Successors of Rahup 274

CHAPTER VI.

Rana Lakumsi 276
Attack of Cheetore by Alla-o-din 276
Treachery of Alla 277
Rise of the Cheetore chiefs to recover Bheensi ... 277
Devotion of the Rana and his sons 278
Sack of Cheetore by the Tatars 279
Its destruction 280
Rana Ajey Sing 280
Hamir 282
He gains possession of Cheetore 284
Renown and prosperity of Mewar 285
Kaitsi 287
Lakha 287

CHAPTER VII.

acy of the Rajpoots 290
occasion of changing the rule of primogeniture in Mewar 290
ssion of the infant Mokulji, to the prejudice of Chonda, the rightful heir 290
ders in Mewar through the usurpations of the Rahtores 294

PAGE.

Chonda expels them from Cheetore and takes Mundore 296
Transactions between Mewar and Marwar ... 297
Reign of Mokulji 297
His assassination 298

CHAPTER VIII.

Succession of Koombho 300
He defeats and takes prisoner Mahmood of Malwa 301
Splendour of Koombho's reign 302
Assassinated by his son 304
The murderer dethroned by Raemul 305
Mewar invaded by the imperial forces 305
Raemul's successes 305
Feuds of the family 306
Death of Raemul 312

CHAPTER IX.

Accession of Rana Sanga 313
State of the Mohamedan power 313
Grandeur of Mewar—Sanga's victories ... 314
Invasions of India 314
Baber's invasions 315
Defeats and kills the king of Delhi 316
Opposed by Sanga 316
Battle of Kanua 317
Defeat of Sanga 321
His death and character 322
Accession of Rana Rutna 322
His death 323
Rana Bikramjeet 323
His character 324
Disgusts his nobles 324
Cheetore invested by the king of Malwa ... 5
Storm of Cheetore 6
Suca or immolation of the Females ... 246
Fall and plunder of Cheetore 246
Hemayoon comes to its aid 247
He restores Cheetore to Bikramjeet, who is deposed by the nobles 248
Election of Bunbeer 28
Bikramjeet assassinated ... ...

PAGE

CHAPTER X

The bastard Bunbeer rules Mewar 329
Attempted assassination of the posthumous son of Sanga 330
Oody Sing's escape and long concealment .. 330
Acknowledged as Rana 331
The Doonah described 331
Oody Sing gains Cheetore 332
Deposal of Bunbeer 332
Origin of the Bhonslas of Nagpur 332
Rana Oody Sing 333
His unworthiness 333
Hemayoon recovers his throne 334
His death 335
Accession of Akber 336
Characters of Akber and Oody Sing contrasted ... 338
Akber besieges Cheetore, which is abandoned by the Rana 339
Its defence 339
Jeimul and Putto 340
Anecdotes of Rajpoot females 341
Saka or Johur 341
General assault 341
Cheetore taken 342
Massacre of the inhabitants 342
Oody Sing founds the new capital Oodipur ... 344
His death 344

CHAPTER XI

Accession of Pertap 345
The Rajpoot princes unite with Akber 346
Depressed condition of Pertap 347
He prepares for war 348
Maldeo submits to Akber 348
Pertap denounces connection with the Rajpoot princes 349
Raja Maun of Amber 350
Prince Selim invades Mewar 351
Battle of Huldighat 351
Pertap encounters Selim, is wounded and saved by the Jhala chief 352
Assisted in his flight by his brother Sukta 353
Kamulmeer taken by Akber 354
Oodipur occupied by the Moguls 355
Pertap cuts off Ferid and his army 355

PAGE.

Pertap's family saved by the Bhils 355
The Khan khan 356
Aggravated hardships of Pertap 356
He negotiates with Akber 356
Pirthwi Sing of Bikaneer 356
The Kooshroz described 358
Pertap abandons Mewar 360
Departure for the Indus 360
Fidelity of his minister 360
Returns 360
Surprises the Moguls 360
Regains Komulmeer and Oodipur 360
His successes 362
His sickness and death 363

CHAPTER XII.

Umra mounts the throne 364
Akber's death through an attempt to poison Raja Maun 365
Umra disregards the promise given to his father ... 366
Conduct of the Saloombra chief 366
Umra defeats the Imperial armies 367
Sugraji installed as Rana in Cheetore 368
Resigns it to Umra 369
Fresh successes 371
Origin of the Sukawuts 371
The Emperor sends his son Purvez against the Rana, who is defeated 373
Mohabet Khan defeated 373
Sooltan Khoosru invades Mewar 374
Umra's despair and submission 376
Embassy from England 378
Umra abdicates the throne to his son 381
Umra's seclusion 381
His death 381
Observations 381

CHAPTER XIII.

Rana Kurrun fortifies and embellishes Oodipur ... 386
The Ranas of Mewar excused 383
Attendance at Court 383
Bheem commands the contingent of Mewar ... 384
Leagues with Sultan Khoorum against Purvez ... 385
Jehangir attacks the insurgents 385

PAGE.

Bheem slain 385
Khoorum flies to Oodipur 385
His reception by the Rana 385
Death of Khoorum 386
Rana Juggut Sing succeeds 386
Death of Jehangir and accession of Khoorum as Shah Jehan 386
Mewar enjoys profound peace 387
The island palaces erected by Juggut Sing ... 387
Repairs Cheetore 387
His death 388
Rana Raj Sing 388
Deposal of Shah Jehan and accession of Arungzeb 389
Causes for attachment to the Hindus of Jehangir and Saha Jehan 389
Arungzeb's character imposes the Jeziya or Capitation tax on the Rajpoots 391
Raj Sing abducts the intended wife of the emperor and prepares for war 393
Arungzeb marches 397
The valley of Girwo 391
Prince Akber surprised 398
Defeated 398
Blockaded in the mountains 399
Liberated by the Heir of Mewar 399
Delhiru Khan defeated 399
Arungzeb defeated by the Rana and his Rahtore allies ... 400
Arungzeb quits the field 400
Prince Bheem invades Guzrat 400
The Rana's minister ravages Malwa 401
United Rajpoots defeats Azim and drive him from Cheetore 401
Mewar freed from the Moguls 401
War carried into Marwar 402
Seesodias and Rahtores defeat Sultan Akber ... 402
Rajpoot stratagem 402
Design to depose Arungzeb and elevate Akber to the throne, Its failure 402
The Mogul makes overtures to the Rana 403
Peace 403
Terms 403
The Rana dies of his wounds; his character contrasted with that of Arungzeb 404
Lake Rajsumund 404
Dreadful famine and pestilence 406

PAGE.

CHAPTER XIV.

Rana Jey Sing 407
Anecdote regarding him and his twin brother ... 408
The Rana and Prince Azim confer 408
Peace 409
Rupture 409
The Rana forms the Lake Jeysumund 409
Domestic broils 409
Umra the heir-apparent rebels 409
The Rana dies 409
Accession of Umra 410
His treaty with the heir of Arungzeb 411
Reflections on the events of this period 412
Imposition of the Jeziya or Capitation tax ... 412
Alienation of the Rajpoots from the empire ... 413
Causes 413
Arungzeb's death 413
Contests for empire 413
Buhadoor Shah, Emperor 414
The Sikhs declare for independence 414
Triple alliance of the Rajpoot state of Mewar ... 415
Marwar and Amber. They commence hostilities 415
Death of the Mogul Bahadoor Shah 415
Elevation of Ferocksere 416
He marries the daughter of the Prince of Marwar 417
Origin of the British power in India 417
The Rana treats with the Emperor 418
The Jats declare their independence 420
Rana Umra dies 420
His character 420

CHAPTER XV.

Rana Sangram 421
Dismemberment of the Mogul empire 421
Nizam-ool-Moolk establishes the Hydrabad state ... 422
Murder of the emperor Ferocksere 423
Abrogation of the Jeziya 424
Mohomed Shah, emperor of Delhi 424
Saadut Khan obtains Oude 424
Repeal of the Jeziya confirmed 425
Policy of Mewar 425
Rana Sangram dies 426

PAGE.

Anecdotes regarding him 426
Rana Juggut Sing II succeeds 430
Treaty of triple alliance with Marwar and Amber ... 430
The Mahrattas invade and gain footing in Malwa and Guzerat 432
Invasion of Nadir Shah—sack of Delhi ... 433
Condition of Rajpootana 434
Limits of Mewar 436
Rajpoot alliance 337
Bajirow invades Mewar 338
Obtains a cession of annual tribute 338
Contest to place Madhu Sing on the throne of Amber 441
Battle of Rajmahal 441
The Rana defeated 441
He leagues with Mulhar Holkar, Esuri Sing of Amber takes poison 441
The Rana dies 442
His character 442

CHAPTER XVI.

Rana Pertap II 442
Rana Raj Sing II 442
Rana Ursi 443
Holkar invades Mewar, and levies contributions ... 443
Rebellion to depose the Rana 443
A pretender set up by the Rebel chiefs 444
Zalim Sing of Kotah 445
The Pretender unites with Sindhia 446
Their combined force attacked by the Rana who is defeated 446
Sindhia invades Mewar and besieges Oodipur ... 446
Umra Chand made minister by the Rana, his noble conduct, negotiates with Sindhia, who withdraws 446
Loss of Territory to Mewar 450
Rebel chiefs return to their Allegiance ... 451
Province of Godwar lost 451
Assassination of the Rana ... 452
Rana Hamir succeeds 453
Contentions between the Queen Regent and Umra 453
His noble conduct, death, and character ... 454
Diminution of the Mewar Territory 455

PAGE.

CHAPTER XVII.

Rana Bheem 456
Feud of Seogurh 457
The Rana redeems the alienated lands ... 458
Ahelia Bae attacks the Rana's army, which is defeated ... 459
Chondawut Rebellion 461
Assassination of Minister Somaji 461
The Rebels seize on Cheetore 462
Madhaji Sindia 492
Called in bythe Rana 462
Invests Cheetore 462
The Rebels surrender 462
Designs of Zalim Sing for power in Mewar ... 463
Counteracted by Umbaji, who assumes the title of Subadar, contested by Lukwa 463
Effects of these struggles 465
Zalim obtains Jehajpoor 465
Holkar invades Mewar 469
Confines the priest of Nathdwara 472
Heroic conduct of the chief of Kotario 472
Lukwa dies 473
The Rana seizes the Mahratta leaders 474
Liberated by Zalim Sing 474
Holcar returns to Oodipoor, imposes a heavy contribution 474
Sindia's Invasion 475
Reflections on their contests with the British ... 475
Umbaji projects the partition of Mewar, frustrated ... 479
Rivalry for Krishna Kumari, the princess of Mewar, produces war throughout Rajsthan 478
Immolation of Krishna 481
Meer Khan and Ajit Sing, their villany 483
British embassy to Sindia's Court at Oodipoor ... 486
Umbaji is disgraced, and attempts suicide ... 486
Meer Khan and Bapoo Sindia desolate Mewar ... 486-487
The Rana forms a Treaty with the British 488

CHAPTER XVIII.

Overthrow of the Predatory system 489
Alliance with Rajpoot states 489
Envoy appointed to Mewar 490
Arrives at Oodipur 491
Reception 491
Description of the Court 492

PAGE.

Political Geography of Mewar 494
The Rana 498
His character 498
His Minister 498
Plans 499
Exiles recalled 499
Merchants invited 500
Bhilwara established 501
Assembly of the Nobles 503
Charter ratified 504
Resumptions of Land 506-508
Anecdotes of the chiefs of Arjah 510
Bednore, Bhadaiser, and Amait 510
Landed Tenures in Mewar 511
Village rule 512
Freehold (Bapota) of Mewar 513
Bhomia, or allodial Vassals; Character and privileges ... 513
Great Register of patents 515
Traditions exemplifying right in the soil 515
The Patail, his Origin, Character 518
Assessment of Land-rents 519
General Results 522

CHAPTER XIX.

Influence of the Hierarchy in Rajpootana 526
Emulation of its princes in grants to the priest-pood 527
Analogy between the customs of the Hindus, in this respect, and those of the ancient people 528
Superstition of the lower orders 528
Secret influence of the Brahmins on the higher classes, their frauds 532
Ecclasiastical dues from the lands &c. 533
The Saivas of Rajasthan 534
The worship and shrine of Eklinga 535
The Jains 540
Their numbers and extensive power 541
The temple of Nathdwara, and worship of Kaniya ... 542
The privilege of sanctuary 547
Predominance of the doctrines of Kaniya beneficial to Rajpoot society 553

CHAPTER XX.

The Origin of Kaniya or Krishna 554
Sources of a plurality of gods among the Hindus ... 554

PAGE.

Allegories respecting Krishna elucidated ... 558
Songs of Jayadeva celebrating the loves of Kaniya ... 561
The Rasmandel, a mystic dance 561
Girdhana 566
Krishna anciently worshipped in caves ... 566
His conquest of the 'Black Serpent' allegorical of the contests between the Budhists and Vishnues 567
Analogies between the legends of Krishna and Western—mythology 568
Festivals of Krishna 569
Pilgrimage to Nathdwara 570
The seven gods of that temple—its pontiff 570

CHAPTER XXI.

Importance of mythological history 581
Aboriginal tribes of India 582
The Rajpoots are conquerors 583
Solar year of the Hindus 585
Opened at the winter solstice 586
The Vassant, or spring festival 587
Birth of the Sun 587
Common origin assumed of the Rajpoots and Celtic tribe of Scandinavia 588
Surya, the sun-god of all nations 588
Thor, Syrus, Sol 588
Sun-worship 589
The Ahaireo, or spring-hunt, described 589
Boor-feast 590
Phalgun festival 591
The Raipoot Saturnalia 591
Games on horseback 591
Rites to the Manes 592
Festival of Sitla as guardian of children 593
Rana's birth-day 593
Phuladola, the Rajpoot floralia Festival of Gouri ... 594
Compared with the Diana of Egypt 596
The Isis or the Suevi – and the phrygian Cybele ... 597
Anniversary of Rana 601
Fete of Camdeva or Cupid 601
Little Gangore 601
Inundation of the capital 602
Festival of Rembha or Venus 602
Rajpoot and Druidic rites 602
Their analogy 602
Serpent-worship 603
Rakhi, or festival of bracelet 604

PAGE.

CHAPTER XXII.

Festivals continued 606
Adoration of the sword 606
Its Scythic origin 607
The Dussera or military festival:—its Scythic origin 607
Toruns or triumphal arcs 612
Ganesa of the Rajpoots and Janus of the Romans ... 613
Worship of arms: of the magic brand of Mewar, compared with the enchanted sword, Tirsing, of the Edda 616
Birth of Kumara, the Rajpoot Mars, compared with the Roman divinity 616-619
Birth of Ganga: her analogy to Pallas 620
Adoration of the moon 620
Worship of Lacshmi, or fortune—of Jama or Pluto ... 620
Dewali, or festival of Lamps, in Arabia, in China, in Egypt, and in India 621
Annacuta and Jalyatra 622
Festival sacred to the Ceres and Neptune of the Hindus 622
Festival of the Autumnal Equinox 622
Reflections on the universal worship of the elements, Fire Light, Water 622
Festival sacred to Mithras or Vishnu, as the Sun ... 623
The phallus: its etymology the sun 623
Rajpoot doctrine of 624
Symbols, Vishnu, as ... od: his messenger Garuda, the eagle: his ch... to that of ...una or the dawn .. 624
Songs of Arun... on the 624
Fable analogous ... Icarus 624
Rites of Vish... stival of 624
solstic... autic ex... the Ark: compared with ark of Osiris, and Arg... of Argo... edition of the Greeks ... 625
Etymology ... Lanka 625
Ethiopia ... ng Su... of the Hindus 625
Their s... mesa... gara 625
Rama c... the... chief of the Cushite races of 626
... Rajpoots and Rameses of Egypt 627
... ... 630

CHAPTER XXIII.

... of character difficult to catch ... 631
... ous and less changeable than 632

PAGE.

Dissimilarity of manners in the various races of Rajasthan 632
Rajpoots have deteriorated in manners, as they declined in power 632
Regard and difference paid to women in Rajasthan .. 633
Seclusion of the Females, no mark of their degradation 634
High spirit of the Rajpoot princesses 634
Their unbounded devotion to their Husbands ... 635-636
Examples from chronicles and Bardic Histories .. 637
Anecdotes in more recent times 638
Their magnanimity 647
Delicacy 650
Courage and presence of mind 650
Anecdote of Sadoo of Poogul and Korumdevi, daughter of Mahil chief 651
The seclusion of the Females increases their influence ... 655
Historical evidences of its extent 655

CHAPTER XXIV.

Origin of female immolation 657
The sacrifice of Sati, the wife of Iswa... ... 658
The motive to it considered 659
Infanticide: its causes among the Rajpo... Raj Kumars and the Jarejas 660
The rite of Johur ... ...miliar ... 663
Female captives in war enslaved ... 666
Summary of the Rajpoot character, their fa... habits 665-666
The use of opium 668
Hunting 669
The use of weapons 669
Jaitis or wrestlers 670
Armouries 670
Music 670
Feats of dexterity 671
Maharaja Sheodan Sing ... ...
Literary qualifications of the princes ... ...
Household economy, furniture, dress &c. ..
... ..

CHAPTER XXV.

Valley of Oodipur ... ...
Departure for Marwar ... ...
Encamp on the heights of Toos ... ...

PAGE.

Resume the march 680
Distant view of Oodipur 680
Deopur 680
Zalim Sing 680
Reach Pulanoh 680
Ram Sing Mehta 681
Manik Chand 681
Ex-raja of Nursingurh 681
False policy pursued by the British Government in 1817-1818 684
Departure from Pulanoh 685
Aspect and geological character of the country ... 685
Nathdwara ridge 685
Arival at the city of Nathdwara 686
Visit from the Mookhia of the temple 686
Departure for the village of Oosuraws benighted ... 687
Elephant in a bog 688
Oosurwas 688
A Sanyasi 688
March to Sumutcha 689
The Shero Nullah 689
Locusts 690
Coolness of the air 690
Sumaicha 690
March to Kailwarra, the capital 691
Elephant's pool 692
Moorcho 692
Kheyrlee 692
Maharaja Dowlut Sing 692
Komulmeer 693
Its architecture, remains, and history 694
March to the 'Region of death' or Marwar 699
The difficult nature of the country 700
A party of native horsemen 700
Bivouac in the glen 701

CHAPTER XXVI

The Mairs or Meras, their history and manners ... 702
The 'Barwattia' of Goculgurh 709
Forms of Outlawry 709
Veet Sing, the chief of Ganora 710
Mains of Marwar 711
Chief of Roopnagurh 711
Anecdote respecting Daisoori 712
Contrast between the Seesodias of Mewar and the Rahtores of Marwar 713

PAGE.

Traditional history of the Rajpoots 713
Ganora 714
Kishendas, the Rana's envoy 714
Local discrimination between Mewar and Marwar—ancient feuds—the Aonla and the bawal ... 715-717
Aspect of Marwar 717
Nadole 717
Superiority of the Chohan race 718
Goga of Batinda 718
Lakha of Ajmeer 718
His ancient fortress at Nadole 718
Jain relic there 719
The Hindu ancient arch or vault inscriptions ... 719
Antiquities at Nadole 720
Eedurra, its villages 720
Palli, a commercial mart, articles of commerce ... 722
The bards and geologists, the chief carriers 723
The "Hill of virtue" 723
Khankhani 724
Affray between two caravans 724
Barbarous self-sacrifices of the Bhats 725
Jhalamund 725
March to Jodpur 725
Reception *en route* by the chiefs of Pokurn and Neemaj 727
Biography of these nobles 727
Sacrifice of Soortan of Neemaj 727
Encamp at capital 727
Negotiation for the ceremonies of reception at the court of Jodpur 728

CHAPTER XXVII.

Jodhpur, town and caste 730
Reception by the Raja 731
Person and character of Raja Maun Sing 732
Visits to the Raja 734
Events in his history 734
Death of the Raja Bheem 735
Deonath, the high priest of Marwar 736
His assassination 7
The acts which succeeded it 7
Intrigues against the Raja 7
Dhunkul Sing, a pretender to the Gadi 7
Real or affected derangement of the Raja ... 336-3
Associates his son in the Government 7
Recalled to the direction of affairs 7

PAGE.

His deep and artful policy 741
Visit to Mundore, the ancient Capital 742
Cenotaphs of the Rahtores 742
Cyclopean architecture of Mundore 743
Nail-headed characters 744
The walls 745
Remain of the palace 746
Town, or triumphal arch 748
Than of Thana Peer 748
Glen of Pushcoonda 748
Statues carved from the rock 749
Gardens at Mundore 751
An ascetic 752
Entertainment at the palace 752
The Raja visits the envoy 754
Departure from Jodpur 755

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Nandla 756
Beesilpur 757
Remains of the ancient city 757
Puchkullia or Beechkulla 757
Inscription 757
Peepar 757
Inscription confirming the ancient chronicles of Mewar ... 757
Geological details 758
Legend of lake Sampoo 758
Lakha Foolani 759
Madreo 759
Bhoroonda 759
Buddun Sing 759
His chivalrous fate 760
Alter to Pertap 760
Indawur 760
Jat cultivators 760
Statification of Indawar 760
Mairta 761
Memory of Arungzeb 761
Dhoukal sing 761
Jeimul, the hero of the Rahtores 762
Tributes to his bravery 762
Description of the city and plain of Mairta ... 762
Cenotaphs 762
Raja Ajeet 762
His assassination by his sons 762

PAGE.

The consequences of this deed, the seeds of the civil wars of Marwar 762
Family of Ajeet 764
Curious fact in the law of adoption amongst the Rahtores 765
Ram sing 765
His discourtesy towards his chiefs 766
Civil war 767
Defection of the Jharejas from Ram sing 767
Battle between Ram sing and Bukt sing ... 767
Defeat of the former, and the extirpation of the clan of the Mairtas 768
The Mairta vassal of Mehtri 768
The field of battle described 769
Ram sing invites the Mahrattas into his territory ... 770
Bukt sing become raja of Marwar 771
His murder by the prince of Jeypur 772
His son, Bejoy sing succeeds 772
Jey Appa sindhia and Ram sing invade Marwar ... 772
They are opposed by Bejoy sing, who is defeated ... 772
He flies to Nagore, where he is invested ... 773
He cuts through the enemy's Camp 773
Solicits succour at Bikaneer and Jeypur ... 773
Treachery of the raja of Jeypur 774
Defeated by the chieftain of Reah 776
Assassination of Appa Sindhia... 777

CHAPTER XXIX.

Madaji Sindhia succeeds Jey Appa 778
Union of the Rahtores and Cutchwahas, joined by Ismael Beg and Hamdani, against the Mahrattas ... 779
Battle of Tonga 779
Sindhia defeated 779
Ajmeer retaken, and tributary engagement annulled 779
Madaji Sindhia recruits his army, with the aid of De Boigne 779
The Rajpoots meet him on the frontier of Jeypur ... 780
Jealousies of the Allies 780
The cutchwahas alienated by a scurrilous stanza ... 780
Battle of Patun 780
Effects of the Jeypureans, treachery, in the defeat of the Rahtores 780
Stanza of the cutchwaha bard 780
Suggestion of Bejoy sing—his chiefs reject it, and the Prince prepares for war 781
Treason of the Rahtore chief of Kisengurh 781
The Mahrattas invade Marwar 781
Resolution of the chiefs of Ahwa and Asope to conquer or perish 782

PAGE

Rahtores encamp on the plains of Mairta 782
Golden opportunity lost of destroying the Mahratta army 782
Fatal compliance of the chiefs with the orders of the civil minister 783
Rout of the camp 783
Heroism of the Rahtore clans 783
Their destruction 783
Treachery of the Singwi faction 783
The chief minister takes poison 783
Reflections on the Rajpoot character, with reference to the protective alliance with the British Government ... 785
Resumption of journey 785
Jhirrow 785
Cross the field of battle 786
See-kote, or Mirage, compared with Sehrab of Scripture ... 786
Desert of Sogdiana 786
Hissar—at sea 786
Description of the Jhirrow 789
Cenotaph of Herakurna Das 790
Alneawas 790
Reah 790
The mountain Mairs—their descent upon Reah, slaying its chief 791
Govindgurh 791
Chase of a hyæna 792
Lake of Poshkur—geological details 792
Description of the Lake, its legend 793
Ajapal, the founder of Ajmeer 794
Beesildeva, the Chohan Sing of Ajmeer ... 794
Places of devotion on the "Serpent-rock" 795
Ajmeer 795
View of Dhar-ool-khyr 795
Geological details 796
City of Ajmeer 796
Its rising prosperity 796

CHAPTER XXX.

Ajmeer 797
Ancient Jain Temple 798
Its architecture analysed, resemblances between it and the Gothic and Saracenic ... ... 799—800
Fortress of Ajmeer 801
Its lakes 801
Source of the Looni river 801
Relics of the Chohan Kings 802
Quit Ajmeer 803
Bunai, its castle 834
Deorah 804

PAGE.

Dabla 804
Bunera 805
Raja Bheem 806
Sketch of his family 806
His estate 807
Visit to the castle Bhilwara 807
Visit of the Merchants 807
Prosperity of the town 808
Mandel 808
Its lake 808
Arjah 808
Poorh 809
Mines of Dureeba 809
Canton of the Poorawuts 809
Antiquity of Poorh 809
The Babas, or Infants of Mewar 809
Rasmi 809
Reception by the peasantry of Mewar 809
The Subailea and Kullus 809
Tract of the Bunas River 809
Mairta 810
Visit to the source of the Beris 810
The Oodi Sagur 410
Enter the valley 810
Appearance of the Capital 811
Site of the ancient Ahar 811
Cenotaphs of the Rana's ancestry 811
Traditions regarding Ahar 811
Destroyed by volcanic eruption 811
Remains of antiquity 812
Oilman's caravansera 812
Oilman's Bridge 812
Meeting with the Rana 812
Return to Oodipoor 812

APPENDIX.

Translation of inscriptions fixing eras in Rajpoot history 813
Treaty between the Honourable the English East-India Company and the Rana of Oodipur 824

GEOGRAPHY

OF

RAJASTHAN OR RAJPOOTANA.

RÁJASTHAN is the collective and classical denomination of that portion of India which is 'the abode* of (Rajpoot) princes.' In the familiar dialect of these countries it is termed *Rajwarra*, but by the more refined *Raethana*, corrupted to *Rajpootana*, the common designation amongst the British to denote the Rajpoot principalities.

What might have been the nominal extent of Rajasthan prior to the Mahomedan conqueror Shahabudin (when it probably reached beyond the Jumna and the Ganges even to the base of the Himalayas) cannot now be known. At present we may adhere to its restrictive definition, still comprehending a wide space and a variety of interesting races.

Previous to the erection of the minor Mahomedan monarchies of Mandoo and Ahmedabad (the capitals of Malwa and Guzerat,) on the ruins of Dhar and Anhalwarra Puttun, the term Rajasthan would have been appropriated to the space comprehended in the map prefixed to this work; the valley of the Indus on the west, Bundelkhand † on the east; the sandy tracts (south of the Sutlej) to the north, termed *Jungul des*; and the Vindhya mountains to the south.

This space comprehends nearly eight degrees of latitude, and nine of longitude, being from 220° to 300° north latitude, and 690° to 780° east longitude, embracing a superficial area of 350,000 square miles.

Although it is proposed to touch upon the annals of all the states, in this extensive tract, with their past and present condition, those in the centre will claim the most prominent regard; especially Mewar, which, copiously treated of, will

*Or 'regal (*raj*) dwelling (*than*).'

†It is rather as artist Mr. Walker, the Sind river will mark this eastern boundary, as I trust, will be able to make a [illegible]nd) that to the west. East of this minor [illegible]not of pure blood, and are excluded f[illegible]

afford a specimen, obviating the necessity of like details of the rest.

The order in which these States will be reviewed is as follows:

1. Mewar, or Oodipur.
2. Marwar, or Jodhpur.
3. Bikaneer and Krishengurh.
4. Kotah, } or Haravati.
5. Boondi }
6. Ambar, or Jeypur, with its branches, dependent and independent.
7. Jesselmeer.
8. The Indian desert to the valley of the Indus.

The basis of this work is the geography of the country, the historical and statistical portion being consequent and subordinate thereto. It was, indeed originally designed to be essentially geographical; but circumstances have rendered it impossible to execute the intended details, or even to make the map* so perfect as the superabundant material at the command of the author might have enabled him to do: a matter of regret to himself rather than of loss to the general reader, to whom geographic details, however important, are usually dry and uninteresting.

It was also intended to institute a comparison between the map and such remains of ancient geography as can be extracted from the Purans and other Hindu authorities; which, however, must be deferred to a future period, when the deficiency of the present rapid and general sketch may be supplied, should the author be enabled to resume his labours.

The laborious research, in the course of which these data were accumulated, commenced in 1806, when the author was attached to the embassy sent, at the close of the Mahratta wars, to the court of Sindhia. This chieftain's army was then in Mewar, at that period almost a *terra incognita*, the position of whose two capitals, Oodipur and Cheetore, in the best existing maps, was precisely reversed; that is, Cheetore was inserted S. E. of Oodipur instead of E. N. E.—a proof of the scanty knowledge possessed at that period.

In other respects there was almost a total blank. In the maps prior to 1806 nearly all the western and central states of

* Engraved by that meritorious [illegible] the Indus (or great [illegible] Engraver to the East-India Company, who, I [illegible] Scind the Hindu princes [illegible] are fuller use of my materials hereafter. [illegible] om Rajasthan or Raj-warra.

Rajasthan will be found wanting. It had been imagined but a little time before, that the rivers had a southerly course into the Nerbudda, a notion corrected by the father of Indian geography, the distinguished Rennell.

This blank the author filled up; and in 1815, for the first time, the geography of Rajasthan was put in a combined form and presented to the Marquis of Hastings, on the eve of a general war, when the labour of ten years was amply rewarded by its becoming, in part, the foundation of that illustrious commander's plans of the campaign. It is a duty owing to himself to state, that every map without exception, printed since this period, has its foundation, as regards Central and Western India, in the labours of the author.*

The route of the embassy was from Agra, through the southern frontier of Jeypur, to Oodipur. A portion of this had been surveyed, and points laid down from celestial observation, by Dr. W. Hunter, which I adopted as the basis of my enterprise. The Resident Envoy † to the court of Sindhia was possessed of the valuable sketch of the route of Colonel Palmer's embassy in 1791, as laid down by Dr. Hunter: the foundation of my subsequent surveys, as it merited form its importance and general accuracy. It embraced all the extreme points of Central India: Agra, Nirwar, Ditteah, Jhansi, Bhopal, Sarangpur, Oojein, and on return from this the first meridian of the Hindus, by Kotah, Boondi, Rampura(Tonk), Biana, to Agra. The position of all these places was more or less accurately fixed, according to the time which could be bestowed, by astronomical observation.

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* When the war of 1817 broke out, copies of my map on a reduced scale were sent to all the divisions of the armies in the field, and came into possession of many of the staff. Transcripts were made which were brought to Europe, and portions introduced into every recent map of India. One map has, indeed, been given, in a manner to induce a supposition that the furnisher of the materials was the author of them. It has fulfilled a prediction of the Marquis of Hastings, who, foreseeing the impossibility of such materials remaining private property, "*and the danger of their being appropriated by others*," and desirous that the author should derive the full advantage of his labours, had signified that the claims for recompense, on the records of successive governments, should not be deferred.

It will not be inferred the author is surprised at what he remarks. While he claims priority for himself, he is the last person to wish to see a halt in science:—

"For emulation has a thousand sons"

† My esteemed friend, Græme Mercer, Esq. (of Mævisbank), who stimulated my exertions with his approbation.

At Rampura, Hunter ceased to be my guide: and from the point commenced the new survey to Oodipur, where we arrived in June 1806. The position then assigned to it, with most inadequate instruments, has been changed only 1′ of longitude, though the latitude amounted to about 5′.

From Oodipur the subsequent march of the army with which we moved, led past the celebrated Cheetore, and through the centre of Malwa, crossing in detail all the ground-streams flowing from the Vindhya, till we halted for a season on the Bundelkhund frontier at Kemlassa. In this journey of seven hundred miles I twice crossed the lines of route of the former embassy, and was gratified to find my first attempts generally to coincide with their established points.

In 1807 the army having undertaken the siege of Rahtgurh, I determined to avail myself of the time which Mahrattas waste in such a process, and to pursue my favourite project. With a small guard I determined to push through untrodden fields, by the banks of the Betwa to Chanderi, and in its latitude proceed in a westerly direction towards Kotah, trace the course once more of all those streams from the south, and the points of junction of the most important (the Cali Scind, Parbatti, and Bunas) with the Chumbul; and having effected this, continue my journey to Agra. This I accomplished in times very different from the present, being obliged to strike my tents and march at midnight, and more than once the object of plunder.* The chief points in this route were Kemlassa, Rajwarra, Kotra on the Betwa, Kunniadana† Booradongur,‡ Shahabad, Barah,§ Polaitah, Baroda,‖ Seopur, Palli¶ Rintimbore, Kerowly, Sri Muttra, and Agra.

On my return in the Mahratta camp I resolved further to increase the sphere, and proceeded westward by Bhurtpur, Kuthoomur, Saintri to Jeypur, Tonk, Indurgurh, Googul, Chupra, Raghoogurh, Arone, Koorwye, Bhorasso to Saugur: a journey of more than one thousand miles. I found the camp nearly where I left it.

With this ambulatory court I moved everywhere within this region, constantly employed in surveying till 1812,

* Many incidents in these journeys would require no aid of imagination to touch on the romantic, but they can have no place here.

† Eastern table-land.

‡ Scind River.

§ Parbatti River.

‖ Cali Scind River.

¶ Passage of the Chumbul and junction of the Par.

when Sindhia's court became stationary. It was then I formed my plans for obtaining a knowledge of those countries into which I could not personally penetrate.

In 1810-11 I had despatched two parties, one to the Indus, the other to the desert south of the Sutlej. The first party under Shekh Abul Birkat journeyed westward by Oodipur through Guzerat, Saurashtra and Cutch, Lukput and Hyderabad (the capital of the Scind Government); crossed the Indus to Tatta, proceeded up the right bank to Seewan; recrossed, and continued on the left bank as far as Khyrpur, the residence of one of the triumvirate governors of Scind; and having reached the insulated Bekher* (the capital of the Sogdi of Alexander), returned by the desert of Oomrasoomra to Jesselmeer, Marwar, and Jeypur, and joined me in camp at Nirwar. It was a perilous undertaking; but the Shekh was a fearless and enterprizing character, and moreover a man with some tincture of learning. His journals contained many hints and directions for future research in the geography, satistics, and manners of the various races amongst whom he travelled.

The other party was conducted by a most valuable man, Madarri Lall, who became a perfect adept in these expeditions of geographical discovery, and other knowledge resulting therefrom. There is not a district of any consequence in the wide space before the reader which was not traversed by this spirited individual, whose qualifications for such complicated and hazardous journeys were never excelled. Ardent, persevering, prepossessing, and generally well-informed, he made his way where others might have perished.†

From these remote regions the best informed native inhabitants were, by persuasion and recompense, conducted to me, and I could at all times, in the Mahratta camp at Gwalior,

* The Shekh brought me specimens of the rock, which is siliceous; and also a piece of brick of the very ancient fortress of Seewan, and some of the grain from its pits, charred and alleged by tradition to have lain there since the period of Raja Bhartrihari, the brother of Vicramaditya. It is not impossible that it might be owing to Alexander's terrific progress, and to their supplies being destroyed by fire. Seewan is conjectured by Captain Pottinger to be the capital of Musicanus.

† His health was worn out at length, and he became the victim of depressed spirits. He died suddenly: I believed poisoned. Futtah almost as zealous as Madarri, also died in the pursuit. Geography has been destructive to all who have pursued it with ardour in the East.

from 1812 to 1817, have provided a native of the valley of the Indus, the deserts of Dhar, Oomrasoomra, or any of the states of Rajasthan.

The precision with which Kasids and other public conveyers of letters, in countries where posts are little used, can detail the peculiarities of a long line of route and the accuracy of their distances, would scarcely be credited in Europe. I have no hesitation in asserting, that if a correct estimate were obtained of the measured *coss* of a country, a line might be laid down upon a flat surface with great exactitude. I have heard it affirmed, that it was the custom of the old Hindu Governments to have measurements made of the roads from town to town, and that the *Aboo mahatmya** contains a notice of an instrument for that purpose. Indeed, the singular coincidence between lines measured by the perambulator and the estimated distances of the natives, is the best proof that the latter are deduced from some more certain method than mere computation.

I never rested satisfied with the result of one set of my parties, with the single exception of Madari's, always making the information of one a basis for the instruction of another, who went over the same ground, but with additional views and advantages, and with the aid of the natives brought successively by each, till I exhausted every field.

Thus in a few years, I had filled several volumes with lines of route throughout this space; and having many frontier and intermediate points, the positions of which were fixed, a general outline of the result was constructed wherein all this information was laid down. I speak more particularly of the western states, as the central portion or that watered by the Chumbul and its tributary streams, whether from the elevated Aravali on the west, or from the Vindhya mountains on the south, has been personally surveyed and measured in every direction with an accuracy sufficient for every political or military purpose, until the grand trigonometrical survey from the Peninsula shall be extended throughout India. These countries form an extended plain to the Sutlej north and west to the Indus, rendering the amalgamation of geographical materials much less difficult than where mountainous regions intervene.

After having laid down these varied lines in the outline described, I determined to check and confirm its accuracy by recommencing the survey on a new plan, *viz.*, trigonometrically.

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* A valuable and ancient work, which I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society.

My parties were again despatched to resume their labours over fields now familiar to them. They commenced from points whose positions were fixed (and my knowledge enabled me to give a series of such), from each of which, as a centre, they collected every town within the distance of twenty miles. The points selected were generally such as to approach equilateral triangles: and although to digest the information became a severe toil, the method will appear, even to the casual observer, one which must throw out its own errors; for these lines crossed in every direction and consequently corrected each other. By such means did I work my way in those unknown tracts, and the result is in part before the reader. I say in part, for my health compels me reluctantly to leave out much which could be combined from *ten folios* of journeys extending throughout these regions.

In 1815, as before stated, an outline map containing all the information thus obtained, and which the subsequent crisis rendered of essential importance, was presented by me to the Governor-General of India. Upon the very eve of the war I constructed and presented another of the greater portion of Malwa, to which it appeared expedient to confine the operations against the Pindarries. The material feature in this small map was the general position of the Vindhya mountains, the sources and course of every river originating thence and the passes in this chain, an object of primary importance. The boundaries of the various countries in this tract were likewise defined, and it became essentially useful in the subsequent dismemberment of the Peishwa's dominions.

In the construction of this map I had many fixed points, both of Dr. Hunter's and my own, to work from; and it is gratifying to observe, that though several measured lines have since been run through this space, not only the general, but often the identical features of mine, have been preserved in the maps since given to the world. As considerable improvement has been made by several measured lines through this tract, and many positions affixed by a scientific and zealous geographer, I have had no hesitation in incorporating a small portion of this improved geography in the map now presented.*

Many surveyed lines were made by me, from 1817 to 1822;

* It is, however, limited to Malwa whose geography was greatly improved and enlarged by the labours of Captain Dangerfield; and though my materials could fill up the whole of this province, I merely insert the chief points to connect it with Rajasthan.

and here I express my obligations to my kinsman,* to whom alone I owe any aid for improving this portion of my geographical labours. This officer made a circuitous survey, which comprehended nearly the extreme points of Mewar, from the capital, by Cheetore, Mandelgurh, Jahajpur, Rajmahal, and in return by Bunai, Beonore, Deogurh, to the point of outset. From these extreme points he was enabled to place many intermediate ones, for which Mewar is so favourable by reason of its isolated hills.

In 1820 I made an important journey across the Aravali, by Komalmeer, Pali, to Jodhpur, the capital of Marwar, and thence by Mairta, tracing the course of the Looni to its source at Ajmeer; and from this celebrated residence of the Chohan kings and Mogul emperors, returning through the central lands of Mewar by Bunai and Bunera to the capital.

I had the peculiar satisfaction to find that my position of Jodhpur, which has been used a capital point in fixing the geography west and north, was only 3′ of space out in latitude and little more in longitude which accounted for the coincidence of my position of Bikaneer with that assigned by Mr. Elphinstone in his account of the embassy to Cabul.

Besides Oodipur, Jodhpur, Ajmeer &c., whose positions I had fixed by observation, and the points laid down by Hunter, I availed myself of a few positions given to me by that enterprizing traveller, the author of the journey into Khorasan,† who marched from Delhi, by Nagore and Jodhpur, to Oodipur.

The outline of the countries of Guzerat,‡ the Saurushtra Peninsula, and Cutch, inserted chiefly by way of connection, is entirely taken from the labours of that distinguished geographer, the late General Rennell. We had both gone over a great portion of the same field, and my testimony is due to the value of his researches in countries into which he never personally penetrated, evincing what may be done by industry and the use of such materials as I have described.

I shall conclude with a rapid sketch of the physiognomy of these regions; minute and local descriptions will appear more appropriately in the respective historical portions.

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* Captain P. T. Waugh, 10th Regiment Light Cavalry, Bengal.

† Mr. J. B. Fraser.

‡ My last journey in 1822-3, was from Oodipur, through these countries towards the Delta of the Indus; but more with a view to historical and antiquarian than geographical research. It proved the most fruitful of all my many journeys.

Rajasthan presents a great variety of feature. Let me place the reader on the highest peak of the insulate Aboo, 'the saint's pinnacle' * as it is termed, and guide his eye in a survey, over this wide expanse, from the 'blue waters' of the Indus, west, to the 'withy-covered' † Betwa on the east. From this, the most elevated spot in Hindusthan, overlooking by fifteen hundred feet the Aravali mountains, his eye descends to the plains of Medpat ‡ (the classic term for Mewar), whose chief streams flowing from the base of the Aravali, join the Beris and Buns, and are prevented from uniting with the Chumbul only by the Pat-ar || or plateau of Central India.

Ascending this plateau near the celebrated Cheetore, let his eye deviate slightly from the direct eastern line, and pursue the only practicable path by Ruttungurh and Singolli, to Kotah and he will observe its three successive steppes, the miniature representation of those of Russian Tartary. Let the observer here glance across the Chumbul and traverse Haravati to its eastern frontier, guarded by the fortress of Shahabad; thence abruptly descend the plateau to the level of the Scind, still proceeding eastward until the table mountain, the western limit of Bundelkhund, affords a resting point.

To render this more distinct, I present a profile of the tract described from Aboo to Kotra on the betwa.§ from Aboo to Chumbul, the result of barometrical measurement, and from the latter to the Betwa from my general observations¶ of the irregularities of surface. The result is, that the Betwa at Kotra is one thousand feet above the sea-level, and one thousand lower than the city and valley of Oodipur, which again is on the same level with *the base* of Aboo, two thousand feet above the sea. This line, the general direction

* Guru Sikhar.

† Its classic name is *Vetravati*, *Vetra* being the common willow in Sanskrit; said by Wilford to be the same in Welsh.

‡ Literally 'the central (*madhya*) flat.'

|| Meaning 'table (*pat*) mountain (*ar*).'—Although *ar* may not be found in any Sanskrit dictionary with the signification '*mountain*,' yet it appears to be a primitive root possessing such meaning—instance, *Arboodaha*, 'hill of Booddha,' *Aravali*, 'hill of strength.' *Ar* is Hebrew for 'mountain,' (c.f. *Ararat?*) *Oros* in Greek? The common word for a mountain in Sanskrit, *giri*, is equally so in Hebrew.

§ The Betwa river runs under the table-land just alluded to, on the east.

¶ I am familiar with these regions, and confidently predict, that when a similar measurement shall be made from the Betwa to Kotah, these results will little err, and the error will be in having made Kotah somewhat too elevated and the bed of the Betwa a little too low.

of which is but a short distance from the tropic, is about six geographic degrees in length: yet is this small space highly diversified, both in its inhabitants and the production of the soil, whether hidden or revealed.

Let us now from our elevated station (still turned to the east) carry the eye both south and north of the line described, which nearly bisects Medhya-desa,* "the *central land*" of Rajasthan, best defined by the course of the Chumbul and its tributary streams, to its confluence with the Jumna; while the regions west of the transalpine Aravali § may as justly be defined Western Rajasthan.

Looking to the south, the eye rests on the long extended and strongly defined line of the Vindhya mountains, the proper bounds of Hindusthan and Dekhan. Though from our elevated stand on 'the Saint's Pinnacle' of Aboo, we look down on the Vindhya as a range of diminished importance, it is because our position is the least favourable to viewing its grandeur, which would be most apparent from the south, though throughout this skirt of descent, irregular elevations attain a height of many hundred feet above such points of its abrupt descent.

The Aravali itself may be said to connect with the Vindhya, and the point of junction to be towards Champaneer; though it might be as correct to say the Aravali thence rose upon and stretched from the Vindhya. Whilst it is much less elevated than more to the north, it presents bold features throughout,‖ south by Lunawarra, Dongurpur, and Edur, to Amba Bhawani and Oodipur.

Still looking from Aboo over the table-land of Malwa, we observe her plains of black loam furrowed by the numerous streams from the highest points of the Vindhya, pursuing their northerly course, some meandering through valleys, or falling over precipices; others bearing down all opposition, and actually forcing an exit through the central plateau to join the Chumbul.

Having thus glanced at the south, let us cast the eye north

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* Central India, a term which I first applied as the title of the map presented to the Marquis of Hastings in 1815, "of Central and Western India," and since become familiar.

§ Let it be remembered that the Aravali, though it loses its tabular form, sends its branches north, terminating at Delhi.

‖ Thse who have marched from Baroda towards Malwa and marked the irregularities of surface, will admit this chain of connection of the Vindhya and Aravali.

of this line, and pause on the alpine Aravali. * Let us take a section of it, from the capital Oodipur, the line of our station on Aboo, passing through Oguna, Panurwa, and Meerpur, to the western descent near Sirohi, a space of nearly sixty miles in a direct line, where "hills o'er hills and alps on alps arise" from the ascent at Oodipur to the descent to Marwar. All these space to the Sirohi frontier is inhabited by communities of the aboriginal races, living in a state of primeval and almost savage independence, owning no paramount power, paying no tribute, but with all the simplicity of republics: their leaders, with the title of Rawut being hereditary. Thus the Rawut of the Oguna commune can assemble five thousand bows, and several others can on occasion muster considerable numbers Their habitations are dispersed through the valleys in small rude hamlets, near their pastures or places of defence. †

Let me now transport the reader to the citadel pinnacle of Komalmeer, ‡ thence surveying the range running north to Ajmeer, where, shortly after, it loses its tabular form, and breaking into lofty ridges, sends numerous branches through the Shikhavati federation and Alwar, till in low heights it teminates at Delhi.

From Komulmeer to Ajmeer the whole space is termed Merwarra, and is inhabited by the mountain race of Mer or Mair, the habits and history of which singular class will be hereafter related. The range averages from six to fifteen

* 'The refuge of strength,' a title justly merited, from its affording protection to the most ancient sovereign race which holds dominion, whether in the east or west—the ancient stock of the Suryavansa, the Heliadæ of India, or 'children of the sun, the Princes of Mewar.

† It was my intention to have penetrated through their singular abodes; and I had negotiated, and obtained of these '*forest lords*' a promise of hospitable passport, of which I have never allowed myself to doubt, as the virtues of pledges, faith and hospitality are ever to be found in stronger keeping in the inverse ratio of civilization. Many years ago one of my parties was permitted to range through this tract. In one of the passes of their lengthened valleys 'the Lord of the mountain' was dead: the men were all abroad, and his widow alone in the hut. Madarri told his story, and claimed her surety and passport; which the Bheeln delivered from the quiver of her late lord; and the arrow carried in his hand was as well recognized as the cumbrous roll, with all its seals and appendages, of a traveller in Europe.

‡ *Mecr (meru)* signifies 'a hill' in Sanskrit, hence *Komal*, or properly *Kombhameer*, is 'the hill' or 'mountain of Kumbha,' a prince whose exploits are narrated. Likewise *Ajmer* is the 'hill of Ajaya,' the 'Invincible' hill. *Mer* is with the long *e*, like *Mere* in French, in classical orthography.

miles in breadth, having upwards of one hundred and fifty villages and hamlets scattered over its valleys and rocks, abundantly watered, not deficient in pasture, and with cultivation enough for all internal wants, though it is raised with infinite labour on terraces, as the vine is cultivated in Switzerland and on the Rhine.

In vain does the eye search for any trace of wheel-carriage across this compound range from Edur to Ajmeer; and it consequently well merits its appellation *ara*, the '*barrier*,' for the strongest arm of modern warfare, artillery, would have to turn the chain by the north, to avoid the impracticable descent to the west.*

Guiding the eye along the chain several fortresses are observed on pinnacles guarding the passes on either side while numerous hills descend, pouring over the declivities, seeking their devious exit between the projecting ribs of the mountain. The Beris. the Bunas, the Kotaser, the Khori, the Dye, all uniting with the Bunas to the east, while to the west the still more numerous streams which fertilize the rich province of Godwar unite to 'the Salt River, the *Looni*, and mark the true line of the desert. Of these the chief are the Sookri and the Bandi; while others which are not perennial, and depend on atmospheric causes for their supply, receive the general denomination of '*rayl*,' indicative of rapid mountain torrents, carrying in their descent a vast volume of alluvial deposit to enrich the siliceous soil below.

However grand the view of the chaotic mass of rock from this elevated site of Komalmeer, it is from the plains of marwar that its majesty is most apparent; where its 'splintered pinnacles' are seen rising over each other in varied from, or frowning over the dark indented recesses of its forest-covered and rugged declivities.

On reflection, I am led to pronounce the Aravali a connection of the 'Appennines of India', the Ghats, on the Malabar coast of the peninsula; nor does the passage of the

* At the point of my descent this was characteristically illustrated by my Rajpoot friend of Semur, whose domain had been invaded and cow-pens emptied but a few days before, by the mountain bandit of Sirohi. With their booty they took the shortest and not most practicable road; but though their alpine kine are pretty well accustomed to living in such abodes, it would appear they had hesitated here. The difficulty was soon got over by one of the Meenas, who with his dagger transfixed one and rolled him over the height, his carcase serving at once as a precedent and a *stepping-stone* for his horned kindred.

Nerbudda or the Tapti, through its diminished centre, militate against the hypothesis, which might be better substantiated by the comparison of their intrinsic character and structure. The general character of the Aravali is its primitive formation: granite, reposing in variety of angle (the general dip is to the east) on massive, compact, dark-blue slate, the latter rarely appearing much above the surface or base of the superincumbent granite. The internal valleys abound in variegated quartz and a variety of schistus slate of every hue, which gives a most singular appearance to the roofs of the houses and temples when the sun shines upon them. Rocks of gneis and of syenite appear in the intervals; and in the diverging ridges west of Ajmeer, the summits are quite dazzling with the enormous masses of vitreous rose-coloured quartz.

The Aravali and its subordinate hills are rich both in mineral and metallic products; and, as stated in the annals of Mewar, to the latter alone can be attributed the resources which enabled this family so long to struggle against superior power, and to raise those magnificent structures which would do honour to the most potent kingdoms of the west.

The mines are royalties; their produce a monopoly, increasing the personal revenue of their Prince. *An-Dan-Khan* is a triple figurative expression, which comprehends the sum of sovereign rights in Rajasthan, being *allegiance, commercial, duties, mines*. The tin-mines of Mewar were once very productive, and yielded, it is asserted, no inconsiderable portion of silver: but the caste of miners is extinct, and political reasons, during the Mogul domination, led to the concealment of such sources of wealth. Copper of a very fine description is likewise abundant, and supplies the currency; and the chief of Saloombra, even coins by sufferance from the mines on his own estate. *Soorma*, or the oxide of antimony, is found on the western frontier. The garnet, amethystine quartz, rock crystal, the chrysolite, and inferior kinds of the emerald family, are all to be found within Mewar; and though I have seen no specimens decidedly valuable, the Rana has often told me that, according to tradition, his native hills contained every species of mineral wealth.

Let us now quit our alpine station on the Aravali, and make a tour of the *Patar*, or plateau of Central India, not the least important feature of this interesting region. It possesses a most decided character, and is distinct from the Vindhya to the south and the Aravali to the west, being of the secondary

formation, or trap, of the most regular horizontal stratification.

The circumference of the plateau is best explained in the map, though its surface is most unequally detailed, and is continually alternating its character between the tabular form and clustering ridges.

Commencing the tour at Mandelgurh, let us proceed south, skirting Cheetore (both on insulated rocks detached from the plateau), thence by Jawud, Dantolli, Rampura,* Bhanpura, the Mokundurra Pass,† to Gargown (where the Cali Scind forces an entrance through its table-barrier to Eklaira‡) and Mergwas, (where the Parbati, taking advantage of the diminished elevation, passes from Malwa to Haravati) and by Raghugurh, Shahabad, Gazeegurh, Guswanee, to Jaduwati, where the plateau terminates on the Chumbul, east; while from the same point of outset, Mandelgurh, soon losing much of its table form, it stretches away in bold ranges, occasionally tabular, as in the Boondi fortress, by Dublana, Indurgurh, and Lakheri, to Rinthumbor and Kerowli terminating at Dholpur Bari.

The elevation and inequalities of this plateau are best seen by crossing it from west to east, from the plains to the level of the Chumbul, where, with the exception of the short flat between Kotah and Palli ferry, this noble stream is seen rushing through the rocky barrier.

At Rinthumbor the plateau breaks into lofty ranges, their white summits sparkling in the sun; cragged but not peaked, and preserving the characteristic formation, though disunited from the mass. Here there are no less than seven distinct ranges (*Satpara*), through all of which the Bunas has to force a passage to unite with the Chumbul. Beyond Rinthumbor, and the whole way from Kerowli to the river, is an irregular tableland on the edge of whose summit are the fortresses of Ootgeer, Mundrel, and that more celebrated, of Thoom. But east of the eastern side there is still another steppe of descent, which may be said to originate near the fountain of the Scind at Latoti, and passing by Chanderi, Kuniadhana, Nirwar, and Gwalior, terminates at Deogurh, in the plains of Gohud. The descent from this second steppe is into Bundelkhund and the valley of the Betwa.

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* Near this the Chumbul first breaks into the Patar.
† Here is the celebrated pass through the mountains.
‡ Here the Newaz breaks the chain.
§ Both celebrated passes, where the ranges are very complicated.

Distinguished as is this elevated region in the surface of Central India, its summit is but little higher than the general elevation of the crest of the Vindhya, and upon a level with the valley of Oodipur and base of the Aravali. The slope or descent, therefore, from both these ranges to the skirts of the plateau, is great and abrupt, of wich the most intelligible and simple proof appears in the course of these streams. Few portions of the globe attest more powerfully the force exerted by the action of waters to subdue every obstacle, than a view of the rock-bound channels of these streams in this adamantine barrier. Four streams—one of which, the Chumbul, would rank with the Rhine and almost with the Rhone—have here forced their way, laying bare the stratification from the water's level to the summit, from three to six hundred feet in perpendicular height, the rock appearing as if chiselled by the hand of man. Here the geologist may read the book of nature in distinct characters. few tracts (from Rampura to Kotah) will be found more interesting to him, to the antiquarian, or to the lover of nature in her most rugged attire.

The surface of this extensive plateau is greatly diversified. At Kotah, the bare protruding rock in some places presents not a trace of vegetation: but where it bevels off to the banks of the Par, it is one of the richest and most productive soils in India, and better cultivated than any spot evn of British India. In its indented sides are glens of the most romantic description (as the fountain of *the Snake King*' near Hinglaz), and deep dells, the source of small streams, where many treasures of art,* in temples and ancient dwellings, yet remain to reward the traveller.

This central elevation, as before described, is of the secondary formation, called trap. Its prevailing colour, where laid bare by the Chumbul, is milk-white: it is compact and close-grained, and though perhaps, the mineral offering the greatest resistance to the chisel, the sculptures at the celebarted Burolli evince its utility to the artist. White is also the prevailing colour to the westward. About Kotah it is often mixed white and porphyritic, and about Shahabad of a mixed red and brown tint. When exposed to the action of the atmosphere in its eastern declivity, the decomposed and rough surface would almost cause it to be mistaken for gritstone.

This formation is not favourable to mineral wealth.

*I have rescued a few of these from oblivion to present to my countrymen.

The only metals are lead and iron; but their ores, especially the latter, are abundant. There are mines, said to be of value, of sulphurate of lead (*galena*) in the Gwalior province, from which I have had specimens, but these also are closed. The natives fear to extract their mineral wealth; and though abounding in lead, tin, and copper, they are indebted almost entirely to Europe even for the materials of their culinary utensils.

Without attempting a delineation of inferior ranges, I will only further direct the reader's attention to an important deduction from this superficial review of the physiognomy of Rajwarra.

There are two distinctly marked declivities or slopes in Central India: the chief is that from west to east, from the great rampart, the Aravali, (interposed to prevent the drifting of the sands into the central plains, bisected by the Chumbul and his hundred arms) to the Betwa; the other slope is from south to north from the Vindhya, the southern buttress of Central India to the Jumna.

Extending our definition, we may pronounce the course of the Jumna to indicate the central fall of that immense volume which has its northern slope from the base of the Himalaya, and the southern from that of the Vindhya mountains.

It is not in contemplation to delineate the varied course of the magnificent Nerbudda, though I have abundant means; for the moment we ascend the summit of the tropical* Vindhya to descend into the valley of the Nerbudda, we abandon Rajasthan and the Rajpoots for the aboriginal races, the first proprietors of the land. These I shall leave to others and commence and end with the Chumbul, the paramount lord of the floods of Central India.

The Chumbul has his fountains in a very elevated point of the Vindhya, amidst a cluster of hills, on which is bestowed the local appellation of 'Janapava.' It has three co-equal sources from the same cluster, the Chumbul, Chambela, and Gumbheer; while no less than nine other streams have their origin on the south side, and pour their waters into the Nerbudda.

The Sipra from Peepuldo, the little Scind † from Dewas,

* Hence its name, *Vindhya*, 'the barrier,' to the further progress of the sun in his northern declination.

† This is the *fourth Scind* of India. We have, first, the *Scind* or Indus, this little Scind; then the Cali Scind, or 'black river'; and again the Scind rising at Latoti, on the plateau west and above Seronge.

and other minor streams passing Oojein, all unite with the Chumbul in different stages before he breaks through the plateau.

The Cali Scind, from Baugri, and its pretty branch, the Sodwia, from Raghu; the Newaz (or Jamneeri), from Morsookri and Magurda; from the pass of Amlakhera, with its more eastern arm from Doulutpur, uniting at Furher, are all points in the crest of the Vindhya range whence they pursue their course through the plateau, rolling over precipices,* till engulfed in the Chumbul at the ferries of Noonerah and Palli. All these unite on the right bank.

On the left bank his flood is increased by the Bunas, fed by the perennial streams from the Aravali, and the Beris from the lakes of Oodipur; and after watering Mewar, the southern frontier of Jeypur, and the highlands of Kerowli, the river turns south to unite at the holy '*Sangam*,'† Rameswar. Minor streames contribute (unworthy however of separate notice), and after a thousand involutions he reaches the Jumna at the holy *Triveni*,‡ or 'triple-allied' stream between Etawa and Kalpi.

The course of the Chumbul, not reckoning the minor sinuosities, is upwards of five hundred miles; and along its banks specimens of nearly every race now existing in India may be found: Sondies, Chunderawuts, Seesodias, Haras, Gore, Jadoon, Sikerwal, Goojur, Jat, § Tuar, Chohan, Bhadoria, Kutchwaha, Sengar, Bundela; each in associations of various magnitudes, from the substantive state to the little republic communes between the Chumbul and Cohari. ‖

Having thus sketched the central portion of Rajasthan, or that eastward of the Aravali, I shall give a rapid general ¶ view of that to the west, conducting the reader over the '*Thulca Teeba*,' or 'sand hills' of the desert to the valley of the Indus.

Sin is a Scythic word for river (now unused), so applied by the Hindus.

* The falls of the Cali Scind through the rocks at Gagrown and the Parbati at Chupra (Googul) are well worthy of a visit. The latter, though I encamped twice at Khupra, from which it was reported five miles, I did not see.

† *Sangam* is the point of confluence of two or more rivers, always sacred to Mahadeva.

‡ The Jumna, Chumbul, and Scind.

§ The only tribes not of Rajput blood.

‖ The 'virgin' stream.

¶ I do not repeat the names of towns forming the arrondissements of the various states; they are distinctly laid down in the boundary lines of each.

Let the reader again take post on Aboo, by which he may be saved a painful journey over the *Thul.** The most interesting object in this arid 'region of death' is the 'salt river,' the Looni, with its many arms falling from the Aravali to enrich the best portion of the principality of Jodhpur, and distinctly marking the line of that extensive plain of evershifting sand, termed in Hindu geography *Marusthali*, corrupted to *Marwar*.

The Looni, from its sources, the sacred lakes of Pushkar and Ajmeer, and the more remote arm form Parbatsir to its embouchure in the great western salt marsh, the Rin has a course of more than three hundred miles.

In the term 'Erinos' of the historians of Alexander, we have the corruption of the word 'Run' or 'Rin,'† still used to describe that extensive fen formed by the deposits of the Looni and equally saturated saline streams from the southern desert of Dhat. It is one hundred and fifty miles in length; and where broadest from Bhooj to Buliari, about seventy: in which direction the caravans cross, having as a place of halt an insulated oasis in this mediterranean salt marsh. In the dry season, nothing meets the eye but an extensive and glaring sheet of salt, spread over its insidious surface, full of dangerous quicksands; and in the rains it is a dirty saline solution, up to the camels' girths in many places. The little oasis, the *Khari Caba*, furnishes pasture for this useful animal and rest for the traveller pursuing his journey to either bank.

It is on the desiccated borders‡ of this vast salt marsh that the illusory phenomenon, the *mèrage*, presents its fantastic appearance, pleasing to all but the wearied traveller who sees a haven of rest in the embattled towers, the peaceful hamlet,§ or shady grove, to which he hastens in vain; receding as he advances, till "the sun in his might," dissipating these "cloud-capped towers," reveals the vanity of his pursuit.

Such phenomena are common to the desert, more particularly where these extensive saline depositions exist, but

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* *Thul* is the general term for the sand ridges of the desert.

† Most probably a corruption of 'aranya,' or *desert*; so that the Greek mode of writing it is more correct than the present.

‡ It is here the wild ass (*gorkhur*) roams at large, untameable as in the day of the Arabian Patriarch of Uz, "his house the wilderness, the barren land (or, according to the Hebrew, *salt places*,) his dwelling; who scorneth the multitude of the "city, neither regardeth the crying of the driver." Job xxxix, 6, 7.

§ Poorwa.

varying from certain causes. In most cases, this powerfully magnifying and reflecting medium is a vertical stratum; at first dense and opaque, it gradually attenuates with increased temperature, till the maximum of heat, which it can no longer resist, drives it off in an etherial vapour. This optical deception, well known to the Rajpoots, is called *see-kote*, or 'winter castles,' because chiefly visible in the cold season: hence possibly, originated the equally illusory and delightful 'Chateau en Espagne,' so well known in the west. *

From the north bank of the Looni to the south, and the Shikhavat frontier to the east, the sandy region commences. Bikaneer, Jodhpore and Jessulmeer, are all sandy plains, increasing in volume as you proceed westwards. All this portion of territory is incumbent on a sandstone formation: soundings of all the new wells made from Jodhpur to Ajmeer, yielded the same result; sand, concrete siliceous deposits, and chalk.

Jessulmeer is everywhere encircled by desert; and that portion round the capital might not be improperly termed an oasis, in which wheat, barley, and even rice are produced. The fortress is erected on the extremity of a range of some hundred feet in elevation, which can be traced beyond its southern confines to the ruins of the ancient Chotun erected upon them, and which tradition has preserved as the capital of a tribe, or prince, termed Happa, of whom no other trace exists. It is not unlikely that this ridge may be connected with that which runs through the rich province of Jalore; consequently an offset from the base of Aboo.

Though all these regions collectively bear the term *Marusthali*, or 'region of death' (the emphatic and figurative phrase for the desert), the restrictive definition applies to a part, only that under the dominion of the Rahtore race.

From Bhalotra on the Looni, throughout the whole of Dhat and Oomrasoomra, the western portion of Jessulmeer and a broad stripe between the southern limits of Daodpûtra

* I have beheld it from the top of the ruined fortress of Hissar with unlimited range of vision, no object to diverge its ray, save the miniature forests: the entire circle of the horizon a chain, of more than fancy could form, of palaces, towers, and these airy "pillars of heaven," terminating in turn their ephemeral existence. But in the deserts of Dhat and Oomrasoomra, where the shepherds pasture their flocks, and especially where the alkaline plant is produced, the stratification is more horizontal, and produces more of the watery deception.

It is this illusion to which the inspired writer refers, when he says, "the mock pool of the desert shall become real water." The inhabitants of the desert term it *chitraw*, literally '*the picture*,' by no means an unhappy designation.

and Bikaneer, there is real solitude and desolation. But from the Sutledge to the Rin, a space of five hundred miles of longitudinal distance, and varying in breadth from fifty to one hundred miles, numerous cases are found, where the shepherds from the valley of the Indus and the Thul pasture their flocks. The springs of water in these places have various appellations, *tir*, *par*, *rar*, *dur*, all expressive of the element, round which assemble the Rajurs, Sodas, Mangulias, and Seeraies,* inhabiting the desert.

I will not touch on the salt lakes or natron beds, or the other products of the desert, vegetable or mineral; though the latter might soon be described, being confined to the Jasper rock near Jessulmeer, which has been much used in the beautiful arabesques of that fairy fabric at Agra, the mausoleum of Shah Jehan's queen.

Neither shall I describe the valley of the Indus, or that portion eastward of the stream, the termination of the sand ridges of the desert. I will merely remark, that the small stream which breaks from the Indus at Dura seven miles north of the insulated Bekher, and falls into the ocean at Lukput, shews the breadth of this eastern portion of the valley, which forms the western boundary of the desert. A traveller proceeding from the Kheechee or *flats* of Scind to the east, sees the line of the desert distinctly marked, with its elevated *teebas*, or sand ridges, under which flows the Sankra which is generally dry except at periodical inundations. These sand-hills are of considerable elevation, and may be considered the limit of the inundation of the 'sweet river,' the *Meeta Muran*, a Scythic or Tatar name for river, and by which alone the Indus is known, from the Panchnad † to the ocean.

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* *Sehraie*, from *schara*, 'desert.' Hence *Sarrazin*, or *Saracen*, is a corruption from *sehara*, 'desert,' and *zuddum* 'to strike,' contracted *Razuni*, 'to strike on the road' (*ra*). *Ra-ber*. '*on* the road,' corrupted by the Pindarries to *lahur*, the designation of their forays.

† The confluent arms or sources of the Indus.

HISTORY

OF

THE RAJPOOT TRIBES.

CHAPTER I.

Genealogies of the Rajpoot Princes.—The Puranas.—Connection of the Rajpoots with the Scythic Tribes.

BEING desirous of epitomizing the chronicles of the martial races of Central and Western India, it was essential to ascertain the sources whence they draw, or claim to draw their lineage. For this purpose I obtained from the library of the Rana of Oodipur their sacred volumes, the *Puranas*, and laid them before a body of pandits, over whom presided the learned Yati Gyanchandra. From these extracts were made of all the genealogies of the great races of Surya and Chandra, and of facts historical and geographical.

Most of the *Puranas* * contain portions of historical as well as geographical knowledge; but the *Bhagbat*, the *Scanda*, the *Agni*, and the *Bhavishya*, are the chief guides. It is rather fortunate than to be regretted, that their chronologies do not perfectly agree. The number of princes in each line varies, and names are transposed; but we recognize distinctly the principal features in each, affording the conclusion that they are productions of various writers, borrowing from some common original source.

The *Genesis* † of India commences with an event described in the history of almost all nations, the deluge, which, though

* "Every Purana," says the first authority existing in Sanskrit lore "treats of five subjects: the creation of the universe; its progress, and the renovation of the world; the genealogy of gods and heroes; chronology, according to a fabulous system; and heroic history, containing the achievements of demi-gods and heroes. Since each Purana contains a cosmogony, both mythological and heroic history, the works which bear that title may not unaptly be compared to the Greecian theogonies."—*Essay on the Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq.; As. Res. vol., viij., p.* 202.

† Resolvable into Sanskrit, *janam*, '*birth*,' and *es* and *iswar* 'lords.'

treated with the fancy peculiar to the orientals, is not the less entitled to attention. The essence of the extract from the *Agni Purana* is this: "When ocean quitted his bounds and caused "universal destruction by Bramha's command, Viva-swata * "Manu (Noah), who dwelt near the Himalaya † mountains, was "giving water to the gods in the Kritamala river, when a small "fish fell into his hand. A voice commanded him to preserve "it. The fish expanded to an enormous size. Manu, with his "sons and their wives, and the sages, with the seed of every "living thing, entered into a vessel which was fastened to a horn "on the head of the fish, and thus they were preserved."

Here, then, the grand northern chain is given, to which the abode of the great patriarch of mankind approximated. In the *Bhavishya* it is stated, that "Vaivaswata (sun-born) Manu ruled at "the mountain Sumeru. Of his seed was Cacustha Rajah, who "obtained sovereignty at Ayodhya, ‡ and his descendants filled "the land and spread over the earth."

I am aware of the meaning given to *Sumeru* that thus the Hindus designated the north pole of the earth. But they have also a mountain with this same appellation of pre-eminence of *Meru*, 'the hill,' with the prefix *Su*, 'good, sacred:' *the Sacred Hill.*

In the geography of the *Agni Purana* the term is used as a substantial geographical limit, § and some of the rivers flowing from the mountainous ranges, whose relative position with Sumeru are there defined, still retain their ancient appellations. Let us not darken the subject, by supposing only allegorical meanings attached to explicit points. In the distribution of their seven *dwipas*, or continents, though they interpose seas of curds, milk, or wine, we should not reject strong and evident facts, because subsequent ignorant interpolators filled up the page with puerilities.

This sacred mountain (Sumeru) is claimed by the Brahmins

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* Son of the sun.

† The snowy Caucasus. Sir William Jones, in an extract from a work entitled "Essence of the Puranas, says that this event took place at Dravira in the Dekhan.

‡ The present Oude, capital of one of the twenty-two satrapies constituting the Mogul Empire, and for some generations held by the titular Vizier, who has recently assumed the regal title.

§ To the south of Sumeru are the mountains Himawan, Hemcuta, and Nisadha; to the north are the countries Nil, Suwet, and Sringie. Between Himachal and the ocean the land is Bharatkhand, called Cucarma Bhoomi *(land of vice* opposed to Aryavarta, or *land of virtue)*, in which the seven grand ranges are Mahendrachal, Mulayachal, Suhyachal, Suctiman, Rikhyachal, Vindhyachal, and Pariyatra." (Agni Purana).

as the abode of Mahadeva,* Adiswara, † or Baghes ; ‡ by the Jains, as the abode of Adinath,§ the first Jainiswara, or Jain lord. Here they say he taught mankind the arts of agriculture and civilized life. The Greeks claimed it as the abode of Bacchus ; and hence the Grecian fable of this god being taken from the thigh of Jupiter, confounding *meros* (thigh) with the *meru* (hill of this Indian deity.) In this vicinity the followers of Alexander had their Saturnalia, drank to excess of the wine from its indigenous vines, and bound their brows with ivy (*vela*),‖ sacred to the Baghes of the east and west, whose votaries alike indulge in "strong drink."

These traditions appear to point to one spot, and to one individual, in the early history of mankind, when the Hindu and the Greek approach a common focus ; for there is little doubt that Adinath, Adiswara, Osiris, Baghes, Bacchus, Manu, Menes, designate the patriarch of mankind, Noah.

The Hindus can at this time give only a very general idea of the site of Meru ; but they appear to localise it in a space of which Bamian Cabul and Ghizni, would be the exterior points. The former of these cities is known to possess remains of the religion of Boodha, in its caves and colossal statues.¶ The Paropamisan Alexandria is near Bamian ; but the Meru and Nyssa ** of Alexander are placed more to the eastward

* The Creator, literally 'the Great God.'

† The 'first lord.'

‡ Baghes 'the tiger lord.' He wears a tiger's or panther's hide: which he places beneath him. So Bacchus did. The phallus is the emblem of each. Baghes has several temples in Mewar.

§ First lord.

‖ Vela is the general term for a climber, sacred to the Indian Bacchus (Baghes, Adiswara, or Mahadeva), whose priests, following his example, were fond of intoxicating beverage or drugs. The im-mur, or immortal vela, is a noble climber. See plate. vol. ii., where it shades one of the sacred groves of Mahadeva.

¶ In zohac Bamian, the castle, a monument of great antiquity, is in good condition, while the castle of Bamian is in ruins.

"In the midst of the mountains are twelve thousand caves cut out of the rock, and ornamented with carving and plaster reliefs. These are called samaj, and were the winter retreat of the natives. Here are three astonishing idols; one representing a man eighty ells high; another of a woman fifty, and a third of a child fifteen ells in height. In one of these samajes is a tomb, where is *a coffin containing a corpse, concerning which the oldest man can give no account: it is held in high veneration.* "The ancients were possessed of some medical preparations, with which they anointed dead bodies, and by which they suffered no injury from time."—*Ayin Akbary*,, vol. ii., p. 169.

** Nisadha is mentioned in the *Purana* as a mountain. If in the genitive case (which the final syllable marks) it would be a local term given from the city of Nissa.

by the Greek writers, and according to the cautious Arrian, between the Cophas and Indus. Authority localizes it between Peshawar and Jillalabad, and calls it *Mer-coh*, or *Mar-coh*,* "a bare rock 2,000 feet high with caves to the westward, termed Be-dowlut by the Emperor Humayoon from its dismal appearance."† This designation, however, of Deshte Bedowlut, or 'unhappy plain,' was given to the tract between the cities beforementioned.

The only scope of these remarks on Sumeru is to shew that the Hindus themselves do not make India within the Indus the cradle of their race, but west, amidst the hills of

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* *Mer*, Sanskrit, and *coh* Persian, for a 'hill.'

† *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VI., p. 497. Wilford appears to have borrowed largely from that ancient store-house (as the Hindu would call it) of learning, Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World. He combines, however, much of what that great man had so singularly acquired and condensed, with what he himself collected, and with the aid of imagination has formed a curious mosaic. But when he took a peep into "the chorographical description of the Terrestrial Paradise," I am surprised he did not separate the nurseries of mankind before and after the flood. There is one passage, also, of Sir Walter Raleigh which would have aided his hypothesis, that Eden was in Higher Asia, between the common sources of the Jihun and other grand rivers; the abundance of the *ficus indicas* or bur-tree, sacred to the first lord, Adinath or Mahadeva.

"Now for the tree of knowledge of good and evil, some men have "presumed further; especially Gorapius Becanus, who giveth himself the "honour to have found out the kind of this tree, which none of the writers "of former times could ever guess at, whereat Gorapius much marvel-"leth."

———"Both together went
"Into the thickest wood; there soon they chose
"The fig tree; not that kind for fruit renowned,
"But such as at this day, to Indians known
"In Malabar or Deccan, spreads her arms
"Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
"The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
"About the mother tree, a pillar'd shade
"High overarched, and echoing walks between.
"There oft the Indian herdsman, shunning heat,
"Shelters in cool and tends his pasturing herds,"
———"Those leaves
"They gathered, broad as Amazonian targe."

Paradise Lost, book ix.

Sir Walter strongly supports the Hindu hypothesis regarding the locality of the nursery for rearing mankind, and that "India was the first planted and peopled country after the flood"—(page 99.) His first argument is, that it was a place where the vine and olive were indigenous, as amongst the Sacæ Scythæ, (and as they still are, together with oats, between Cabul and Bamian); and that Ararat could be in Armenia, because the Georgian mountains on which the Ark rested were in longitude 75 *deg*, and the Valley of Shinar 79 *deg* to 80 *deg*. which would be reversing the

Caucasus,* whence the sons of Vaivaswata, or the 'sun-born' migrated eastward to the Indus and Ganges, and founded their first establishment in Kosala, the capital Ayodhya, or Oude.

Most nations have indulged the desire of fixing the source whence they issued, and few spots possess more interest than this elevated *Madhya-Bhumi*, or 'central region' of Asia, where the Amu, Oxus or Jihoon, and other rivers, have their rise, and in which both the Surya and Indu† races (*Sacæ*) claim *the hill*‡ sacred to a great patriarchal ancestor, whence they migrated eastward.

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tide of migration. "As they journeyed *from the East*, they found a plain, in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there."—(Genesis, chap. 11, verse 2.) He adds, "Ararat, named by Moses, is not any one hill, but a general term for the great Caucasian range; therefore we must blow up this mountain Ararat, or dig it down and carry it out of Armenia, or find it elsewhere in warmer country, and east from Shinar." He therefore places it in Indo-Scythia 140 *deg.* of longitude and 35 *deg* to 37 *deg.* of latitude, "where the mountains do build themselves exceeding high:" and concludes, "It was in the plentiful warm East where Noah rested, where he planted the vine, where he tilled the ground and lived thereon. Placuit vero Noacho agriculture studium in qua tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur; ob eamque rem, sua ipsius lingua, *Ish-adamath:* (1) hoc est, *Telluris, Vir* appellatur, celebratusque est. The study of husbandry pleased Noah (says the excellent learned man, Arius Montanus,) in the order and knowledge of which, it is said, that Noah excelled all men, and therefore was he called in his own language, *a man exercised* in the earth." The title, character and abode exactly suit the description the Jains give of their first Jainiswara, Adinath, the first lordly man, who taught them agriculture, even to "muzzling the bull in treading out the corn."

Had Sir Walter been aware that the Hindu sacred book styled their country *Aryavarta*, (2) and of which the great Imaus is the northern boundary, he would doubtless have seized it for his Ararat.

(1) In Sanskrit, *Ish*, 'Lord,' *ada* 'the first,' *math or muth*, Earth Here the Sanskrit and Hebrew have the same meaning, 'first lord of the earth.' In these remote Rajpoot regions, where early manners and languages remain, strongest phrase to denote a man or human being is literally 'earth.' A chief describing a fray between his own followers and borderers, whence death ensued, says, '*Mera mathi mara*,' 'My earth has been struck:' a phrase requiring no comment, and denoting that he must have blood in return.

(2) *Aryavarta*; or the land of promise or virtue, cannot extend to the flat plains of India "south of the Himavat; for this is styled in the *Puranas* the very reverse '*cucarma des*,' or land of vice.

* Hindu, or Indu-kush or kho, is the local appellation; 'mountains of the moon.'

† Solar and lunar.

‡ *Meru*, 'the hill' is used distinctively, as in Jessul-meer (the capital of the Bhatti tribe in the Western Desert) 'the hill of Jessul'; Merwarra or the mountainous region; and its inhabitants Meras, or the mountaineers. Thus, also, in the grand epic the *Ramayana* (Book i. p. 236,) Mera is the mountain-nymph, the daughter of Meru and spouse of Himavat: from whom sprung two daughters, the river-goddess Ganga and the mountain nymph Parbati. She is in the *Mahabharat* also termed Syeela, the

The Rajpoot tribes could scarcely have acquired some of their still existing Scythic habits and warlike superstitions on the burning plains of Ind. It was too hot to hail with fervent adoration the return of the sun from his southern course to enliven the northern hemisphere. This should be the religion of a cloder clime brought from their first hunts, the sources of the Jihoon and Jaxartes. The grand solstitial festival, the *Aswamedha*, or sacrifice of the horse (the type of the sun), practised by the children of Vaivaswata, the sun-born, was most probably simultaneously introduced from Scythia into the plains of Ind, and *west*, by the sons of Odin, Woden or Boodha, into Scandinavia, where it became the *Hi-el Hi-ul*,* the festival of the winter solstice; the grand jubilee of northern nations, and in the first ages of Christianity, being so near the epoch of its rise, gladly used by the first fathers of the church to perpetuate that event.†

CHAPTER II.

Genealogies continued.—Fictions in the Puranas.—Union of the Regal and the Priestly Characters.—Legends of the Puranas confirmed by the Greek Historians.

THE chronicles of the *Bhagbat* and *Agni*, containing the genealogies of the Surya (sun) and Indu (*moon*) races, shall now

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daughter of Syeel, another designation of the snowy chain and hence mountain streams are called in Sanskrit *Silletee*. *Syeela* bears the same attributes with the Phrygian Cybele, who was also the daughter of a mountain of the same name: the one is carried, the other drawn by lions. Thus the Greeks also metamorphosed *Parbut Pamer*, or 'the mountain Pamer,' into Paropamisan, applied to the Hindu Kho west of Bamian: but the *Parbut put Pamer* or 'Pamer chief of hills,' is mentioned by the bard *Chund* as being far east of that tract, and under it resided Hamira, one of the great feudatories of Prithuraja of Delhi. Had it been Paropanisan (as some authorities write it,) it would better accord with the locality where it takes up the name being near to Nyssa and Meru, of which Parbat or Pahar would be a version, and from Paronisan, 'the *Mountain of Nyssa*' the range Nisadha of the Puranas.

* *Hya* or *Hi*, in Sanskrit, 'horse'—*El*, 'sun:' whence *ippos* and *elios*. *Hi* appears to have been a term of Scythian origin for the sun; and Hari, the Indian Apollo, is addressed as the sun. Hiul, or Jul of northern nations (qu. *Noel* of France?) is the Hindu Sacranta, of which more will be said hereafter.

† Mallet's Northern Antiquities.

be examined. The first of these, by calculation, brings down the chain to a period six centuries subsequent to Vicramaditya (A. D. 650), so that these books may have been remodelled or commented on about this period: their fabrication cannot be supposed.

Although portions of these genealogies by Sir William Jones, Mr. Bentley, and Colonel Wilford, have appeared in the volumes of the *Asiatic Researches*, yet no one should rest satisfied with the inquiries of others, if by any process he can reach the fountain-head himself.

If, after all, these are fabricated genealogies of the ancient families of India, the fabrication is of ancient date, and they are all they themselves know upon the subject. The step next in importance to obtaining a perfect acquaintance with the genuine early history of nations, is to learn what those nations repute to be such.

Doubtless the original *Puranas* contained much valuable historical matter; but, at present, it is difficult to separate a little pure metal from the base alloy of ignorant expounders and interpolators. I have but skimmed the surface: research, to the capable, my yet be rewarded by many isolated facts and important transactions, now hid under the veil of ignorance and allegory.

The Hindus, with the decrease of intellectual power, their possession of which is evinced by their architectural remains where just proportion and elegant mythological device are still visible, lost the relish for the beauty of truth, and adopted the monstrous in their writings, as well as their edifices. But for detection and shame, matters of history would be hideously distorted even in civilzed Europe; but in the East, in the moral decrepitude of ancient Asia, with no judge to condemn, no public to praise, each priestly expounder may revel in an unfettered imagination, and reckon his admirers in proportion to the mixture of the marvellous.* Plain historical truths have long ceased to interest this artificially-fed people.

If at such a comparatively modern period as the third century before Christ, the Babylonian historian Berosus composed his fictions, which assigned to the monarchy such incredible

* The celebrated Goguet remarks on the madness of most nations pretending to trace their origin to infinity. The Babylonians, the Egyptians, and the Scythians, particularly, piqued themselves on their high antiquity, and the first assimilate with the Hindus in bosting they had observed the course of the stars 473,000 years. Each heaped ages on ages; but the foundations of this pretended antiquity are not supported by probability, and are even of modern invention.—*Origin of Laws.*

antiquity, it became capable of refutation from the many historians of repute who preceded him. But on the fabulist of India we have no such check. If Vyasa himself penned these legends as *now* existing, then is the stream of knwledge, corrupt from the fountain-head. If such the source, the stream, filtering through ages of ignorance, has only been increased by fresh impurities. It is difficult to conceive how the arts and sciences could advance when it is held impious to doubt the truth of whatever has been handed down, and still more to suppose that the degenerate could improve thereon. The highest ambition of the present learned priesthood, generation after generation, is to be able to comprehend what has thus reached them, and to form commentaries upon past wisdom; which commentaries are commented on *ad infinitum*. Whoever dare now aspire to improve thereon, must keep the secret in his own breast. They are but the expounders of the olden oracles: were they more they would be infidels. But this could not always have been the case.

With the Hindus, as with other nations, the progress to the heights of science they attained, must have been gradual; unless we take from them the merit of original invention, and set them down as borrowers of a system. These slavish fetters of the mind must have been forged at a later period, and it is fair to infer that the monopoly of science and religion were simultaneous. What must be the effect of such monopoly on the impulses and operations of the understanding? Where such exists, knowledge could not long remain stationary; it must perforce retrograde. Could we but discover the period when religion† ceased to be a *profession* and became hereditary (and that such there was, these very genealogies bear evidence), we might approximate the era when science attained its height.

In the early ages of these Solar and Lunar dynasties, the priestly office was not hereditary in families; it was a profession;

† It has been said that the Brahminical religion was foreign to India; but as to the period of importation we have but loose assertions. We can easily give credit to various creeds and tenets of faith being from time to time incorporated, ere the persent books were composed and that, previously, the sons of royalty alone possessed the office. Authorities of weight inform us of these grafts: for instances, Mr. Colebrooke has given a passage in his Indian Classes.' "A chief of the twice-born tribe was brought by Vishnu's eagle from *Saca Dwipa*;" hence "*Saca Dwipa* Brahmins were known in *Jambu Dwipa*." By *Saca Dwipa*, Scythia is understood, of which more will be said hereafter.

Ferishta also, translating from ancient authorities, says, to the same effect, that "in the reign of *Mahavie*, King of Candij, a Brahmin came from Persia, who introduced magic, idolatry, and the worship of the stars:" so that there is no want of authority for the introduction of new tenets of faith.

and the genealogies exhibit frequent instances of branches of these races terminating their material career in the commencement of a religious sect, or *gotra*, and of their descendants reassuming their warlike occupations. Thus, of the ten sons of Ikshwaku,* three are represented as abandoning wordly affairs and taking to religion; and one of these, Canin is said to be the first who made an *agnihotra*, or pyreum, and worshipped fire, while another son embraced commerce. Of the Lunar line and the six sons of Pururava, the name of the fourth was Reh; "from him the fifteenth generation was Harita, who with his eight brothers took to the office of religion, and established the Causica Gotra, or *tribe* of Brahmins."

From the twenty-fourth prince in lineal descent from Yayati, by name Bhardwaja, originated a celebrated sect, who still bear his name, and are the spiritual teachers of several Rajpoot tribes.

Of the twenty-sixth prince, Munevu, two sons devoted themselves to religion, and established celebrated sects, *viz.* Mahavira, whose descendants were the Pushkar Brahmins; and Sanskrit whose issue were learned in the *vedas*. From the line of Ajamida these ministers of religion were continually branching off.

In the very early periods, the princes of the Solar line, like the Egyptians and Romans, combined the offices of the priesthood with kingly power, and this whether Brahminical or Buddhist.† Many of the royal line, before and subsequent to Rama, passed a great part of their lives as ascetics; and in ancient sculpture and drawings, the head is as often adorned with the braided lock of the ascetic, as with the diadem of royalty.‡

The greatest monarchs bestowed their daughters on these royal hermits and sages. Ahalya, the daughter of the powerful Panchalica, § became the wife of the ascetic Gotama. The sage Jamadagni espoused the daughter of Sahasra‖ Arjuna, of

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* See *Table* I.

† Some of the earlier of the twenty-four *Tirthancaras*, or Jain hierarchs, trace their origin from the solar race of princes.

‡ Even now the Rana of Mewar mingles spiritual duties with those of royalty, and when he attends the temple of the tutelary deity of his race, he performs himself all the offices of the high priest for the day. In this point a strong resemblance exists to many of the races of antiquity.

§ Prince of the country of the Panjab, or five streams east of the Indus.

‖ The legend of this monarch stealing his son-in-law's, the hermit's, cow (of which the *Ramayana* gives another version), the incarnation of Parasu-ram, son of Jamadagni, and his exploits, appear purely allegorical, signifying the violence and oppression of royalty over the earth [*prithvi*], personified by the sacred *go* or cow; and that the Brahmins were unable to wrest royalty from the martial tribe, shews how they had multiplied.

Mahismati * king of the Haihya tribe, a great branch of the Yadu race.

Among the Egyptians, according to Herodotus, the priest succeeded to sovereignty, as they and the military class alone could hold lands; and Sethos, the priest of Vulcan, caused a revolution, by depriving the military of their estates.

We have various instances in India of the Brahmins, from Jamadagni to the Maharatta Peishwa, contesting for sovereignty; power † and homage being still their great aim, as in the days of Vishwamitra ‡ and Vasishta, the royal sages whom "Janaka, sovereign of Mithila, addressed with folded hands in token of superiority."

But this deference for the Brahmins is certainly, with many Rajpoot classes, very weak. In obedience to prejudice, they

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On the derivatives from the word *go*, I venture an etymology for others to pursue:—

GAIA, *gea*, (*Dor. ga*), that which produces all things, (from *gao*, *genero*;) the earth—*Jones' Dictionary*.

GALA, Milk. *Goa-la*, Herdsman, in Sanskrit, *Galatichoi*, *Keltoi*, Galatians, or Gauls, and Celts (allowed to be the same), would be the shepherd races, the pastoral invaders of Europe.

* Maheswar, or the Nerbudda river.

† Hisdusthan abounds with Brahmins, who make excellent soldiers, as far as bravery is a virtue; but our officers are cautious, from experience, of admitting too many into a troop or company, for they still retain their intriguing habits. I have seen nearly as many of the Brahmins as of military in some companies; a dangerous error.

‡ The Brahmin Vasishta possessed a cow name Shubala, so fruitful that with her assistance he could accomplish whatever he desired. By her aid he entertained King *Viswhamitra* and his army. It is evident that this cow denotes some *tract of country which the priest held* (bearing in mind that *go*, *prithwi* signify 'the earth' as well as 'cow'): a grant, beyond doubt, by some of *Vishwamitra's* unwise ancestors, and which he wished to resume. From her were supplied "the oblations to the gods and the *pitriswars* [father-gods, or "ancestors"], the perpetual sacrificial fire, the burnt-offerings and sacrifices." This was the fountain of devotional acts; this was the Shubala for which the king offered a hundred thousand cows; this was "the jewel of which a king only should be proprietor."—The subjects of the Brahmin appeared not to relish such transfer, and by "the lowing of the cow Shubala," obtained numerous foreign auxiliaries, which enabled the Brahmin to set his sovereign at defiance. Of these "the Pahlavi (Persian) kings, the *dreadful Sakas* [Sacæ], and *Yavanas* [Greeks] with scymitars and gold armour, the Kambojas," &c. were each in turn created by the all-producing cow. The armies of the Pahlavi kings were cut to pieces by Vishwamitra; who at last, by continual reinforcements was overpowered by the Brahmin's levies.

These reinforcements would appear to have been the ancient Persians, the Sacæ, the Greeks, the inhabitants of Assam and southern India, and various races out of the pale of the Hindu religion; all classed under the term *Mlechha*, equivalent to the '*barbarian*' of the Greeks and Romans.

shew them outward civility; but, unless when their fears or wishes interfere, they are less esteemed than the bards.

The story of the King Vishwamitra of Gadhipura* and the Brahmin Vasishta, which fills so many sections of the first book of the *Ramayana*† exemplifies, under the veil of allegory, the contests for power between the Brahminical and military classes, and will serve to indicate the probable period when the castes became immutable. Stripped of its allegory, the legend appears to point to a time when the division of the classes was yet imperfect; though we may infer, from the violence of the struggle, that it was the last in which '*Brahminhood*' could be obtained by the military.

Vishwamitra was the son of Gadhi (of the race of Causika), King of Gadhipura, and contemporary of Ambarisha, King of Ayodhya or Oudh, the fortieth prince from Ikshwaku, consequently about two hundred years anterior to Rama. This event, therefore, whence we infer that the system of castes was approaching perfection, was probably about one thousand four hundred years before Christ.

The king Vishwamitra, defeated and disgraced by this powerful priest, like a serpent with his teeth broken, like the sun robbed by the eclipse of its splendour, was filled with perturbation. Deprived of his sons and array, stripped of his pride and confidence, he was left without resource as "a bird bereft of his wings". He abandoned his kingdom to his son, and like all Hindu princes in distress, determined, by penitential rites and austerities, "to obtain Brahminhood."

He took up his abode at the sacred Pushkara (see plate), living on fruits and roots, and fixing his mind, said, "I will become a Brahmin." By these penances he attained such spiritual power that he was enabled to usurp the Brahmin's office. The theocrats cautioned Vishwamitra, thus determined to become a Brahmin by austerity, that "the divine books are to be observed with care only by *those acquainted with their evidence*; nor does it become thee (Vishwamitra) to subvert the order of things established by the ancients."

The history of his wanderings, austerities, and the temptations thrown in his way, is related. The celestial fair were commissioned to break in upon his meditations. The mother of love herself descended; while Indra, joining the cause of the Brahmins, took the shape of the *kokila*, and added the melody of his notes to the allurements of Rambha and the perfumed zephyrs, which assailed the royal saint in the wilderness. He was proof against all temptation, and condemned the fair to become a pillar of stone. He persevered "till every passion was subdued," till "not a tincture of sin appeared in him," and gave such alarm to the whole priesthood, that they dreaded lest his excessive sanctity should be fatal to them: they feared mankind would become atheists. The gods and Brahma at their head, were obliged to grant his desire of Brahminhood; and Vasishta, conciliated by the gods, acquiesced in their wish and formed a friendship with Vishwamitra.

*Canouj, the ancient capital of the present race of the Marwar.

†See translation of this epic, by Messrs. Carey and Marshman.

If proof can be given that these genealogies existed in the days of Alexander, the fact would be interesting. The legend in the *Puranas*, of the origin of the Lunar race, appears to afford this testimony

Vyasa, the author of the grand epic, the *Mahabharat*, was son of Santanu (of the race of Hari),* sovereign of Delhi, by Yojanagandha, a fisherman's daughter,† consequently illegitimate. He became the spiritual father, or preceptor, of his nieces, the daughters of Vichitravirya the son and successor of Santanu.

Vichitravirya had no male offspring. Of his three daughters, one was named Pandea‡; and Vyasa, being the sole remaining male branch of the house of Santanu, took his niece and *spiritual daughter*, Pandea, to wife, and became the father of Pandu, afterwards sovereign of Indraprastha,

Arrian gives the story thus: "He (Hercules) § had a daughter when he was advanced in years; and being unable to find a husband worthy of her, he *married her himself*, that he might supply the throne of India with monarchs. Her name was Pandea, and he caused the whole province in which she was born to receive its name from her."

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* Hari-cula.

† It is a very curious circumstance, that Hindu legend gives to two of their most celebrated authors, whom they have invested with a sacred character, a descent from the aboriginal and impure tribes of India: Vyasa from a fisherman, and Valmiki, the author of the other grand epic the *Ramayana*, from a budhek or robber, an associate of the *Bhil* tribe at Aboo. The coversion of Valmiki (said to have been miraculous, when in the act of robbing the shrine of the deity), is worked into a story of considerable effect, in the works of Chand, from olden authority.

‡ The reason for this name is thus given. One of these daughters being by a slave, it was necessary to ascertain which: a difficult matter, from the seclusion in which they were kept. It was therefore left to Vyasa to discover the pure of birth; who determined that nobility of blood would shew itself, and commanded that the princesses should walk [illegible]ered before him. The elder from shame, closed her eyes, and from her was born the blind Dhritarashtra, sovereign of Hastinapura; the second, from the same feeling, covered herself with yellow ochre, called *pandu*, and henceforth she bore the name of Pandea, and her son was called Pandu; while the third stepped forth unabashed. She was adjudged not of gentle blood, and her issue was Vidura.

§ A generic term for the sovereigns of the race of Hari, used by Arrian as a proper name. A section of the *Mahabharat* is devoted to the history of the Hari-cula, of which race was Vyasa.

Arrian notices the similiarity of the Theban and the Hindu Hercules, and cites as authority the ambassador of Seleucus, Magasthenes, who says: "He uses the same habit, with the Theban; and is particularly worshipped by the Suraseni, who have two great cities belonging to them, namely, *Methoras* (Mathura) and *Clisoboras*.

This is the very legend contained in the Puranas, of Vyasha (who was Hari-cul-es, or chief of the race of Hari) and his *spiritual daughter* Pandea, from whom the grand race * *the Pandu*; and from whom Delhi and its dependencies were designated the Pandu sovereignty.

Diodorus has the same legend, with some variety. He says: "Hercules was born amongst the Indians and like the Greeks they furnish him with a club and lion's hide. In strength (*bala*) he excelled all men, and cleared the sea and land of monsters and wild beasts. He had many sons, but only one daughter. It is said that he built Palibothra, and divided his kingdom amongst his sons (the Balica-putras, sons of Bali). They never colonized; but in time most of the cities assumed a democratical form of government (though some were monarchical) till Alexander's time." The combats of Hercules, to which Diodorus alludes, are those in the legendary haunts of the *Hari-cules*, during their twelve years' exile from the seats of their forefathers.

How invaluable such remnants of the ancient race of Hari-cula! How refreshing to the mind yet to discover, amidst the ruins on the Yamuna, Hercules (Baldeva, god of strength) retaining his club and lion's hide, standing on his pedestal at Buldeo, and yet worshipped by the *Suraseni!* This name was given to a large tract of country round Mathura, or rather round Surpura, the ancient capital founded by Sursen, the grandfather of the Indian brother-deities Crishna and Baldeva, Apollo and Hercules. The title would apply to either, though Baldeva has the attributes of the 'god of strength.' Both are *es* (lords) of the race (*cula*) of *Hari* (Hari-cul-es), of which the Greeks might have made the compound Hercules. Might not a colony after the great war have migrated westward? The period of the return of the Heraclidæ, the descendants of Atreus (Atri is progenitor of the Hari-cula) would answer; it was about half a century after the great war.

It is unfortunate that Alexander's historians were unable to penetrate into the arcana of the Hindus, as Herodotus appears to have done with those of the Egyptians. The shortness of Alexander's stay, the unknown language in which their science and religion were hid, presented an insuperable difficulty. They could make very little progress in the study of the language without discovering its analogy to their own.

Arrian generally exercises his judgment in these matters, and is the reverse of credulous. On this point he says, "My opinion of this story of Hercules and his daughter is, that if Hercules were capable of having an affair of this kind, and getting children, he was not so near his end as they wish to make us believe."

* Sandrocottus is mentioned by Arrian to be of this line; and we can have no hesitation, therefore, in giving him a place in the dynasty of Puru, the second son of Yayati, whence the patronymic used by the race now extinct, as was *Yadu*, the elder brother of Puru. Hence Sandrocottus, if not a Puru himself, is connected with the chain of which the links are Jarasandha (a hero of the *Bharat*) Ripoonjaya, the twenty-third in descent, when a new race, headed by Sanaka and Sesnag, about six hundred years before Christ, usurped the seat of the lineal descendants of Puru; in which line of usurpation is Chandragupta of the tribe Mori, the Sandrocottus of Alexander: a branch of the Sesnag, Takshac, or *snake* race; a race, which, stripped of its allegory, will afford room for subsequent dissertation. The Prasii of Arrian would be the stock of Puru; Prayag is claimed in the annals yet existing, as the cradle of their race. This is the modern

Her issue ruled for thirty-one generations in direct descent, or from 1120 to 610 before Christ; when the military minister,* connected by blood, was chosen by the chiefs, who rebelled against the last Pandu king, represented as "neglectful of all the cares of government," and whose deposition and death introduced a new dynasty.

Other dynasties succeeded in like manner by the usurpation of these military ministers, until Vicramaditya, when the Pandu sovereignty and era of Yudhisthira were both overturned.

Indraprastha remained without a sovereign, supreme power being removed from the north to the southern parts of India, till the fourth, or, according to some authorities, the eighth century after Vicrama, when the throne of Yudhisthira was once more occupied by the Tuar tribe of Rajpoots, claiming descent from the *Pandus*. To this ancient capital, thus refounded, the new appellation of Delhi was given; and the dynasty of the founder, Anangapal, lasted to the twelfth century, when he abdicated in favour of his grandson, † Prithuraj, the last imperial Rajpoot sovereign of India, whose defeat and death introduced the Mahomedans.

This line has also closed with the pageant of a prince, and a colony returned from the extreme west is now the sole arbiter of the thrones of *Pandu* and *Timoor*.

Britain has become heir to the monuments of Indraprastha raised by the descendants of Boodha and Ella; to the iron pillar of the Pandus, whose pedestal ‡ "is fixed in hell"; to the columns reared to victory, inscribed with characters yet unknown; to the massive ruins of its ancient continuous cities, encompassing a space still larger than the largest city in the world, whose mouldering domes and sites of fortresses, § the very names of which are lost, present a noble field for speculation

Allahabad; and the Eranaboas must be the Jumna, and the point of junction with the Ganges, where we must place the capital of the *Prasii*.

* Analagous to the *maire du palais* of the first races of the Franks.

† His daughter's son. This is not the first or only instance of the salique law of India being set aside. There are two in the history of Sovereigns of Anhulwarra Puttun. In all adoptions of this nature, when child "binds round his head the turban" of his adopted father, he is finally severed from the stock whence he had his birth.

‡ The kheel or iron pillar of the Pandus, is mentioned in the poems of hand. An infidel Tuar prince wished to prove the truth of the tradition of its depth of foundation; "blood gushed up from the earth's centre, the pillar became loose (*dhilli*)," as did the fortune of the house, from such impiety. This is the origin of *Delhi*.

§ I doubt if Shapoor is yet known. I trace its extent from the remains of a tower between Humayoon's tomb and the grand column, the Cootub. In 1809 I resided four months at the mausoleum of Sufder Jung, the ancestor of the present king of Oude, amidst the ruins of Indraprastha.

on the ephemeral nature of power and glory. What monument would Britain bequeath to distant posterity of her succession to this dominion? Not one; except it be that of a still less perishable nature, the monument of national benefit. Much is in our power: much has been given, and posterity will demand the result.

CHAPTER III.

Genealogies continued—Comparison between the List of Sir W. Jones, Mr. Bentley, Captain Wilford, and the Author.—Synchronisms.

VYASA gives but fifty-seven princes of the Solar line, from Vaivaswatá Manu to Rama; and no list which has come under my observation exhibits more than fifty-eight, for the same period, of the Lunar race. How different from the Egyptian priesthood, who, according to Herodotus, gave a list up to that period, of 330 * sovereigns from their first prince, also the '*Sun-born* † *Menes*'!

Icshwacu was the son of Manu, and the first who moved to the eastward, and founded Ayodhya.

Boodha (Mercury) founded the Lunar line; but we are not told who established their first capital, Prayag, ‡ though we are authorized to infer that it was founded by Puru, the sixth in descent from Boodha.

A succession of fifty-seven princes occupied Ayodhya from Icshwacu to Rama. From Yayati's son, the Lunar races descend

several miles from inhabited Delhi, but with which these ruins form detached links of connection. I went to that retirement with a friend now no more, Lieutenant Macartney, a name well known and honoured. We had both been employed in surveying the canals which had their sources in common from the head of the Jumna, where this river leaves its rocky barriers, the Sewalik chain, and issues into the plains of Hindusthan. These canals on each side, fed by the parent stream, returned the waters again into it; one through the city of Delhi, the other on the opposite side.

* Herodotus, Melpomene, chap. xiv. P. 200.

† The Egyptians claim the sun, also as the first founder of the kingdom of Egypt.

‡ The Jessulmeer annals give in succession Prayag, Mathura, Kusasthali, Dwarica, as capitals of the Indu or Lunar race, in the ages preceding the *Bharat* or great war. Hastinapur was founded twenty generations after these, by Hasti, from whom ramified the three grand Sacæ, *viz.* Ajamida, Deomida, and Puramida, which diversified the Yadu race.

in unequal lengths. The lines from Yadu,* concluding with Crishna and his uncle Kansa, exhibit fifty-seven, and fifty-nine descents from Yayati; while Yudhisthira, † Sal, ‡ Jarasandha, § and Vahoorita, ‖ all contemporaries of Crishna and Kansa, are fifty-one, forty-six, and forty-seven generations, respectively, from the common ancestor, Yayati.

There is a wide difference between the Solar and the Yadu branches of the Lunar lines; yet is that now given fuller than any I have met with. Sir William Jones' lists of the Solar line give fifty-six, and of the Lunar (Boodha to Yudisthira) forty-six, being one less in each than in the table now presented; nor has he given the important branch terminating with Crishna. So close an affinity between lists, derived from such different authorities as this distinguished character and myself had access to, shews that there was some general source entitled to credit.

Mr. Bentley's ¶ lists agree with Sir William Jones', exhibiting fifty-six and forty-six respectively, for the last mentioned Solar and Lunar races. But on a close comparison, he has either copied them or taken from the same original source; afterwards transposing names which, though aiding a likely hypothesis, will not accord with their historical belief.

Colonel Wilford's ** Solar list is of no use: but his two dynasties of Puru and Yadu of the Lunar race are excellent; that part of the line of Puru, from Jarasandha to Chandra-gupta, being the only correct one in print.

It is surprising, Wilford did not make use of Sir. William Jones' Solar chronology; but he appears to have dreaded bringing down Rama to the period of Crishna, as he is known to have preceded by four generations "the great war" of the Yadu races.

It is evident that the Lunar line has reached us defective. It is supposed so by their genealogists: and Wilford would have increased the error by taking it as the standard, and reducing the Solar to conform thereto.

Mr. Bentley's method is therefore preferable; namely, to suppose eleven princes omitted in the Lunar between Janmejya and Prachinwat. But as there is no authority for this, the Lunar princes are distributed in the tables collaterally with the Solar,

* See Table I.

† Of Delhi—Indraprastha.

‡ *Sal* the founder of *Arore*, on the Indus, a capital I had the good fortune to discover. *Sal* is the *Sehr* of Abul Fuzil.

§ Jarasandha of Behar.

‖ Vahoorita, unknown yet.

¶ Asiatic Researches, vol. v., p. 341.

** Ibid. vol. v., p. 241.

preserving contemporaneous affinity where synchronism will authorize. By this means all hypothesis will be avoided and the genealogies will speak for themselves.

There is very little difference between Sir William Jones' and Colonel Wilford's lists in that main branch of the Lunar race, of which Puru, Hasti, Ajamida, Curu, Santanu, and Yudhisthira, are the most distinguished links. The coincidence is so near, as to warrant a supposition of identity of source; but close inspection shews Wilford to have had fuller supply, for he produces new branches, both of Hasti's and Curu's progeny. He has also one name (Bhimsena) towards the close, which is in my lists, but not in Sir Willam Jones'; and immediately following Bhimsena both these lists exhibit *Dilipa*, wanting in my copy of the *Bhagbat*, though contained in the *Agni Purana*: proofs of the diversity of the sources of supply, and highly gratifying when the remoteness of those sources is considered. There is also in my lists *Tunsu*, the nineteenth from Boodha, who is not in the lists either of Sir William Jones or Wilford. Again, Wilford has a *Suhotra* preceding Hasti, who is not in Sir William Jones' genealogies.*

Again, *Jahnu* is made the successor to Curu; whereas the *Purana* (whence my extracts) makes Parikshita the successsor who adopts the son of Jahnu. This son is Poratha who has a place in all three. Other variations are merely orthographical.

A comparison of Sir William Jones' Solar genealogies with my tables will yield nearly the same satisfactory result as to original authenticity. I say Sir William Jones' list, because there is no other efficient one. We first differ at the fourth from Icshwacu. In my list this is Un-Prithu, of which he makes two names, Aneas and Prithu. Thence to Purucutsa, the eighteenth, the difference is only in orthography. To Irisuaka, the twenty-third in mine, the twenty-sixth in Sir William Jones' list, one name is above accounted for; but here are two wanting in mine, Irasadadya and Hyaswa. There is, also, considerable difference in the orthography of those names which we have in common. Again, we differ as to the successors of Champa, the twenty-seventh, the founder of Champapur in Behar. In Sir William's, Sudeva succeeds, and he is followed by Vijya: but my authorities state these both to be sons of Champa, and that Vijya, the younger, was his successor, as the elder, Sudeva, took to religious austerity. The thirty-third and thirty-sixth, Kesi and Dilipa, are not noticed by Sir William Jones: but there is a much more important person than either of these omitted, who is a grand link of connection, and affording a good synchronism of the earliest history.

* I find them, however, in the *Agni Purana*.

This is Ambarisha, the fortieth, the contemporary of Gadhi, who was the founder of Gadhipura or Conouj. Nala, Surura, and Dilipa (Nos. 44, 45, 54 of my lists) are all omitted by Sir William Jones.

This comparative analysis of the chronologies of both these grand races cannot fail to be satisfactory. Those which I furnish are from the sacred genealogies in the library of a prince who claims common origin with them, and are less liable to interpolation. There is scarcely a chief of character for knowledge, who cannot repeat the genealogy of his line. The Prince of Mewar has a peculiarly retentive memory in this way. The professed genealogists, the Bhats, must have them graven on their memory and the Charunas (the encomiasts) ought to be well versed therein.

The first table exhibits two dynasties of the Solar race of Princes of Ayodhya and Mithil *des* or Trihoot, which latter I have seen nowhere else. It also exhibits four great and three lesser dynasties of the Lunar race: and an eighth line is added, of the race of Yadu, from the annals of the Bhatti tribes at Jessulmeer.

Ere quitting this halting-place in the genealogical history of the ancient races, where the celebrated names of Rama, Crishna and Yudhisthira, close the brazen age of India, and whose issue introduce the present iron age, or Kaliyuga, I shall shortly refer to the few synchronic points which the various authorities admit.

Of periods so remote, approximations to truth are the utmost to be looked for; and it is from the *Ramayana* and the *Puranas* these synchronisms are hazarded.

The first commences with a celebrated name of the Solar line, Harischandra, son of Trisunkha, still proverbial for his humility. He is the twenty-fourth, * and declared contemporary of Parasu-rama, who slew the celebrated Sahasra-Arjuna † of the Haihya (Lunar) race, prince of Mahismati, on the Nerbudda. This is confirmed by the *Ramayana*, which details the

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* Sahyadri Khanda of the *Scanda Purana.*

† In the *Bhavishya Purana* this prince Sahasra-Arjuna, is termed a *chakravarti*, or paramount sovereign. He conquered Karkataka of the Takshac, Toorshka, or snake race and brought with him the population of Mahismati, and founded Hemanagara in the north of India, on his expulsion from his dominions on the Nerbudda. Traditionary legends yet remain of this prince on the Nerbudda, where he is styled Sahasra-Bahu, or with 'a thousand arms,' figurative of his numerous progeny.

The Takshac or snake race, here alluded to, will hereafter engage our attention. The names of animals in early times, planets and things inanimate, all furnished symbolic appellations for the various races. In Scripture we have the fly, the bee, the ram, to describe the princes of

destruction of the military class and assumption of political power by the Brahmins, under their chief Parasu-rama, marking the period when the military class "lost the umbrella of royalty," and, as the Brahmins ridiculously assert, their purity of blood. This last, however, their own books sufficiently contradict, as the next synchronism will shew.

This synchronism we have in Sagara, the thirty-second prince of the Solar line, the contemporary of Taljangha of the Lunar line, the sixth in descent from Sahasra-Arjuna, who had five sons preserved from the general slaughter of the military class by Parasu-rama, whose names are given in the *Bhavishya*.

Wars were constantly carried on between these great rival races, Surya and Indu, recorded in the *Puranas* and *Ramayana*. The *Bhavishya* describes that, between Sagara and Taljangha, "to resemble that of their ancestors in which the Haihyas suffered as severely as before." But that they had recovered all their power since Parasu-rama, is evident from their having completely retaliated on the Suryas, and expelled the father * of Sagara from his capital of Ayodhya. Sagara and Taljangha appear to have been contemporary with Hasti of Hastinapura, and with Anga, descended from Boodha, the founder of Anga-desa † or Ongdess, and the Anga race.

The *Ramayana* ‡ affords another synchronism: namely, that Ambarisha of Ayodhya, the fortieth prince of the Solar line, was the contemporary of Gadhi, the founder of Conouj, and of Lompada the Prince of Angadesa.

Egypt, Assyria, and Macedonia: here we have the snake, horse, monkey, &c.

The Sanke or Takshac race was one of the most extensive and earliest of Higher Asia, and celebrated in all its extent, and to which I shall have to recur hereafter.

In the *Ramayana* it is stated that the sacrificial horse was stolen by "a serpent (Takshac) assuming the form of Ananta."

* "Usita, the father of Sagara, expelled by hostile kings of the Haihyas, the Taljanghas and the Susoovindhas, fled to the Himavat mountains, where he died leaving his wives pregnant, and from one of these Sagara was born." It was to preserve the Solar race from the destruction which threatned it from the prolific Lunar race, that the Brahmin Parasu-rama armed: evidently proving that the Brahminical faith was held by the Solar race; while the religion of *Boodha*, the great progenitor of the Lunar, still governed his descendants. This strengthened the opposition of the sages of the Solar line to Vishwamitra's (of Boodha's or the Lunar line) obtaining Brahminhood. That Crishna of Lunar stock, prior to founding a new sect, worshipped Boodha, is susceptible of proof.

† Angades, Ongdes or Ondes adjoins Thibet. The inhabitants call themselves Hoongias, and appear to be the Hong-niu of the Chinese authors, the Huns (Hoons) of Europe and India, which prove this Tartar race to be Lunar and of Boodha.

‡ Forty-first section, Book i. of the *Ramayana*, translation by Carey.

The last synchronism is that of Crishna and Yudhisthira, which terminates the brazen, and introduces the Kaliyuga or iron age. But this is in the Lunar line; nor have we any guide by which the difference can be adjusted between the appearance of Rama of the Solar, and Crishna of the Lunar races.

Thus of the race of Crustha we have Kansa, prince of Mathura, the fifty-ninth, and his nephew Crishna, the fifty-eighth from Boodha; while of the line of Puru, descending through Ajamida and Deomida, we have Sal, Jarasandha, and Yudhisthira, the fifty-first, fifty-third, fiifty-fourth respectively.

The race of Anga gives Prithu-sena as one of the actors and survivors of the *Mahabharat*, and the fifty-third from Boodha.

Thus, taking an average of the whole, we may consider fifty-five princes to be the number of descents from Boodha to Crishna and Yudhisthira; and, admitting an average of twenty years for each reign, a period of eleven hundred years: which being added to a like period calculated from thence to Vicramaditya, who reigned fifty-six years before Christ, I venture to place the establishment in India Proper, of those two grand races, distinctively called those of Surya and Chandra, at about 2,256 years before the Christian era; at which period, though somewhat later, the Egyptian, Chinese, and Assyrian monarchies are generally stated to have been established,* and about a century and half after that great event, the Flood.

Though a passage in the *Agni Purana*, indicates that the line of Surya, of which Icshwacu was the head, was the first colony which entered India from Central Asia, yet we are compelled to place the patriarch Boodha as his contemporary, he being stated to have come from a distant region, and married to Ella, the sister of Icshwacu.

Ere we proceed to make any remarks on the descendants of Crishna and Arjuna, who carry on the Lunar line, or of the Cushites and Lavites, from Cush and Lava, sons of Rama, who carry on that of the sun, a few observations on the chief kingdoms established by their progenitors on the continent of India will be hazarded in the ensuing chapter.

* Egyptian, under Misraim, B C. 2188; Assyrian, 2059; Chinese, 2207.

CHAPTER IV.

Foundations of States and Cities by the different Tribes.

AYODHYA* was the first city founded by the race of Surya. Like other capitals, its importance must have risen by slow degrees; yet, making every allowance for exaggeration, it must have attained great splendour long anterior to Rama. Its site is well known at this day under the contracted name of Oude, which also designates the country appertaining to the titular Vizier of the Mogul empire; which country, twenty-five years ago, nearly marked the limits of Kosala, the pristine kingdom of the Surya race. Overgrown greatness characterized all the ancient Asiatic capitals, and that of Ayodhya was immense. Lucknow, the present capital, is traditionally asserted to have been one of the suburbs of ancient Oude, and so named by Rama, in compliment to his brother Lacshman.

Nearly coeval in point of time with Ayodhya was Mithila,† the capital of a country of the same name, founded by Mithila, the grandson of Ikshwaku.

The name of Janaka,‡ son of Mithila, eclipsed that of

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* The picture drawn by Valmiki of the capital of the Solar race is so highly coloured, that Ayodhya might stand for Utopia, and it would be difficult to find such a catalogue of Metropolitan embellishments, in this the iron age of Oude. "On the banks of Sarayu is a large country called Koshala, in which is Ayodhya, built by *Manu*, twelve *yojans* (forty-eight miles) in extent, with streets regular and well watered. It was filled with merchants, beautified by gardens, ornamented with stately gates and high-arched porticoes, furnished with arms, crowded with chariots, elephants, and horses, and with ambassadors of foreign lands; embellished with palaces whose domes resembled the mountain tops; dwellings of equal height, resounding with the delightful music of the tabor, the flute and the harp. It was surrounded by an impassable moat, and guarded by archers. Dasaratha was its king, a mighty charioteer. There were no atheists. The affections of the men were in their consorts. The women were chaste and obedient to their lords, endowed with beauty, wit, sweetness, purdence and industry, with bright ornaments and fair apparel; the men devoted to truth, and hospitality, regardful of their superiors, their ancestors, and their gods."

"There were eight councillors; two chosen priests profound in the law; besides, another inferior council of six; of subduded appetites, disinterested, forbearing, pleasant, patient, not avaricious; well acquainted with their duties and popular customs; attentive to the army, the treasury; impartially awarding punishment even on their own sons; never oppressing even an enemy; not arrogant; comely in dress; never confident about doubtful matters; devoted to the sovereign."

† Mithila, the modern Tirhoot in Bengal.

‡ Kusadhwaja, father of Sita (spouse of Rama), is also called Janaka, a name common in this line, and borne by the third prince in succession after *Suvarna Roma*, the 'golden-haired' chief of Mithila.

the founder, and became the patronymic of this branch of the Solar race.

These are the two chief capitals of the kingdoms of the Solar line described in this early age; though there were others of a minor order, such as Rotus, Champapur &c., all founded previously to Rama.

By the numerous dynasties of Lunar race of Boodha, many kingdoms were founded. Much has been said of the antiquity of Prayag; yet, the first capital of the Indu or Lunar race appears to have been founded by Sahasra-Arjuna, of the Haihya tribe. This was Mahismati on the Nerbudda, still existing in Maheswar.* The rivalry between the Lunar race and that of the Surya of Ayodhya, in whose aid the priesthood armed, and expelled Sahasra-Arjuna from Mahismati, has been mentioned. A small branch of these ancient Haihyas † yet exists in the line of the Nerbudda, near the very top of the valley at Sohagpur, Bhagel-khund, aware of their ancient lineage, and, though few in number, are still celebrated for their valour. ‡

Kusasthali Dwarica, capital of Crishna, was founded prior to Prayag, to Surpur, or Mathura. The *Bhagvat* attributes the foundation of the city to Anirt, the brother of Ikshwaku, of the Solar race, but states not how or when the Yadus became possessed thereof.

The ancient annals of the Jessulmeer family of the Yadu stock, give the priority of foundation to *Prayag*, next to *Mathura* and last to *Dwarika*. All these cities are too well known to require description; especially Prayag, at the confluence of the Yamuna and Ganges. The Prasii were the descendants of Puru § of Prayag, visited by Megasthenes, ambassador of Seleucus, and the principal city of the Yadus, ere it sent forth the four branches from Satwati. At Prayag resided the celebrated Bharat, the son of Sakuntala.

In the *Ramayana*, the Susoovindhas ‖ (another Yadu race) are inscribed as allied with the Haihyas in the wars with the race

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* Familiarly designated as Shasra-Bahu Ka Bustee, or 'the town of the thousand-armed.'

† The Haihya race, of the line of Boodha, may claim affinity with the Chinese race which first gave monarchs to China.

‡ Of this I have heard the most romantic proofs in very recent times.

§ Puru became the patronymic of his branch of the Lunar race. Of this Alexander's historians made Porus. The *Suraseni* of *Methoras* (descendants of Sursen of Mathura) were all *Purus*, the Prasii of Megasthenes. Allahabad yet retains its Hindu name of Prayag, pronounced Prag.

‖ The Hares. Seesodia is said to have the same derivation.

of Surya; and of this race was Sisupal * (the founder of Chedi †), one of the foes of Crishna.

We are assured by Alexander's historians, that the country and people round Mathura, when he invaded India, were termed *Surseni*. There are two princes of the name of Sursen in the immediate ancestry of Crishna; one his grandfather, the other eight generations anterior. Which of these founded the capital Surpur, ‡ whence the country and inhabitants had their appellation, we cannot say. Mathura and Clesobaras are mentioned by the historians of Alexander as the chief cities of Suraseni. Though the Greeks sadly disfigure names, we cannot trace any affinity between Clesobaras and Surpur.

The city of Hastinapura was built by Hasti, a name celebrated in the Lunar dynasties. The name of this city is still preserved on the Ganges, about forty miles south of Haridwar,§ where the Ganges breaks through the Sewaluk mountains and enters the plains of India. This mighty stream, rolling its masses of waters from the glaciers of the Himalaya, and joined by many auxiliary streams, frequently carries destruction before it. In one night a column of thirty feet in perpendicular

* The princes of Kinthum-bowur, expelled by Prithuraj of Delh were of this race.

† The modern Chanderi is said to be his capital, and one of the few to which no Englishman has obtained entrance, though I tried hard in 1807. Doubtless it would afford food for curiosity; for, being out of the path of armies in the days of conquest and revolution, it may and, I believe, does retain much worthy of research.

‡ I had the pleasure, in 1814, of discovering a remnant of this city which the Yamuna has overwhelmed. The sacred place of pilgrimage Bhateswara, stands on part of it. My discovery of it was doubly gratifying, for while I found out the Suraseni of the Greeks, I obtained a medal of the little-known Apollodotus, who carried his arms to the mouths of the Indus and possibly to the centre of the land of the Yadus. He is not included by Bayer in his lists of the kings of Bactria, but we have only an imperfect knowledge of the extent of that dynasty. The *Bhagvat Puran* asserts thirteen Yavan or Ionian princes to have ruled in Balich-des, or Bactria, in which they mention Pushpamitra *Doomitra*. We are justified in asserting this to be Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, but who did not succeed his father, as Menander intervened. Of this last conquerer I also possess a medal, obtained amongst the Suraseni, and struck in commemoration of victory, as the winged messenger of heavenly peace extends the palm branch from her hand. These two will fill up a chasm in the Bactrian annals, for Menander is well known to them. Appollodotus would have perished but for Arrian, who wrote the Periplus of the Erythrœan sea in the second century, while commercial agent at Baroach, or classically Brigugatcha, the Barugaza of the Greeks.

Without the notice, this writer has afforded us, my Appolodotus would have lost half its value. Since my arrival in Europe I have also been made acquainted with the existence of a medal of Demetrius, discovered in Bokhara, and on which an essay has been written by a *scavant* at St. Petersburg.

§ The portal of Huri or Hari, whose *trisula* or trident is there.

height has been known to bear away all within its sweeps, and to such an occurrence the capital of Hasti is said to have owed its ruin.*

As it existed, however, long after the Mahabharat, it is surprising it is not mentioned by the historians of Alexander, who invaded India probably about eight centuries after that event. In this abode of the sons of Puru resided Porus, one of the two princes of that name, opponents of Alexander; and probably Barusar the son of Chandragupta, surmised to be the Abisares and Sandracoptos of Grecian authorities. Of the two princes named Porus, mentioned by Alexander's historians, one resided in the very cradle of the Puru dynasties; the abode of the other bordered on the Punjab: warranting an assertion that the Pori of Alexander were of the Lunar race, and destroying all the claims various authors † have advanced on behalf of the princes of Mewar.‡

Hasti sent forth three grand branches, Ajamida, and Deomida, and Puramida. Of the two last we lose sight altogether; but Ajamida's progeny spread over all the northern parts of India, in the Punjab and across the Indus. The period, probably one thousand six hundred years before Christ.

From Ajamida, § in the fourth generation, was Bajaswa, who obtained possessions towards the Indus, and whose five sons gave their name, *Panchalica*, to the Punjab, or space watered by the five rivers. The capital founded by the younger brother, Kampila, was named Kampilnagara.‖

The descendants of Ajamida by his second wife, Kesunee,

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* Wilford says, this event is mentioned in two *Puranas* as occuring in the sixth or eighth generation of the great war. Those who have travelled in the Doab must have remarked where both the Ganges and Jumna have shifted their beds.

† Sir Thomas Roe; Sir Thomas Herbert; the Holstein ambassador (by Olearius); Della Valle; Churchill, in his collection; and borrowing from these, D'Anville, Bayer, Orme, Rennell, &c.

‡ The ignorance of the family of Mewar of the fact, would by no means be a conclusive argument against it, could it be otherwise substantiated; but the race of Surya was completely eclipsed at that period by the Lunar and new races which soon poured in from the west of the Indus, and in time displaced them all.

§ Ajamida, by his wife Nila, had five sons, who spread their branches (Sachæ) on both sides of the Indus. Regarding three the Puranas are silent, which implies their migration to distant regions. Is it possible they might be the origin of the Medes? These Medes are descendants of *Yayati, third son of the patriarch Manu;* and Madai founder of the Medes, was of Japhet's line. Ajamedi, the patronymic of the branch of *Bajaswa*, is from *Aja* 'a goat.' The Assyrian Mede, in Scripture, is typified by the goat.

‖ Of this house was Droupadi, the wife, in common, of the five Pandava brothers: manners peculiar to Scythia.

founded another kingdom and dynasty, celebrated in the heroic history of northern India. This is the *Cusika* dynasty.

Cush had four sons, two of whom, Cushnabha and Cushamba, are well known to traditional history and by the still surviving cities founded by them. Cushnabha founded the city of Mahadya on the Ganges, afterwards changed to Canyacubja, or Canouj, which maintained its celebrity until the Mahomedan invasion of Shabudin (A. D. 1193), when this overgrown city was laid prostrate for ever. It was not unfrequently called Gadhipura, or the 'city of Gadhi.' This practice of multiplying names of cities in the east is very destructive to history. Abul Fuzl has taken from Hindu authorities an account of Canouj; and could we admit the authority of a poet on such subjects, Chand, the bard of Prithuraja,* would afford materials. Ferishta states it in the early ages to have been twenty-five coss (fifty miles) in circumference, and that there were thirty thousand shops for the sale of the areca or beetle-nut only; and this in the sixth century, at which period the Rathore dynasty, which terminated with Joychand, in the twelfth, had been in possession from the end of the fifth century.

Cushamba also founded a city, called after his own name *Causambi*.† The name was in existence in the eleventh century; and ruins might yet exist, if search were made on the shores of the Ganges, from Canouj southward.

The other sons built two capitals, Dharmaranya and Vasumati; but of neither have we any correct knowledge.

Curu had two sons, Sudina and Parikshita. The decendants of the former terminated with Jarasandha, whose capital was Rajgriha (the modern Rajmahal) on the Ganges, in the province of Behar. From Parikshita descended the monarchs Santanu and Balica; the first producing the rivals of the Great War, Yudhisthira and Duryodhana; the other the Balicaputras.

Duryodhana, the successor to the throne of Curu, resided at the ancient capital, Hastinapura; while the junior branch, Yudhishthira, founded Indraprastha, on the Yamuna or Jumna, which name in the eighth century was changed to Delhi.

The sons of Balica founded two kingdoms; *Palibothra*, on the lower Ganges; and *Arore*,‡ on the eastern bank of the Indus founded by Sehl.

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* King of Delhi.

† An inscription was discovered at Kurrah on the Ganges, in which Yaspal is mentioned as prince of the realm of Causambi.— *As. Res.* vol. ix. p. 440. Wilford, in his Essay on the Geography of the Puranas, says. "Causambi near Allahabad."—*As. Res.* vol. xiv.

‡ Arore, or Alore, was the capital of Scind in remote antiquity; a bridge over the stream which branched from the Indus, near Dura, is almost the sole vestige of this capital of the Sogdi of Alexander. On its

One great arm of the tree of Yayati remains unnoticed; that of Ooru or Oorvasu, written by others *Turvasu*.

Ooru was the father of a line of kings who founded several empires.

Viroota, the eighth prince from Ooru, had eight sons, two of whom are particularly mentioned as sending forth two grand shoots, Druhya and Babru.

From Druhya a dynasty was established in the north. Ar, with his son Khandar, is stated to have founded a state: Pritchita is said to have become king of Mlechha-desa, or the *barbarous regions*.

This line terminated with Dushhanta, the father of the celebrated Bharat, married to Sacuntala, and who labouring under the displeasure of some offended deity, is said by the Hindus to have been the cause of all the woes which subsequently befel the race.

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site the shepherds of the desert have established an extensive hamlet; it is placed on a ridge of siliceous rock seven miles east of the insular Bekher, and free from the inundations of the Indus. The Soda tribe, a powerful branch of the Pramara race, has ruled in these countries from remote antiquity, and to a very late period they were lords of Omrakote and Omrasoomra, in which division was Arore.

Sehl and his capital were known to Abul Fuzl, though he was ignorant of its position, which he transferred to Debeil, or Dewul, the modern Tatta. This indefatigable historian thus describes it; "In ancient times there lived a Raja named Sehirs (Sehl), whose capital was Alore, and his dominions extended north to Cashmere and south to the ocean."

Sehl, or Sehr became a titular appellation of the country, its princes and its inhabitants, the Sehraes.

Alore appears to have been the capital of the kingdom of Sigertis, conquered by Menander of Bactria. Ebu Haukul, the Arabian geographer, mentions it; but a superfluous point in writing has changed Arore into Azore or Azour, as translated by Sir W. Ouseley.

The illustrious D' Anville mentions it; but, in ignorance of its position, quoting Abulfeda, says, in grandeur "Azour est presque comparable a Mooltan."

I have to claim the discovery of several ancient capital cities in the north of India: Surpur on the Jumna, the capital of the Yadus: Alore, on the Indus, the capital of the Sodas: Monddori, capital of the Puriharas; Chandravati, at the foot of the Aravali mountains; and Ballabhipura, in Guzerat, capital of the Balica races, the Balharas of Arab travellers. The Balla Rajpoot of Saurashtra may have given the name to Ballabhipura, as descendants of *Balica*, from Sehl of Arore. The blessing of the bard to them is yet, *Tatta Mooltan ca Rao* ('lord of Tatta and Mooltan,' the seats of the Balica-putras): nor is it improbable that a branch of these, under the Indian Hercules, Bala-ram, who left India after the Great War, may have founded Balich, or Balkh, emphatically called the 'mother of cities.' The Jessulmeer annals assert that the Yadu and Balica branches of the Indu race ruled Khorasan after the Great War, the Indo-Scythic races of Grecian authors.

Besides the Balicas, and the numerous branches of the Indo-Medes, many of the sons of Cura dispersed over these regions; amongst whom

The four grandsons of Dushhanta, Kalinjar, Keral, Pand, and Chowal gave their names to countries.

Kalinjar is the celebrated fortress in Boondelkhund, so well-known for its antiquities, which have claimed considerable notice.

Of the second, Keral, it is only known that in the list of the thirty-six royal races in the twelfth century, the Keral makes one, but the capital is unknown.

The kingdom founded by Pand may be that on the coast of Malabar, the Pandu-Mandal of the Hindus, the *Regia Pandiona* of the geographers of the west, and of which probably, Tanjore is the modern capital.

Chowal * is in the Saurashtra peninsula, and on the coast, towards Jugut Koont, 'the world's end,' and still retains its appellation.

The other shoot from Babru became celebrated. The thirty-fourth prince, *Anga*, founded the kingdom of Angadesa, of which Champa † Malini was the capital, established about the same time with Canouj, probably fifteen hundred years before Christ. With him the patronymic was changed, and to this day, *An-des* still designates the Alpine regions of Thibet bordering on Chinese Tartary.

Pristoosena terminates the line of Anga; and as he survived the disasters of the Great War, his race probably multiplied in those regions, where caste appears never to have been introduced

Thus have we rapidly reviewed the dynasties of Surya and Chandra, from Manu and Boodha to Rama, Crishna, Yudhisthira and Jarasandha; establishing, it is hoped, some new points, and perhaps adding to the credibility of the whole.

The wrecks of almost all the vast cities founded by them are yet to be traced in ruins. The city of Icshwacu and Rama on the Sarayu; Indraprastha, Mathura, Surpura, Prayag on the Yamuna; Hastinapura, Canyacubja, Raj-graha on the Ganges; Maheswar on the Nerbudda; Arore on the Indus; and

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we may place Oottara Curu *(Northern Curus)* of the *Puranas*, the Ottorocuræ of the Greek authors. Both the Indu and Surya races were eternally sending their superfluous population to those distant regions, when probably the same primeval religion governed the races east and west of the Indus.

* From Chowal on the coast, in journeying towards Joonagurh, and about seven miles from the former, are the remains of an ancient city.

† From the descripition in the *Ramayana* of king Dasaratha proceeding to Champa-malini, the capital of Lompada, king of Anga (sixth in descent from the founder), it is evident that it was a very mountainous region, and the deep forests and large rivers presented serious obstructions to his journey. From this I should imagine it impossible that Angadesa should apply to a portion of Bengal, in which there is a Champamalina, described by Colonel Francklin in his Essay on Palibothra.

Kusasthali Dwarica on the shore of the Indian ocean. Each has left some memorial of former grandeur: research may discover others.

There is yet an unexplored region in Panchalica: Kampilnagara its capital, and those cities established west of the Indus by the son of Bajaswa.

Traces of the early Indo-Scythic nations may possibly reward the search of some adventurous traveller, who may penetrate into Transoxiana, on the sites of Cyropolis, and the most northern Alexandria; in Balkh, and amidst the caves of Bamian.

The plains of India retain yet many ancient cities, from whose ruins somewhat may be gleaned to add a mite to knowledge; and where inscriptions may be found in a character which, though yet unintelligible will not always remain so in this age of discovery. For such, let the search be general, and when once a key is obtained, they will enlighten each other. Wherever the races of Curu, Ooru and Yadu have swayed, have been found ancient and yet undecyphered characters.

Much would reward him who would make a better digest of the historical and geographical matter in the *Puranas*. But we must discard the idea that the history of Rama, the *Mahabharat* of Crishna and five Pandava * brothers, are mere allegory: an idea supported by some, although their races, their cities, and their coins still exist. Let us master the characters on the columns of Indraprastha, of Prayag and Mewar, on the rocks of Joonagurh † at Bijollie, on the Arravali, and in the Jain temples scattered over India, and then we shall be able to arrive at just and satisfactory conclusions.

* The history and exploits of the Pandus and Hariculas are best known in the most remote parts of India: amidst the forest-covered mountains of Saurashtra, the deep woods and caves of Herimba and Virat (still the shelter of the savage Bhil and Koli), or on the craggy banks of the Charmanvati (Chumbul). In each, tradition has localized the shelter of these heroes when exiled from the Yamuna; and colossal figures cut from the mountain, ancient temples and caves inscribed with characters yet unknown attributed to the Pandus, confirm the legendary tale.

† The 'ancient city,' *Per eminence*, is the only name this old capital, at the foot of, and guarding, the sacred mount Girner, is known by. Abul Fuzl says it had long remained desolate and unknown, and was discovered by mere accident. Tradition even being silent, they gave it the emphatic appellation of Juna (old) Gurh (fortress). I have little doubt that it is the Asildurga, or Asilgurh, of the Grahilote annals; where it is said that prince Asial raised a fortress, called after him, near to Girnar, by the consent of the Dabi prince, his uncle.

CHAPTER V.

The Dynasties which succeeded Rama and Crishna.—The Pandu Family.—Periods of the different Dynasties.

HAVING investigated the line from Icshwacu to Rama, and that from Boodha (the parent and first emigrant of the Indu * race, from Saca Dwipa or Scythia to Hindusthan) to Crishna and Yudhisthira, a period of twelve hundred years, we proceed to the second division and second table of genealogies.

From Rama, all the tribes termed *Suryavansa, or 'Race of* the Sun,' claim descent, as the present princes of Mewar, Jeypur, Marwar, Bikaneer and their numerous clans; while from the Lunar (Indu) line of Boodha and Crishna, the families of Jessulmeer and Cutch (the Bhatti † *and Jareja races*), extending throughout the Indian desert from Sutledge to the ocean, deduce their pedigrees.

Rama preceded Crishna: but as their historians, Valmika and Vyasa, who wrote the events they witnessed, were contemporaries, it could not have been by many years.

The present table contains the dynasties which succeeded these great beacons of the Solar and Lunar races, and are three in number.‡

1st. The Suryavansa, descendants of Rama.

2nd. The Induvansa, descendants of Pandu through Yudhisthira.

3rd. The Induvansa, descendants of Jarasandha, monarch of Rajgraha.

The *Bhagvat* and *Agni Purans* are the authorities for the lines from Rama and Jarasandha; while that of Pandu is from the *Raj-Tarangini* and *Rajavali.*

The existing Rajpoot tribes of the Solar race claim descent from Lava and Cush, the two elder sons of Rama; nor do I believe, any existing tribes trace their ancestry to his other children, or to his brothers.

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* Indu, Som, Chandra, in Sanskrit 'the moon': hence the Lunar race is termed the Chandra-vansa, Som-vansa, or Indu-vansa: most probably the root of *Hindu.*

† The isolated and now dependent chieftainship of Dhat, of which Omrakote is the capital, separates the Bhattis from the Jarejas. Dhat is now amalgamated with Scind. Its princes, of Pramara race and Soda tribe, ancient lords of all Scind.

‡ A fourth and fifth might have been given, but imperfect. First, the descendants of Cush, second son of Rama, from whence the princes of Nirwar and Ambar; secondly, the descendants of Crishna, from whom the princes of Jessulmeer.

From the eldest son, Lava, the Ranas of Mewar claim descent; so do the Birgoogir tribe, formerly powerful within the confines of the present Ambar, whose representative now dwells at Anupshahar on the Ganges.

From Cush, descend the Cushwaha * princes of Nirwar and Ambar, and their numerous clans. Ambar, though the first in power, is but a scion of Nirwar, transplanted about one thousand years back, whose chief, the representative of the celebrated Prince Nala, enjoys but a sorry district † of all his ancient possessions.

The house of Marwar also claims descent from this stem, which appears to originate in an error of the genealogists, confounding the race of Cush with the Causika of Canouj and Causambi. Nor do the Solar genealogists admit this assumed pedigree.

The Ambar Prince in his genealogies traces the descent of the Mewar ‡ family from Rama to Sumitra, through Lava, the eldest brother and not through Cush, § as in some copies of the *Puranas*, and in that whence Sir William Jones had his lists.

Mr. Bentley, taking his genealogy from the same authority as Sir William Jones, has mutilated it by a transposition, for which his reasons are insufficient and militate against every opinion of the Hindus. Finding the names Vrihadbala and Vridasura, declared to be princes contemporay with Yudhisthira he transposes the whole ten princes of his list, intervening between Takshac || and Bahuman. ¶

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* In modern times always written and pronounced *Cutchwaha.*

† It is in the plateau of central India, near Shahabad.

‡ Whatever dignity attaches to this pedigree, whether true or false, every prince and every Hindu of learning, admit the claims of the prince of Mewar as heir to 'the chair of Rama'; and a degree of reverence has consequently attached, not only to his person, but to the seat of his power. When Madhajee Sindhia was called by the Rana to reduce a traitorous noble in Cheetore, such was the reverence which actuated that (in other respects) little scrupulous chieftain, that he could not be prevailed on to point his cannon on the walls within which consent established 'the throne of Rama.' The Rana himself, then a youth, had to break the ice, and fired a cannon against his own ancient abode.

§ Bryant, in his *Analysis* mentions that the children of the Cushite Ham used his name in salutation as a mark of recognition. 'Ram Ram' is the common salutation in these Hindu countries; the respondent often joining Sita's name with that of her consort Rama '*Sita Ram.*'

|| Twenty-eighth prince from Rama in Mr. Bentley's list, and twenty-fifth in mine.

¶ Thirty-seventh in Mr. Bentley's list, and thirty-fourth in mine; but the intervening names being made to follow Rama; Bahuman (written by him *Banumat*) follows Takshac.

'Bahuman,* or 'the man with arms,' (Derazdusht or Longimanus,) is the thirty-fourth prince from Rama; and his reign must be placed nearly intermediate between Rama and Sumitra, or his contemporary Vicrama, and in the sixth century from either.

Sumitra concludes the line of Surya or Rama from the *Bhagvat Purana*. Thence it is connected with the present line of Mewar, by Jey Sing's authorities; which list has been compared with various others, chiefly Jain, as will be related in the annals of Mewar.

It will be seen that the line of Surya exhibits fifty-six princes, from Lava, the son of Rama, to Sumitra, the last prince given in the *Puranas*. Sir William Jones exhibits fifty-seven.

To these fifty-six reigns I should be willing to allow the average of twenty years, which would give 1,120 from Rama to Sumitra, who preceded by a short period Vicramaditya; and as 1,100 have been already calculated to have preceded the era of Rama and Yudhisthira, the inference is, that 2,200 years elapsed from Ikshwacu, the founder of the Solar line, to Sumitra.

From the *Raj-Tarangini* and *Rajavali*, the Induvansa family (descendants of Pandu through Yudhisthira) is supplied. These works, celebrated in Rajwarra as collections of genealogies and historical facts, by the Pandits Vidyadhara and Raghunath, were compiled under the eye of the most learned prince of his period, Sowac Jey Sing of Ambar, and give the various dynasties which ruled at Indraprastha, or Delhi, from Yudhisthira to Vicramaditya; and although barren of events, may be considered of value in filling up a period of entire darkness.

The *Tarangini* commences with Adinath † or Rishubhadeva, ‡ being the Jain § theogony. Rapidly noticing the leading princes of the dynasties discussed, they pass to the birth of the kings Dhritarashtra and Pandu and their offspring, detailing

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* The period of time, also, would allow of their grafting the son of Artaxerxes and father of Darius, the worshipper of Mithras, on the stem of the adorers of Surya; while a curious notice of the Raja Jey Sing's on a subsequent name on this list, which he calls Noshirwan, strengthens the coincidence. Bahuman (see article 'Bahuman,' D'Herbelot's *Bibl. Orient*) actually carried his arms into India, and invaded the kingdoms of the Solar race of Mithila and Magadha. The time is appropriate to the first Darius and his father; and Herodotus tells us, that the richest and best of the satrapies of his empire was the Hindu.

† First lord.

‡ Lord of the Bull.

§ Vidyadhar was a Jain.

the causes of their civil strife, and that conflict termed the Mahabharat, or Great War.

The origin of every family, whether of east or west, is involved in fable. That of the Pandu * is entitled to as much credence as the birth of Romulus, or other founders of a race.

Such traditions † were probably invented to cover some great disgrace in the Pandu family, and have relation to the story already related of Vyasa, and the debasement of this branch of the Hari-culas. Accordingly, on the death of Pandu, Duryodhana, nephew of Pandu, (son of Dhritarashtra, who from blindness could not inherit,) asserted their illegitimacy before the assembled kin at Hastinapur.

With the aid, however, of the priesthood, and the blind Dhritarashtra, his nephew, Yudhisthira, elder son of Pandu, was invested by him with the seat of royalty, in the capital, Hastinapur.

Duryodhana's plots against the Pandu and his partizans were so numerous, that the five brothers determined to leave for a while their ancestral abodes on the Ganges. They sought shelter in foreign countries about the Indus, and were first protected by Drupada, king of Panchalica, at whose capital, Kampilnagara, the surrounding princes had arrived as suitors for the hands of his daughter, Droupadi. ‡ But the prize was destined for the exiled Pundu, and the skill of Arjuna in archery obtained him the fair, who "threw round his neck the (baramala) garland of marriage." The disappointed princes indulged their resentment against the exile; but by Arjuna's bow they suffered the fate of Penelope's suitors; and the Pandu brought home his bride, who became the wife in common of the five brothers: manners § decisively Scythic.

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* Pandu not being blessed with progeny, his queen made use of a charm by which she enticed the deities from their spheres. To Dharma Raj (Minos) she bore Yudhisthira; by Pavan (Eolus) she had Bhima; by Indra (Jupiter Cœlus) she had Arjuna, who was taught by his sire the use of the bow, so fatal in the Great War; and Nakula and Sahadeva owed their birth to Aswini Kumar (Esculapius), the physician of the gods.

† We must not disregard the intellect of the Ambar prince, who allowed these ancient traditions to be incorporated with the genealogy compiled under his eye. The prince, who obtained De Silva from Emanuel III of Portugal, who combined the astronomical tables of Europe and Asia, and raised those monuments of his scientific genius in his favourite pursuit (astronomy) in all the capital cities of India, while engrossed in war and politics, requires neither eulogy nor defence.

‡ Drupada was of the Aswa race, being descended from Bajaswa (or Hyaswa) of the line of Ajamida.

§ This marriage, so inconsistent with Hindu delicacy, is glossed over. Admitting the polyandrism, but in ignorance of its being a national custom,

The deeds of the brothers abroad were bruited in Hastinapur, and the blind Dhritarashtra's influence effected their recall. To stop, however, their intestine feuds, he partitioned the Pandu sovereignty; and while his son, Duryodhana, retained Hastinapur, Yudhisthira founded the new capital of Indraprashtha; but shortly after the Mahabharat he abdicated in favour of his grand nephew, Parikshit, introducing a new era, called after himself, which existed for eleven hundred years, when it was overturned, and Indraprastha was conquered by Vicramaditya, Tuar of Oojein, of the same race, who established an era of his own.

On the division of the Pandu sovereignty, the new kingdom of Indraprastha eclipsed that of Hastinapur. The brothers reduced to obedience the surrounding * nations, and compelled their princes to sign tributary engagements (*Paenamah*). †

Yudhishthira, firmly seated on his throne, determined to signalize his reign and paramount sovereignty, by the imposing and solemn rites of '*Aswamedha*' ‡ and '*Rajsuya*.'

In these magnificent ceremonies, in which princes alone officiate, every duty, down to that of a porter, is performed by royalty.

The 'Steed of Sacrifice' was liberated under Arjuna's care, having wandered whither he listed for twelve months; and none daring to accept this challenge of supremacy, he was reconducted to Indraprastha, where, in the mean while, the hall of sacrifice was prepared, and all the princes of the land were summoned to attend.

The hearts of Curus § burned with envy at the assumption of supremacy by the Pandus, for, the prince of Hastinapur's office was to serve out the sacred food.

The rivalry between the races burst forth afresh: but

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puerile reasons are interpolated. In the early annals of the same race, predecessors of the Jessulmeer family, the younger son is made to succeed: also Scythic or Tatar.

The manners of the Scythæ described by Herodotus are found still to exist amongst their descendants; "a pair of slippers at the wife's door" is a signal well understood by all Eimauk husbands.—*Elphinstone's Caubul*, vol. ii. p. 251.

* *Tarangini.*

† *Paenamah* is a word peculiarly expressive of subserviency to paramount authority, whether the engagement be in money or service; from *pae*, 'the foot.'

‡ 'Sacrifice of the horse to the sun, of which a full description is given hereafter.

§ Duryodhana, as the elder branch, retained his title as head of the Curus; while the junior, Yudhisthira, on the separation of authority, adopted his father's name, Pandu, as the patronymic of his new dynasty. The site of the great conflict (or Mahabharat) between these rival clans, is called Curu-Kshetra or 'Field of the Curus.'

Duryodhana, who so often failed in his schemes against the safety of his antagonists, determined to make the virtue of Yudhisthira the instrument of his success. He availed himself of the national propensity for play, in which the Rajpoot continues to preserve his Scythic * resemblance. Yudhisthira fell into the snare prepared for him. He lost his kingdom, his wife, and even his personal liberty and that of his brothers for twelve years, and became an exile from the plains of the Yamuna.

The traditional history of these wanderers during the term of probation, their many lurking places now sacred, the return to their ancestral abodes, and the grand battle (Mahabharat) which ensued, form highly interesting episodes in the legends of Hindu antiquity.

To decide this civil strife, every tribe and chief of fame, from the Caucasus to the ocean, assembled on Curu-Kshetra, the field on which the empire of India has since, more than once, been contested † and lost.

This combat was fatal to the dominant influence of the "fifty-six tribes of Yadu." On each of its eighteen day's combat, myriads were slain; for, "the father knew not the son, nor the disciple his preceptor."

Victory brought no happiness to Yudhisthira. The slaughter of his friends disgusted him with the world, and he determined to withdraw from it, previously performing, at Hastinapur, funeral rites for Duryodhana (slain by the hand of Bhima), whose ambition and bad faith had originated this exterminating war.

"Having regained his kingdom, he proclaimed a new era, and placing on the throne of Indraprastha, Parikshit, grandson to Arjuna, retired to Dwarica with Crishna and Baladeva: and since the war to the period of writing 4636 years have elapsed." ‡

Yudhisthira, Baladeva, and Crishna, having retired with the wreck of this ill-fated struggle to Dwarica, the two former had soon to lament the death of Crishna, slain by one of the aboriginal tribes of Bhils; against whom, from their shattered condition, they were unable to contend. After this event, Yudhisthira, with Baladeva and a few followers, entirely withdrew from India, and emigrating northwards, by Scind, to the

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* Herodotus describes the ruinous passion for play amongst the Scythic hordes, and which may have been carried west by Odin into Scandinavia and Germany. Tacitus tells us that the Germans like the Pandus, staked even personal liberty, and were sold as slaves by the winner.

† On it the last Hindu monarch, Prithwiraja, lost his kingdom, his liberty, and life.

‡ *Raj-Tarangini.* The period of writing was A. D. 1740.

Himalayan mountains, are there abandoned by Hindu traditional history, and are supposed to have perished in the snows.*

From Parikshit, who succeeded Yudhisthira, to Vicramaditya, four † dynasties are given in a continuous chain, exhibiting sixty-six princes to Rajpal, who, invading Kumaon, was slain by Sukwanta. The Kumaon conqueror seized upon Delhi, but was soon dispossessed by Vicramaditya, who transferred the seat of imperial power from Indraprastha to Avanti, or

* Having ventured to surmise analogies between the Hercules of the east and west, I shall carry them a point farther. Amidst the snows of Caucasus, Hindu legend abandons the Hari-culas, under their leaders Yudhisthira and Baladeva; yet, if Alexander established his altars in Panchalica, amongst the sons of Pooru and the Hari-culas, what physical impossibility exists that a colony of them, under Yudhisthira and Baladeva, eight centuries anterior, should have penetrated into Greece? Comparatively far advanced in science and arms, the conquest would have been easy. When Alexander attacked the "free cities" of Panchalica, the Poorus and Hari-culas who opposed him, evinced the recollections of their ancestors, in carrying the figure of Hercules as their standard. Comparison proves a common origin to Hindu and Grecian Mythology; and Plato says the Greeks had theirs from Egypt and the East. May not this colony of the Hari-culas be the Heraclidæ, who penetrated into the Peloponnesus (according to Volney), 1078 years before Christ, sufficiently near our calculated period of the Great War?

The Heraclidæ claimed from Atreus: The Hari-culas claim from Atri.

Euristhenes was the first king of the Heraclidæ: Yudhisthira has sufficient affinity in name to the first Spartan king, not to startle the etymologists, the *d* and *r*, being always permutable in Sanskrit.

The Greeks or Ionians descended from Yavan, or Javan, the seventh from Japhet. The Hari-culas are also Yavans claiming from Javan or Yavan, the thirteenth in descent from Yayati, the third son of the primeval patriarch.

The ancient Heraclidæ of Greece asserted, they were as old as the sun and older than the moon. May not this boast conceal the fact, that the Heraclidæ (or *Suryavansa*) of Greece had settled there anterior to the colony of the Indu (Lunar) race of Hari-cula?

In all that relate to the mythological history of the Indian demigods, Baladeva (Hercules), Crishna or Kanya (Apollo), and Boodha (Mercury), a powerful and almost perfect resemblance can be traced between those of Hindu legend, Greece and Egypt. Baladeva (the god of strength), Hari-cula, is still worshipped as in the days of Alexander; his shrine at Buldeo in Vrij (the Suraseni of the Greeks), his club a ploughshare, and a lion's skin his covering.

An Hindu intaglio of rare value, represents Hercules exactly as described by Arrian, with a monogram consisting of two ancient characters now unknown, but which I have found wherever tradition assigns a spot to the Hari-culas; especially in Saurashtra, where they were long concealed on their exile from Delhi.

This we may at once decide to be the exact figure of Hercules, which Arrain describes his descendants to have carried as their standard, when Porus opposed Alexander. The intaglio will appear in the *Trans. R. A. S.*

† The twenty-eighth prince, Khemraj, was the last in lineal descent from Parikshit, the grand nephew of Yudhisthira. The first dynasty lasted 1864 years. The second dynasty was of Viserwa, and consisted of fourteen

Oojein, from which time it became the first meridian of the Hindu astronomy.

Indraprastha ceased to be a regal abode for eight centuries, when it was re-established by Anangpal, * the founder of the Tuar race, claiming descent from the Pandus. Then the name of Delhi superseded that of Indraprastha.

"Sukwanta, a prince from the northern mountains of Kumaon, ruled fourteen years, when he was slain by Vicramaditya; † and from the Bharat to this period 2,915 years have elapsed." ‡

Such a period, asserted to have elapsed while sixty-six princes occupied the throne, gives an average of forty-four years to each; which is incredible, if not absolutely impossible.

In another passage the compiler says: "I have read many books (Shastras), and all agreed to make one hundred princes, all of Khetri § race, occupy the throne of Delhi from Yudhisthira to Pirthwiraja, a period of 4,100 years, ‖ after which the Rewad ¶ race succeeded."

It is fortunate for these remnants of historical date, that they have only extended the duration of reigns, and not added more heads. Sixty-six links are quite sufficient to connect Yudhisthira and Vicramaditya.

We cannot object to the "one hundred princes" who fill the space assigned from Yudhisthira to Prithwiraja, though there is no proportion between the number which precedes and that which follows Vicramaditya, the fromer being sixty-six, the latter only thirty-four princes, although the period cannot differ half a century.

Let us apply a test to these one hundred kings, from Yudhisthira to Prithwiraja: the result will be 2,250 years.

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princes; this lasted five hundred years. The third dynasty was headed by Mahraj, and terminated by Untinai, the fifteenth prince. The fourth dynasty was headed by Dhoodsen, and terminated by Rajpal, the ninth and last king.—(*Raj-Tarangini.*)

* The *Raj-Tarangini* gives the date A. V. 848, or A. D. 792, for this; and adds: "Princes from Sewaluk, or northern hills, held it during this time, and it long continued desolate until the Tuars."

† Fifty-six years, A. C.

‡ Raghunath.

§ Rajpoot, or Chhatrya.

‖ This period of 4,100 years may have been arrived at by the compiler, taking for granted the number of years mentioned by Raghunath as having elapsed from the Mahabharat to Vicramaditya, namely, 2,915, and adding thereto the well authenticated period of Prithwiraja, who was born in Samvat 1,215; for, if 2,915 be subtracted from 4,100, it leaves 1,185, the period within thirty years of the birth of Prithwiraja, according to the Chohan chronicles.

¶ Solar.

This test is derived from the average rate of reigns of the chief dynasties of Rajasthan, during a period of 633* to 663† years, or from Prithwiraja to the present date :

Of Mewar,.....34‡ princes, or 16 years to each reign.
Of Marwar,.....28 princes,.....23¼ ditto.
Of Ambar,.....29 princes,.....22½ ditto.
Of Jessulmeer,.....28 princes,.....23¼ ditto.

giving an average of twenty-two years for each reign.

It would not be proper to ascribe a longer period to each reign, and it were perhaps better to give the minimum, nineteen, to extended dynasties; and to the sixty-six princes from Yudhisthira and Vicramaditya not even so much : four revolutions § and usurpations marking this period.

The remaining line, that of Jarasandha, taken from the *Bhagvat*, is of considerable importance, and will afford scope for further speculation.

Jarasandha was the monarch of Rajgraha, || or Behar, whose son Sydeva, and grandson Marjairi, are declared to have been contemporaries of the Mahabharat, and consequently coeval with Parikshit, the Delhi sovereign.

The direct line of Jarasandha terminates in twenty-three descents with Ripoonjya, who was slain, and his throne assumed by his minister, Sanaka, whose dynasty terminated in the fifth generation with Nandivardhan. Sanaka derived no personal advantage from his usurpation, as he immediately placed his son, Pradhyota, on the throne. To these five princes one hundred and thirty-eight years are assigned.

A new race entered Hindusthan, led by a conqueror termed Sesnag, from Sesnagdesa, ¶ who ascended the Pandu throne, and whose line terminates in ten descents with Mohanand, of spurious brith. This last prince, who was also named Bykyat, carried on an exterminating warfare against the ancient

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* From S. 1250, or A. D. 1194, captivity and dethronement of Prithwiraja.

† From S. 1212, A. D. 1156, the founding of Jessulmeer by Jessul, to the accession of Guj Sing, the present prince, in S. 1876, or A. D. 1820.

‡ Many of its early princes were killed in battle; and the present prince's father succeeded his own nephew, which was retrograding.

§ The historians sanction the propriety of these changes, in their remarks that the deposed were "deficient in [capacity for] the cares and duties of government."

|| Rajgraha, or Rajmahal, capital of Magadha-desa, or Behar.

¶ Figuratively, the country of the 'head of the snakes': *Nag*, *Tak*, or *Takshac*, being synonimous; and which I conclude to be the abode of the ancient Scythic *Tachari* of Strabo, the *Tak-i-uks* of the Chinese, the *Tajuks* of the present day of Turkistan. This race appears to be the same with that of Toorshka (of the *Puranas*), who ruled on the Arverma (the Araxes), in Saca-Dwipa or Scythia.

Rajpoot princes of pure blood; the *Puranas* declaring that since the dynasty of Sesnag, the princes were Sudras. Three hundred and sixty years are allotted to these ten princes.

A fourth dynasty commenced with Chadragupta Mori, of the same Takshac race. The Mori dynasty consisted of ten princes, who are stated to have passed away in one hundred and thirty-seven years.

The fifth dynasty of eight princes were from Sringidesa, and are said to have ruled one hundred and twelve years, when a prince of Canva-desa deprived the last of life and kingdom. Of these eight princes four were of pure blood, when Kistna, by a Sudra woman, succeeded. The dynasty of Canva-desa terminates in twenty-three generations with Salombdhi.

Thus from the Great War six successive dynasties are given, presenting a continuous chain of eighty-two princes, reckoning from Shahadeva, the successor of Jarasandha, to Salombdhi.

To some of the short dynasties, periods are assigned of moderate length: but as the first and last are without such data, the test already decided on must be applied; which will yield 1,704 years, being six hundred and four after Vicramaditya, whose contemporary will thus be Basdeva, the fifty-fifth prince from Shahadeva of the sixth dynasty, said to be a conqueror from the country of Kutter. If these calculations possess any value, the genealogies of the *Bhagvat* are brought down to the close of the fifth * century following Vicramaditya. As we cannot admit the gift of prophesy to the compilers of these books, we may infer that they remodelled their ancient chronicles during the reign of Salombdhi, about the year of Vicrama 600, or A. D. 546.

With regard to calculations already adduced, as to the average number of years for the reigns of the foregoing dynasties, a comparison with those, which history affords, of other parts of the world, will supply the best criterion of the correctness of the assumed data.

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* Mr. Bentley (1) states, that the astronomer Brahmagupta flourished about A. D. 527 or of Vicrama 583, shortly preceding the reign of Salombohi: that he was the founder of the system called the Calpa of Brahma, on which the present Hindu Chronology is founded, and to which Mr. Bentley says, their historical data were transferred. This would strengthen my calculations; but the weight of Mr. Bentley's authority has been much weakened by his unwarrantable attack on Mr. Colebrooke, whose extent of knowledge is of double value from his entire aversion to hyporthesis.

(1) On the Hindu System of Astronomy; As. Res. Vol viii.

From the revolt of the ten tribes against Rehoboam * to the capture of Jerusalem, a period of three hundred and eighty-seven years, twenty kings sat on the throne of Judah, making each reign nineteen and a half years; but if we include the three anterior reigns of Saul, David, and Solomon, prior to the revolt, the result will be twenty-six and a half years each.

From the dismemberment of the Assyrian † empire under Sardanapalus, nearly nine hundred years before Christ, the three consequent confluent dynasties of Babylonia, Assyria, and Media, afford very different results for comparison.

The Assyrian preserves the medium, while the Babylonish and Median run into extremes. Of the nine princes who swayed Babylon, from the period of its separation from, till its reunion to, Assyria, a space of fifty-two years, Darius who ruled Media sixty years, outlived the whole. Of the line of Darius there were but six princes, from the separation of the kingdom, to their reunion under Cyrus, a period of one hundred and seventy-four years, or twenty-nine to each reign.

The Assyrian reigns form a juster medium. From Nebuchadnezzar to Sardanapalus we have twenty-two years to a reign; but from thence to the extinction of this dynasty, eighteen.

The first eleven kings, the Heraclidæ of Lacedæmon, commencing with Euristhenes (1078 before Christ), average thirty-two years; while in republican Athens, nearly contemporary, from the first perpetual archon until the office became decennial in the seventh Olympiad, the reigns of the twelve chief magistrates average twenty-eight years and a half.

Thus we have three periods, Jewish, Spartan, and Athenian, each commencing about eleven hundred years before Christ, not half a century remote from the Mahabharat; with those of Babylonia, Assyria, and Media, commencing where we quit the Grecian, in the eighth century before the Christian era, the Jewish ending in the sixth century.

However short, compared with our Solar and Lunar dynasties, yet these, combined with the average reigns of existing Hindu dynasties, will aid the judgment in estimating the periods to be assigned to the lines thus afforded, instead of following the improbable value attached by the Brahmins.

From such data, longevity appears in unison with climate and simplicity of life; the Spartan yielding the maximum of thirty-two to a reign, while the more luxurious Athens gives twenty-eight and a half. The Jews, from Saul to their exile

* 987 years before Christ.

† For these and the following dates I am indebted to Goguet's Chronological tables, in his *Origin of Laws*.

'to the waters of Babylon,' twenty-six and a half. The Medes equal the Lacedæmonians, and in all history can only be paralleled by the princes of Anhulwarra, one of whom, Chaond, almost equalled Darius.

Of the separated ten tribes, from the revolt to the captivity, twenty kings of Israel passed away in two centuries, or ten years each.

The Spartan and Assyrian present the extremes of thirty-two and eighteen, giving a medium of twenty-five years to a reign.

The average result of our four Hindu dynasties, in a period of nearly seven hundred years, is twenty-two years.

From all these data, I would presume to assign from twenty to twenty-two years to each reign in lines of fifty princes.

If the value thus obtained be satisfactory, and the lines of dynasties derived from so many authorities correct, we shall arrive at the same conclusion with Mr. Bentley; who, by the more philosophical process of astronomical and genealogical combination, places Yudhisthira's era in the year 2825 of the world; which being taken from 4004 (the world's age at the birth of Christ) will leave 1179 before Christ for Yudhisthira's era, or 1123 before Vicramaditya.

CHAPTER VI.

Genealogical History of the Rajpoot Tribes subsequent to Vicramaditya.—Foreign Races which entered India.—Analogies between the Scythians, the Rajpoots, and Tribes of Scandinavia.

Having thus brought down the genealogical history of the ancient martial races of India, from the earliest period to Yudhisthira and Crishna, and thence to Vicramaditya and the present day, a few observations on the races invading India during that time, and now ranked amongst the thirty-six royal races of Rajasthan, affording scope for some curious analogies, may not be inopportune.

The tribes here alluded to, are the Haya or Aswa, the Takshac, and the Jit or Gete; the similitude of whose theogony, names in their early genealogies, and many other points, with the Chinese, Tatar, Mogul, Hindu, and Scythic races, would appear to warrant the assertion of one common origin.

Though the periods of the passage of these tribes into India cannot be stated with exactitude, the regions whence they migrated may more easily be ascertained.

Let us compare the origin of the Tatars and Moguls, as given by their historian Abulgazi, with the races we have been treating of from the *Puranas*.

Mogul was the name of the Tatarian patriarch. His son was Ogz,* the founder of all the races of those northern regions, called Tatar and Mogul.

Ogz, or Oguz, had six sons.† First, Kiun,‡ 'the sun,' the Surya of the Puranas; secondly, Ay, § 'the moon,' the Indu of the Puranas.

In the latter, Ayu, we have even the same name as in the Puranas for the lunar ancestor.

The Tatars all claim from Ayu, 'the moon,' the Indu of the Puranas. Hence with them, as with the German tribes, the moon was always a male deity.

The Tatar Ay had a son, Juldus. His son was Hyu, from whom || came the first race of the kings of China.

The Puranic Ayu had a son, Yadu (pronounced Jadoo); from whose third son, Hyu, the Hindu genealogists deduce no line, and from whom the Chinese may claim their Indu || origin.

El Khan (ninth from Ay) had two sons: first, Kaian; and secondly, Nagas; whose descendants people all Tatary.

From Kaian, Jungeez Khan claimed descent.

Nagas was probably the founder of the Takshac, or *Snake* race ¶ of the Puranas, and Tatar genealogists, the Tak-i-uk Moguls of De Guignes.

Such are the comparative genealogical origin of the three races. Let us compare their theogony, the fabulous brith assigned by each for the founder of the Indu race.

1st. The Puranic. "Ella (*the earth*), daughter of the sun-born Ieshwacu while wandering in the forest, was encountered by Boodha (*Mercury*), and from the rape of Ella sprung the Indu race."

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* Query: if from Mogul and Ogz, compounded, we have not the Magog, son of Japhet, of Scripture?

† The other four sons are the remaining elements, personified: whence the six races of Tatars. The Hindus had long, but two races, till the four Agni-culas made them also six, and now thirty-six!

‡ In Tatar, according to Abulgazi, the sun and moon.

§ De Guignes.

|| Sir W. Jones says, the Chinese assert their Hindu origin; but a comparison proves both these Indu races to be of Scythic origin.

¶ Naga and Takshac are Sanskrit names for a snake or serpent, the emblem of Boodha or Mercury. The Naga race, so well known to India, the Takshacs or Takiuks of Scythia, invaded India about six centuries before Christ.

2nd. The Chinese account of the birth of Yu (Ayu), their first monarch. "A star* (Mercury or Fo), struck his mother while journeying. She conceived, and gave to the world Yu, the founder of the first dynasty which reigned in China. Yu divided China into nine provinces, and began to reign 2207 † years before Christ."

Thus the Ay of the Tatars, the Yu of the Chinese, and the Ayu of the Puranas, evidently indicate the great Indu (Lunar) progenitor of the three races.

Boodha (Mercury), the son of Indu (the moon), became the patriarchal and spiritual leader; as Fo, in China; Woden and Teutates, ‡ of the tribes migrating to Europe.

Hence it follows, that the religion of Boodha must be coeval with the existence of these nations; that it was brought into India proper by them, and guided them until the schism of Crishna and the Suryas, worshippers of Bal, in time depressed them, when the Boodha religion was modified into its present mild form, the Jain.

Let us contrast with these the origin of the Scythic nations, as related by Diodorus; § when it will be observed, the same legends were known to him which have been handed down by the Puranas and Abulgazi.

"The Scythians had their first abodes on the Araxes.‖ Their origin was from a virgin born of the earth (Ella) ¶ of the shape of a woman from the waist upwards, and below a serpent (symbol of Boodha or Mercury); that Jupiter had a son by her, named Scythes, ** whose name the nation adopted. Scythes had two sons, Palas and Napas (*Qu.* the Nagas, or Snake race, of the Tatar genealogy?), who were celebrated for their great actions, and who divided the countries; and the nations were called after them, the Palians (*Qu.* Pali?) †† and Napians. They led their forces as far as the Nile in Egypt,

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* De Guignes, 'sur les Dynasties des Huns.' Vol. i. p. 7.

† Nearly the calculated period from the Puranas.

‡ *Tath*, 'Father' in Sanskrit. *Qu.* Teuths, and Toth, the Mercury of Egypt?

§ Diodorus Siculus, book ii.

‖ The Arverma of the Puranas thus describes Saca-Dwipa or Scythia. Diodorus (lib. ii.) makes the Hemodus the boundary between Saca-Scythia, and India proper.

¶ Ella, the mother of the Lunar race, is the earth personified. *Eartha* of the Saxons; *era* of the Greeks; *ard* in Hebrew.

** Scythes, from *Sacatai*, 'Saca-dwipa,' and *es* 'lord': Lord of Sacatai, or Scythia.

†† *Qu.* Whether the Scythic Pali may not be the shepherd invaders of Egypt? The Pali character yet exists, and appears the same as ancient fragments of the Boodha inscriptions, in my possession: many letters assimilate with the Coptic.

and subdued many nations. They enlarged the empire of the Scythians as far as the Eastern Ocean, and to the Caspian and lake Mœotis. The nation had many kings, from whom the Sacans (Sacæ), the Massagetæ (Getes or Jits), the Ariassians (*Aswas of* Aria), and many other races. They overran Assyria and Media, *, overturning the empire, and transplanting the inhabitants to the Araxes under the name of Sauro-Matians."†

As the Sacæ, Gete, Aswa, and Takshac are names which have crept in amongst our thirty-six royal races, common with others also to early civilization in Europe, let us seek further ancient authority on the original abodes.

Strabo ‡ says: "All the tribes east of the Caspain are called "Scythic. The Dahæ § next the sea, Massagetæ (*Great Gete*) and Sacæ more east-ward; but every tribe has a particular name. All are nomadic: but of these nomades the best known are the *Asi*, ‖ the *Pasiani*, *Tachari*, *Sacaranli*, who took Bactria from the Greeks. The Sacæ ¶ ('races') have made in Asia irruptions similar to those of the Cimmerians; thus they have been seen to possess themselves of Bactria, and the best district of Armenia, called after them Sacasenæ." **

Which of the tribes of Rajasthan are the offspring of the Aswa and Medes, of Indu race, returned under new appellations, we shall not now stop to inquire, limiting our hypothesis to the fact of invasions, and adducing some evidence of such being simultaneous with migrations of the same bands into Europe. Hence the inference of a common origin between the Rajpoot and early races of Europe; to support which, a similar mythology,

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* The three great branches of the Indu (Lunar) Aswa bore the epithet of *Mida* (pronounced *Mede*) viz. Poora-mede, Aja-mede and Deo-mede. *Qu.* The Aswa invaders of Assyria and Media, the sons of Bajaswa, expressly stated to have multiplied in the countries west of the Indus, emigrating from their paternal seats in Panchalica?

† Sun-worshippers, the Suryavansa.

‡ Strabo, lib. xi. p. 254.

§ Dahya (one of the thirty-six tribes,) now extinct.

‖ The Asi and Tachari, the Aswa and Takshac or Toorshka races, of the Puranas, of Saca-Dwipa.

"C'est vraisemblablement d'apres le nom de Tachari, que M. D'Anville "aura cru devoir placer les tribus ainsi dénommées dans le territoire "quis' appelle aujourdhui Tokaristhan, situè, dit, ce grand geographe, "entre les montagnes et le Gihon ou Amou."—Note 3, lib. xi. p. 254, Strabon.

¶ Once more I may state, *Sacæ*, in Sanskrit has the aspirate, *Sac' hæ*: literally, the 'branches' or 'races.'

** "La Sacasene etoit une contree de l' Armenie sur les confins de l' Albanie on du Shirvan."—Note 4, tome i. p. 191, Starbon.—"The Sacasenæ were the ancestors of the Saxons."—Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons.

martial manners and poetry, language, and even music and architectural ornaments, may be adduced.*

Of the first migrations of the Indu-Scythic Getes, Takshac, and Asi, into India, that of Sesnag (Takshac), from Sesnagdesa (Tocharisthan?) or Sesnag, six centuries, by calculation, before Christ, is the first noticed by the Puranas. About this period a grand irruption of the same races conquered Asia Minor, and eventually Scandinavia; and not long after the Asi and Tachari overturned the Greek kingdom of Bactria, the Romans felt the power of the Asi,† the Catti, and Cimbri, from the Baltic shore.

"If we can shew the Germans to have been originally Scythæ or Goths, (Getes or Jits,) a wide field of curiosity and inquiry is open as to the origin of Government, manners, &c.; all the antiquities of Europe will assume a new appearance, and, instead of being traced to the bands of Germany, as Montesquien and the greatest writers have hitherto done, may be followed through long descriptions of the manners of the Scythians &c. as given by Herodotus. Scandinavia was occupied by the Scythæ five hundred years before Christ. These Scythians worshipped Mercury (Boodha), Woden or Odin, and believed themselves his progeny. The Gothic mythology, by parallel, might be shewn to be Grecian, whose Gods were the progeny of Cælus and Terra (Boodha and Ella).‡ Dryads, satyrs, fairies, and all the Greek and Roman superstition, may be found in the Sandinavian creed. The Goths consulted the heart of victims, had oracles, had sybils, had a Venus in Freya, and Parcæ in the Valkyrie." §

Ere we proceed to trace these mythological resemblances, let us adduce further opinions in proof of the position assumed, of a common origin of the tribes of early Europe and the Scythic Rajpoot.

The translator of Abulgazi, in his preface, observes: "Our contempt for the Tatars would lessen did we consider how

* Herodotus (Melpomene, p. 190) says: "The Cimmerians, expelled by the Massagetæ, migrated to the Crimea." Here were the Thyssagetæ, or western Getæ; and thence both the Gete and Cimbri found their way to the Baltic.

Rubruquis the Jesuit, describing the monuments of the *Comani* in the Deshte Kipchak, whence these tribes, say, "their monuments and circles of stones are like "Cour Celtic or Druidical remains." Bell's Collections.

The Comani are a branch of the Catti tribe of Saurashtra, whose pallias, or funeral monumental pillars, are seen in groups at every town and village. The Catti were one of the early German tribes.

† Asi was the term applied to the Getes, Yeuts or Juts, when they invaded Scandinavia and founded Yeutland or Jutland.—See '*Edda*,' Mallet's Introduction.

‡ Pinkerton on the Goths, vol. ii p. 94. § Mercury and earth.

nearly we stand related to them, and that our ancestors originally came from the north of Asia, and that our customs laws, and ways of living, were formerly the same as theirs. In short, that we are no other than a colony of Tatars."

"It was from Tatary those people came, who, under the successive names of Cymbrians,* Kelts, and Gauls, possessed all the northern part of Europe. What were the Goths, Huns, Albans, Swedes, Vandals, Franks, but swarms of the same hive? The Swedish chronicles bring the Swedes † from Cashgar, and the affinity between the Saxon language and Kipchak, is great; and the Keltic language still subsisting in Brittany and Wales is a demonstration that the inhabitants are descended from Tatar nations."

From between the parallels of 30° and 50° of north latitude, and 75° to 95° of east longitude, the highlands of Central Asia, alike removed from the fires of the equator and the cold of the arctic circle, migrated the races which passed into Europe and within the Indus. We must therefore voyage up the Indus, cross the Paropamisan, to the Jaxartes or Jihoon, to Sakitai ‡ or Saca-Dwipa, and from thence and the Deshte Kipchak conduct the Takshacs, the Getes, the Camari, the Catti, and the Huns, into the plains of Hindusthan.

We have much to learn in these unexplored regions, the abode of ancient civilization, and which, so late as Jungheez Khan's invasion, abounded with large cities. It is an error to suppose that the nations of Higher Asia were merely pastoral; and De Guignes, from original authorities, informs us that when

* Camari was one of the eight sons of Japhet, says Abulgazi: whence the Camari, Cimmerii, or Cimbri. Camari is one of the tribes of Saurashtra.

† The Suiones, Suevi, or Su. Now the Su, Yuchi, or Yuti, are Getes according to De Guignes. Marco Polo calls Cashgar, where he was in the sixth century, the brith place of the Swedes: and De la Croix adds, that in 1691 Sparvenfeldt, the Swedish ambassador at Paris, told him he had read in Swedish chronicles that Cashgar was their country. When the Huns were chased from the north of China, the greater part retired into the Southern countries adjoining Europe. The rest passed directly to the Oxus and Jaxartes; thence they spread to the Caspian and Persian frontiers. In Mawer-ool-nehr (Transoxiana) they mixed with Su, the Yuchi, or Getes, who were particularly powerful and extended into Europe. One would be tempted to regard them as the ancestors of those Getes who were known as the Suevi.

‡ Mr. Pinkerton's research had discovered Sakitai, though he does not give his authority (D' Anville) for the Saca-Dwipa of the Puranas! "Sakitai, a region at the fountains of the Oxus and Jaxartes, styled Sakita from the Sacæ." *D' Anville. Anc. Geog.*

The Yadus of Jessulmeer, who ruled Zabulisthan and founded Guzni, claim the Chagitais as of their own *Indu* stock; a claim which, without deep reflection, appeared inadmissible; but which I now deem worthy of credit.

the Su invaded the Yuchi or Jits, they found upwards of a hundred cities containing the merchandize of India, and with the currency bearing the effigies of the prince.

Such was the state of Central Asia long before the Christian era, though now depopulated and rendered desert by desolating wars which have raged in these countries, and to which Europe can exhibit no parallel. Timoor's wars, in modern times, against the Getic nation, will illustrate the paths of his ambitious predecessors in the career of destruction.

If we examine the political limits of the great Getic nation in the time of Cyrus, six centuries before Christ, we shall find them little circumscribed in power on the rise of Timoor, though twenty centuries had elapsed. At this period (A. D. 1330), under the last prince of Getic race, Togluc Timoor Khan, the kingdom of Chagitai * was bounded on the west by the Deshte Kipchak, and on the south by the Jaxartes or Jihoon, on which river the Getic Khan, like Tomyris had his capital. Kogend, Tashkant, Ootrar † Cyropolis, and the most northern of the Alexandrias, were within the bounds of Chagitai.

The Gete, Jote, or Jit, and Takshac races, which occupy places amongst the thirty-six royal races of India, are all from the region of Sakatai. Regarding their earliest migrations, we shall endeavour to make the Puranas contribute; but of their invasions in more modern times the histories of Mahmood of Ghizni, and Timoor, abundantly acquaint us.

From the mountains of Joud ‡ to the shores of Mekran, § and along the Ganges, the Jit is widely spread; while the Takshac name is now confined to inscriptions or old writings.

Inquiries in their original haunts, and among tribes now under different names, might doubtless bring to light their original designation, now best known within the Indus: while the Takshac or Takiuk may probably be discovered in the Tajik, still in his ancient haunts, the Transoxiana and Chorasmia of classic authors; the Mawer-ool-nehr of the Persians; the Turan, Turkisthan or Tocharisthan of native geography; the

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* Chagitai, or Sakatai, the Saca-dwipa of the Puranas (corrupted by the Greeks to Scythia), "whose inhabitants worship the sun, and whence is the river Arverma."

† Ootrar, probably the Ottoracuræ of ancient geography: the *uttara* (northern), *cura* (race): a branch of Indu stock.

‡ Jiddoo Ca Dang, the Joudes of Rennell's map: the Yadu hills, high up in the Punjab, where a colony of the Yadu race dwelt when expelled from Saurashtra.

§ The Noomri, or Loomri (foxes of Beloochisthan, are Jits. These are the Nomardies of Rennell.

abode of the Tachari, Takshac, or Toorshka invaders of India, described in the Puranas and existing inscriptions.

The Getes had long maintained their independence when Tomyris defended their liberty against Cyrus. Driven in successive wars across the Sutledge we shall elsewhere shew them preserving their ancient habits, as desultory cavaliers, under the Jit leader of Lahore, in pastoral communities in Bikaneer, the Indian desert, and elsewhere, though they have lost sight of their early history. The transition from pastoral to agricultural pursuits is but short, and the descendant of the nomadic Gete of Transoxiana is now the best husbandman on the plains of Hindusthan.

The invasion of these Indu-Scythic tribes, Getes, Takshacs, Asi, Catti, Rajpali,* Huns, Camari, introduced the worship of Boodha, the founder of the Indu or Lunar race.

Herodotus says, the Getes were theists, † and held the tenets of the soul's immortality; so with the Booddhists.

Before, however, touching on points of religious resemblance between the Asi, Gete, or Jute of Scandinavia (who gave his name to the Cambric Chersonese) and the Gete of Scythia and India, let us make a few remarks on the Asi or Aswa.

To the Indu race of Aswa (the descendants of Deomida and Bajaswa), spread over the countries on both sides of the Indus, do we probably owe the distinctive appellation of Asia.

Herodotus ‡ says, the Greeks denominated Asia from the wife of Prometheus; while others deduce it from a grandson of Manes, indicating the Aswa descendants of the patriarch Manu.

Asa, § Sacambhari, || Mata, ¶ is the divinity *Hope*, 'mother-protectress of the Sacæ,' or races.

Every Rajpoot adores Asapoorna, 'the fulfiller of desire'; or, as Sacambhari Devi (goddess, protectress), she is invoked previous to any undertaking.

The Aswas were chiefly of the Indu race; yet a branch of the Suryas also bore this designation. It appears to indicate

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* Royal pastors.

† The sun was their 'great deity,' though they had in Xamolxis a lord of terror, with affinity to Yama, or the Hindu Pluto. "The chief divinity of the Tems, a Scythic race, was Yammalu."—Pinkerton's Hist. of the Goths vol. ii. p. 215.

‡ Malpomene, chap. xiv.

§ Asa, 'hope.'

|| Sacambhari, from *sacam*, the plural of *Sacæ*, "branch or race," and *ambhar*, 'covering, protecting.'

¶ Mata, 'mother.'

their celebrity as horsemen. * All of them worshipped the horse, which they sacrificed to the Sun. This grand rite, the Aswa-medha, or the festival of the winter solstice, would alone go far to exemplify their common Sythic origin with the Getic Sacæ, authorizing the inference of Pinkerton, "that a grand Scythic nation extended from the Caspian to the Ganges."

The Aswamedha was practised on the Ganges and Sarayu, by the Solar princes, twelve hundred years before Christ, as by the Getes in the time of Cyrus, "deeming it right," says Herodotus, "to offer the swiftest of created to the chief of uncreated beings:" and this worship and sacrifice of the horse has been handed down to the Rajpoot of the present day. A description of this grand ceremony shall close these analogies.

The Getic Asi carried this veneration for the steed, symbolic of their chief deity the Sun, into Scandinavia; equally so, of all the early German tribes, the Su, Suevi, Catti, Sucimbri, Getes, in the forests of Germany, and on the banks of the Elbe and Weser.

The milk-white steed was supposed to be the organ of the gods, from whose neighing they calculated future events: notions possessed also by the Aswa, sons of Boodha (Woden) on the Yamuna and Ganges, when the rocks of Scandinavia and the shores of the Baltic were yet untrod by man. It was this omen which gave Darius Hystaspes (*hysna* 'to neigh', *aspa*, 'a horse') a crown. The bard Chund makes it the omen of death to his principal heroes.

The steed of the Scandinavian god of battle was kept in the temple of Upsala, and always "found foaming and sweating after battle." "Money," says Tacitus, "was only acceptable to the German when bearing the effigies of the horse."

In the *Edda* we are informed that the Getes, or Jits, who entered Scandinavia, were termed Asi, and their first settlement As-gard. †

Pinkerton rejects the authority of the *Edda*, and follows Torfæus, who "from Icelandic chronicles and genealogies, concludes Odin to have come into Scandinavia in the time of Darius Hystaspes, five hundred years before Christ."

This is the period of the last Boodha, or Mohavira, whose era is four hundred and seventy-seven years before Vicrama, or five hundred and thirty-three before Christ.

The successor of Odin in Scandinavia, was Gotama; and

* *Aswa* and *haya* are synonymous Sanskrit terms for 'horse'; *asp* in Persian; and as applied by the prophet Ezekiel to the Getic invasion of Scythia, B. C. 600: "the sons of Togarmah riding on horses;" described by Diodorus, the period the same as the Takshac invasion of India.

† Asi-gurh, 'fortress of the Asi.'

Gotama as the successor of the last Boodha, Mohavira,* who was Gotama or Gaudama, is still adored from the Straits of Malacca to the Caspian Sea.

"Other antiquaries," says Pinkerton, "assert another Odin, who was put as the Supreme deity, one thousand years before Christ."

Mallet admits two Odins, but Mr. Pinkerton wishes, he had abided by that of Torfæus, in 500 A. C.

It is a singular fact, that the periods of both the Scandinavian Odins should assimilate with the twenty-second Boodha, Naimnath, and twenty-fourth and last, Mahavira: the first the contemporary of Crishna, about 1000 or 1100 years, the last 533, before Christ. The Asi, Getes, &c. of Europe, worshipped Mercury as founder of their line, as did the Eastern Asi, Takshacs, and Getes.

The Chinese and Tatar historians also say, Boodha or Fo appeared 1027 years before Christ.

"The Yuchi, established in Bactria and along the Jihoon, "eventually bore the name of Jeta or Yetan,† that is to say, "Getes. Their empire subsisted a long time in this part of "Asia, and extended even into India. These are the people "whom the Greeks knew under the name of Indo-Scythes. "Their manners are the same as those of the Turks. ‡ Revolu-"tions occurred in the very heart of the East, whose conse-"quences were felt afar." §

The period allowed by all these authorities for the migration of these Scythic hordes into Europe, is also that for their entry into India.

The sixth century is that calculated for the Takshac from Sesnagdesa; and it is on this event and reign that the Puranas declare, that from this period "no prince of pure blood would be found, but that the Sudra, the Turshka, and the Yavan, would prevail."

All these Indu-Scythic invaders held the religion of Booddha: and hence the conformity of manners and mythology between the Scandinavian or German tribes and the Rajpoots, increased by comparing their martial poetry.

Similarity of religious manners affords stronger proofs of original identity than language. Language is eternally changing—so are manners; but an exploded custom or rite, traced

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* The great (*maha*), warrior (*vir*).

† Yeutland was the name given to the whole Cimbric Chersonese, or Jutland.—Pinkerton on the Goths.

‡ Turk, Turshka, Takshac, or 'Taunak, fils de Turc,'—Abulgazi, History of the Tatars.

§ Histoire des Huns, vol. i. p. 42.

to its source, and maintained in opposition to climate, is a testimony not to be rejected.

PERSONAL HABITS AND DRESS.—When Tacitus informs us that the first act of a German on rising was ablution, it will be conceded, this habit was not acquired in the cold climate of Germany, but must have been of eastern * origin; as were "the loose flowing robe, the long and braided hair, tied in a knot at the top of the head;" with many other customs, personal habits, and superstitions of the Scythic Cimbri, Juts, Catti, Suevi, analogous to the Getic nations of the same name, as described by Herodotus, Justin, and Strabo, and which yet obtain amongst the Rajpoot Sachæ of the present day.

Let us contrast what history affords of resemblance in religion or manners. First, as to religion.

THEOGONY.—Tuisto (Mercury) and Ertha (the earth) were the chief divinities of the early German tribes.

Tuisto † was born of the Earth (Ella) and Manus (Manu). He is often confounded with Odin, or Woden, the Boodha of the eastern tribes, though they are the Mars and Mercury of these nations.

RELIGIOUS RITES.—The Suiones or Suevi, the most powerful Getic nation of Scandinavia, was divided into many tribes, one of whom, the Su (Yuchi or Jit), made human sacrifices in their consecrated groves ‡ to Ertha (Ella), whom all worshipped, and whose chariot was drawn by a cow.§

The Suevi worshipped Isis, (Isa, Gowri, the Isis and Ceres of Rajasthan), in whose rites the figure of a ship is introduced, "symbolic," observes Tacitus, "of its foreign origin." The festival of Isa, or Gowri, wife of Iswara, at Oodipur, is performed on the lake, and appears to be exactly that of Isis and Osiris in Egypt, as described by Herodotus. On this occasion Iswara Osiris), who is secondary to his wife, has a stalk of the onion

* Though Tacitus calls German tribes indigenous, it is evident he knew their claim to Asiatic origin, when he asks, "who would leave the softer abodes of Asia for Germany, where nature yields nothing but deformity?"

† In the inscription of the Gete or Jit Prince of Salindrapur (Sulpur) of the fifth century, he is styled "of the race of Tusta" (*q.* Tusto?). It is in that ancient nail-headed character used by the ancient Booddhists of (India, and still the sacred character of the Tatar Lamas: in short, the Pali. All the ancient inscriptions I possess of the branches of the Agniculas, as the Chohan, Pramara, Solanki and Purihara, are in this character. That of the Jit prince styles him "Jit Cathi—da". (*Qu.* of da Cathay?). From Tuisto and Woden we have our Tuesday and Wednesday. In India, Wednesday is Budh-var (Dies Mercurii), and Tuesday, Mungul-var (Dies Martis), the *Mardi* of the French.

‡ Tacitus xxxviii.

§ The *go*, or cow, symbolic of Prithwi, the earth. On this, see note, page 30.

in blossom in his hand; a root detested by the Hindus generally, though adored by the Egyptians.

WARLIKE CUSTOMS.—They sang hymns in praise of Hercules, as well as Tuisto or Odin, whose banners and images they carried to the field; and fought in clans, using the feram or javelin, both in close and distant combat. In all, maintaining the resemblance to the Haricula, descendants of Boodha, and the Aswa, offspring of Bajaswa, who peopled those regions west of the Indus, and whose redundant population spread both east and west.

The Suevi, or Suiones, erected the celebrated temple of Upsala, in which they placed the statues of Thor, Woden, and Freya, the triple divinity of the Scandinavian Asi; the Trimurti of the Solar and Lunar races. The first (Thor, the thunderer, or god of war) is Hara, or Mahadeva, the destroyer: the second (Woden) is Boodha,* the preserver; and the third (Freya) is Ooma, the creative power.

The grand festival to Freya was in spring when all nature revived: then boars were offered to her by the Scandinavians, and even boars of paste were made and swallowed by the peasantry.

As Vasanti, or Spring personified, the consort of Hara, is worshipped by the Rajpoot, who opens the season with a grand hunt, † led by the prince and his vassal chiefs, when they chase, slay, and eat the boar. Personal danger is disregarded on this day, as want of success is ominous that the *Great Mother* will refuse all petitions throughout the year.

Pinkerton, quoting Ptolemy (who was fifty years after Tacitus), says there were six nations in Yeutland or Jutland, country of the Juts, of whom were the Sablingii (Suevi, ‡ or Suiones), the Catti and Hermandri, who extended to the estuary of the Elbe and Weser. There they erected the pillar *Irmanseul* to "the god of war," regarding which Sammes § observes, "some will have it to be Mars and his pillar, others *Hermes Saul*, "or the pillar of Hermes or Mercury; and he naturally asks, "how did the Saxons come to be acquainted with the Greek "name of Mercury?"

Sacrificial pillars are termed *Sura* or *Sula* in Sanskrit; which, conjoined with Hara, ‖ the Indian god of war, would

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* Crishna is the preserving deity of the Hindu triad. Cirshna is of the Indu line of Boodha, whom he worshipped prior to his own deification.

† 'Muhoorut ca sikar.'

‡ The Siebi of Tacitus.

§ Sammes' *Saxon Antiquities.*

‖ Hara is the Thor of Scandinavia; Hari is Boodha, Hermes, or Mercury.

be Hara-rula. The Rajpoot warrior invokes Hara with his trident (tri-sula) to help him in battle, while his battle-shout is 'mar! mar!'

The Cimbri, one of the most celebrated of the six tribes of Yeutland, derive their name from their fame as warriors.*

Ku-mara † is the Rajpoot god of war. He is represented with seven heads in the Hindu mythology: the Saxon god of war has six. ‡

The six headed Mars of the Cimbri Chersonese, to whom was raised the Irmanseul on the Weser, was worshipped by the Sacasenæ, the Catti, the Siebi or Suevi, the Jotæ or Gete, and the Cimbri, evincing in name, as in religious rites, a common origin with the martial warriors of Hindusthan.

The religion of the martial Rajpoot, and the rites of Hara, the god of the battle, are little analogous to those of the meek Hindus, the followers of the pastoral divinity, the worshippers of kine, and feeders on fruits, herbs, and water. The Rajpoot delights in blood: his offerings to the god of battle are sanguinary, blood and wine. The cup (*kharpara*) of libation is the human skull. He loves them because they are emblematic of the deity he worships; and he is taught to believe that Hara loves them, who in war is represented with the skull to drink the foeman's blood, and in peace is the patron of wine and women. With Parbati on his knee, his eyes rolling from the juice of the *p'fool* and opium; such is this Bacchanalian divinity of war. Is this Hinduism, acquired on the burning plains of India? Is it not rather a perfect picture of the manners of the Scandinavian heroes?

The Rajpoot slays buffaloes, hunts and eats the boar and deer, and shoots ducks and wild fowl (*cookra*); he worships his horse, his sword, and the sun, and attends more to the martial song of the bard than to the litany of the Brahmin. In the martial mythology and warlike poetry of the Scandinavians, a wide field exists for assimilation, and a comparison of the poetical remains of the Asi of the east and west, would alone suffice to suggest a common origin.

BARDS.—In the sacred *Bardai* of the Rajpoot we have the bard of our Saxon ancestry: those reciters of warlike poetry, of whom Tacitus says, "with their barbarous strains

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* Mallet derives it from *kempfer* 'to fight.'

† *Cu* or *Ku* is a mere prefix meaning 'evil', 'the evil striker (*Mar*).' Hence, probably, the Mars of Rome. The birth of Ku-mar, the general of the army of the gods with the Hindus, is exactly that of the Grecians: born of the goddess Jahnavi (Juno), without sexual intercourse. Kumara is always accompained by the peacock, the bird of Juno.

‡ For a drawing of the Scandinavian God of battle, see Sammes.

they influence their minds in the day of battle with a chorus of military virtue."

A comparison, in so extensive a field, would include the whole of their manners and religious opinions, and must be reserved for a distinct work.* The Valkyrie, or fatal sisters of the Suevi or Siebi, would be the twin sisters of the Apsaras, who summon the Rajpoot warrior from the field of battle, and bear him to "*the mansion of the sun*"; equally the object of attainment with the children of Odin in Scandinavia, and of Boodha and Surya in the plains of Scythia and on the Ganges, like the Elysium † of the Heliadæ of Greece.

In the day of battle we should see in each the same excitement to glory and contempt of death; and the *dramatis personæ* of the field, both celestial and terrestrial, move and act alike. We should see Thor, the thunderer, leading the Siebi, and Hara (Siva), the Indian Jove, his own worshippers (Siv-sevak); in which Freya, or Bhavani, and even the preserver (Crishna) himself, not unfrequently mingle.

WAR-CHARIOT.—The war-chariot is peculiar to the Indu-Scythic nations, from Dasaratha,‡ and the heroes of the Mahabharata, to the conquest of Hindusthan by the Mahomedans, when it was laid aside. On the plains of Curukshetra, Crishna became charioteer to his friend Arjuna; and the Getic hordes of the Jaxartes, when they aided Xerxes in Greece and Darius on the plains of Arbela,§ had their chief strength in the war-chariot.

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* I have in contemplation to give to the public a few of the sixty-nine books of the poems of Chund, the last great bard of the last Hindu emperor of India, Prithwiraja. They are entirely heroic: each book a relation of one of the exploits of this prince, the first warrior of his time. They will aid comparison between the Rajpoot and Scandinavian bards, and shew how far the Provencal Troubadour, the Neustrienne Trouveur, and Minnesinger of Germany have any thing in common with the Rajpoot Bardai.

† *Elusins*, from *Elios* 'the sun'; also a title of Apollo, the Hari of India.

‡ This title of the father of Rama denotes a 'charioteer.'

§ The Indian satrapy of Darius, says Herodotus, was the richest of all the Persian provinces, and yielded six hundred talents of gold. Arrian informs us, that his Indu-Scythic subjects, in his wars with Alexander were the *elite* of his army. Besides the Sacasenæ, we find tribes in name similar to those included in the thirty-six Rajcula; especially the Dahæ (Dahya, one of the thirty-six races).

The Indo-Scythic contingent was two hundred war-chariots and fifteen elephants, which were marshalled with the Parthii on the right, and also near Darius's person. By this disposition they were opposed to the cohort commanded by Alexander in person.

"The chariots commenced the action, and prevented a manœuvre of Alexander to turn the left flank of the Persians. Of their horse, also, the most honourable mention is made; they penetrated into the division where Parmenio commanded, to whom Alexander was compelled to send reinforcements."

The war-chariot continued to be used later in the south-west of India than elsewhere, and Catti, * Comani, Comari, of Saurashtra have, to recent times, retained their Scythic habits, as their monumental stones testify, expressing their being slain from their cars.

CONDUCT TO FEMALES.—In no point does resemblance more attach between the ancient German and Scandinavian tribes, and the martial Rajoot or ancient Gete, than in their delicacy towards females.

"The Germans," says Tacitus, "deemed the advice of a woman in periods of exigence oracular." So does the Rajpoot, as the bard Chund often exemplifies; and hence they append to her name the epithet *Devi*, (or contracted *De*) 'godlike.' "To a German mind," says Tacitus, "the idea of a woman led into captivity is insupportable;" and to prevent this the Rajpoot raises the poignard against the heart which beats only for him, though never to survive the dire necessity. It is then they perform the sacrifice 'johura,' when every Sachæ (branch) is cut off: and hence the Rajpoot glories in the title of *Sachaband*, from having performed the Sacha; an awful rite, and with every appearance of being the *sacœa* of the Scythic Gete, as described by Strabo. †

The Grecian historian dwells with pleasure on Indo-Scythic valour: "there were no equestrian feats, no distant fighting with darts, but each faught as if victory depended on his sole arm." They fought the Greeks hand to hand.

But the loss of empire was decreed at Arbela, and the Sacæ and Indo-Scythæ had the honour of being slaughtered by the Yavans of Greece, far from their native land, in the aid of the king of kings.

* The Catti are celebrated in Alexander's wars. The Cattiawar Catti can be traced from Mool-than (the *ancient abode*). The Dahya (Dahæ), Johya (the latter Hunnish) and Catti, are amongst the thirty-six races. All dwelt, six centuries ago, within the five streams and in the deserts south of the Gara. The two last have left but a name.

† The Sacæ had invaded the inhabitants on the borders of the Pontic sea; whilst engaged in dividing the booty, the Persian generals surprised them at night, and exterminated them. To eternize the remembrance of this event, the Persians heaped up the earth round a rock in the plain where the battle was fought, on which they erected two temples, one to the goddess Anaitis, the other to the divinities Omanus and Anandate, and then founded the annual festival called *Sacœa*, still celebrated by the possessors of Zela. Such is the account by some authors of the origin of *Sacœa*. According to others it dates from the reign of Cyrus only. This prince they say, having carried the war into the country of the Sacæ (Massagetæ of Herodotus) lost a battle. Compelled to fall back on his magazines, abundantly stored with provisions, but especially wine, and having halted sometime to refresh his army, he departed before the enemy, feigning a flight, and leaving his camp standing full of provisions. The Sacæ, who pursued, reaching the abandoned camp stored with provisions, gave themselves up to debauch. Cyrus returned and surprised the inebriated and senseless barbarians. Some

GAMING.—In passion for play at games of chance, its extent and dire consequences, the Rajpoot, from the earliest times, has evinced a predilection, and will stand comparison with the Scythian and his German offspring.

The German staked his personal liberty, became a slave, and was sold as the property of the winner. To this vice the Pandus owed the loss of their sovereignty and personal liberty, involving at last the destruction of all the Indu races; nor has the passion abated. Religion even consecrates the vice; and once a year, on "the festival of Lamps" (*Dewali*), all propitiate the goddess of wealth and fortune (Lakshmi) by offering at her shrine.

Destitute of mental pursuits the martial Rajpoot is often slothful or attached to sensual pleasures, and when roused, reckless on what he may wreak a fit of energy. Yet when order and discipline prevail in a wealthy chieftainship, there is much of that patriarchal mode of life, with its amusements, alike suited to the Rajpoot, the Gete of the Jihoon, or Scandinavian.

OMENS AND AUGURIES.—Divination by lots, auguries, and omens by flights of brids, as practised by the Getic nations described by Herodotus, and amongst the Germans by Tacitus, will be found amongst the Rajpoots, from whose works * on this subject, might have been supplied the whole of the Augurs and Aruspices, German or Roman.

LOVE OF STRONG DRINK.—Love of liquor, and indulgence in it to excess, were deep-rooted in the Scandinavian Asi and German tribes, and in which they shewed their Getic origin; nor is the Rajpoot behind his brethren either of Scythia or Europe. It is the free use of this and similar indulgences,

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buried in profound sleep, were easily massacred; others occupied in drinking and dancing, without defence, fell into the hands of armed foes: so that all perished. The conqueror, attributing his success to divine protection, consecrated this day to the goddess honoured in his country, and decreed it should be called 'the day of the *Sacæ*'. (1)

Amongst the Rajpoot Sachæ, all grand battles attended with fatal results, are termed *Saca*. When besieged, without hope of relief, in the last effort of despair, the females are immolated, and the warriors, decorated in saffron robes, rush on inevitable destruction. This is to perform *Saca*, where every branch (Sacha) is cut off. Cheetore has to boast of having thrice (and a half) suffered Saca. *Cheetore sacha ka pap*, 'by the sin of the sack of Cheetore,' the most solemn adjuration of the Gehlote Rajpoot.

If such the origin of the festival from the slaughter of the Sacæ of Tomyris, it will be allowed to strengthen the analogy, contended for between the Sacæ east and west of the Indus.

(1) This is the battle related by Herodotus, to which Strabo alludes, between the Parsian monarch and Tomyris queen of the Getæ.

* I presented a work on this subject to the Royal Asiatic Society, as well as another on Palmistry, &c.

prohibited by ordinances which govern the ordinary Hindu, that first induced me to believe that these warlike races were little indebted to India.

The Rajpoot welcomes his guest with the *munwar peala*, or 'cup of request,' in which they drown ancient enmities. The heroes of Odin never relished a cup of mead more than Rajpoot his *madhva*; * and the bards of Scandinavia and Rajwarra are alike eloquent in the praise of the bowl, on which the Bardai exhausts every metaphor, and calls it ambrosia immortal.†

"The bard, as he sipped the ambrosia, in which sparkled the ruby seed of the pomegranate, rehearsed the glory of the race of the fearless.‡ May the king live for ever, alike bounteous in gifts to the bard and foe!"

Even in the heaven of Indra, the Hindu warrior's paradise, akin to the Valhalla, the Rajpoot has his cup, which is served by the Apsara, the twin sister of the celestial Hebe of Scania. "I shall quaff full goblets amongst the gods," says the dying Getic warrior; § "I die laughing:" sentiments which would be appreciated by a Rajpoot.

A Rajpoot inebriated is a rare sight: but a more destructive and recent vice has usurped much of the honors of the "invitation cup," which has been degraded from the pure 'flower' || to an infusion of the poppy, destructive of every quality. Of this pernicious habit we may use words which the historian of German manners applies to the tribes of the Weser and Elbe, in respect of their love of strong drink. "Indulge it, and you need not employ the terror of your arms: their own vices will subdue them."

The cup of the Scandinavian worshippers of Thor, the god of battle, was a human skull, that of the foe, in which they showed their thirst of blood; also borrowed from the chief of the Hindu Triad, Hara, the god of battle, who leads heroes in

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* *Madhva* is intoxicating drink, from *madhu* "a bee" in Sanskrit. It is well known that mead is from honey. It would be curious if the German *mead* was from the Indian *madhu* (bee): then both cup (*kharpara*) and beverage would be borrowed.

† *Amrita* (immortal), from the initial privative and *mrit* 'death.' Thus the *Immurthal*, or 'vale of immortality,' at Neufchatel, is as good Sanskrit as German.

‡ Abhaya Sing, 'the fearless lion,' prince of Marwar, whose bard makes this speech at the festal board, when the prince presented, with his own hand, the cup to the bard.

§ Regner Lodbrog, in his dying ode, when the destinies summon him.

|| *P'fool*, the flower of the Mahwa tree, the favourite drink of a Rajpoot. Classically in Sanskrit it is *madhuca*, of the class Polyandria Monogynia. —See As. Res. vol. i. p. 300.

the "red field of slaughter" with the *khurpara* * in his hand, with which he gorges on the blood of the slain.

Hara is the patron of all who love war and strong drink, and is specially the object of the Rajpoot warrior's devotion: accordingly blood and wine form the chief oblations to the great god of the Hindus. The *gosiens*, † the peculiar priests of Har, or Bal, the sun, all indulge in intoxicating drugs, herbs, and drinks, seated on their lion, leopard, or deer-skins; their bodies coverd with ashes, their hair matted and braided, with iron tongs to feed the penitential fires; their savage appearance makes them fit organs for the commands of the god of blood and slaughter. Contrary, likewise, to general practice, the minister of Hara, the god of war, at his death, is committed to the earth, and a circular tumulus is raised over him; and with some classes of *gosiens*, small tumuli, whose form is the frustrum of a cone, with lateral steps, the apex crowned with a cylindrical stone.‡

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.—In the last rites for the dead, comparison will yield proofs of original similarity. The funeral ceremonies of Scandinavia have distinguished the national eras; and the 'age of fire,' and 'the age of hills,' § designated the periods when the warrior was committed to mother earth or consumed on the pyre.

Odin (Boodha) introduced the latter custom, and the raising of tumuli over the ashes when the body was burned; as also the practice of the wife burning with her deceased lord. These manners were carried from Saca-dwipa, or Saca Scythia, "where the Gete," says Herodotus, "was consumed on the pyre or burned alive with her lord."

With the Getæ, the Siebi or Suevi of Scandinavia, if the deceased had more than one wife, the elder claimed the privilege of burning. ‖ Thus "Nanna, was consumed in the same fire with the" body of her husband, Balder, one of Odin's companions." But the Scandinavians were anxious to forget this mark of their Asiatic origin, and were not always willing to burn, or to make "so cruel and absurd a sacrifice to the manes of their

* A human skull, in the dialects, pronounced, *khuppar*: Qu. *cup* in Saxon?

† The Kanfurra Jogis or Gosiens, are in great bodies, often in many thousands, and are sought as allies, especially in defensive warfare. In the grand military festivals at Oodipur to the god of war, the scimitar, symbolic of Mars, worshipped by the Gehlotes, is entrusted to them.

‡ An entire cemetery of these, besides many detached, I have seen, and also the sacred rites to their manes by the disciples occupying those abodes of austerity, when the flowers of the *ak* and leaves of evergreen were strewed on the grave, and sprinkled with pure element.

§ Mallet's Northern Antiquities, Chap. xii.

‖ Mallet, Chap. xii. vol. I, p. 289.

"husbands, the idea of which had been picked up by their Scy-"thian ancestors, when they inhabited the warmer climates of "Asia, where they had their first abodes." *

"The Scythic Gete," says Herodotus, "had his horse sacri-"ficed on his funeral pyre; and the Scandinavian Gete had his "horse and arms burried with him, as they could not approach "the Odin on foot." † The Rajpoot warrior is carried to his final abode armed at all points as when alive, his shield on his back and brand in hand; while his steed, though not sacrificed, is often presented to the diety, and becomes a perquisite of the priest.

The burning of the dead warrior, and female immolation or *Suti*, are well-known rites, though the magnificient cenotaphs raised on the spot of sacrifice are little known or visited by Europeans; than which there are no better memorials of the rise and decline of the states of the Rajpoot heptarchy. It is the son who raises the mausolium to the memory of his father; which last token of respect, or laudable vanity, is only limited by the means of the treasury. It is commemorative of the splendour of his reign that the dome of his father should eclipse that of his predecessor. In every principality of Rajwarra, the remark is applicable to chieftains as well as princes.

Each sacred spot, termed 'the place of great sacrifice' (Maha-Sati), is the haunted ground of legendary lore. Amongst the altars on which have burned the beauteous and the brave, the harpy ‡ takes up her abode, and stalks forth to devour the hearts of her victims. The Rajpoot never enters these places of silence but to perform stated rites, or anniversary offerings of flowers and water to the manes (Pitri-iswars§) of his ancestors.

Odin ‖ guarded his warriors' final abode from rapine, by means of "wandering fire which played around the tombs?" and the tenth chapter of the Salic law is on punishments against "carrying off the boards or carpets of the tombs;" Fire and water are interdicted to such sacrilegious spoliators.

The *shahaba*, ¶ or wandering meteoric fires, on fields of

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* Edda.

† Mallets 'Northern Antiquities, Chap. xii. The Celtic Franks had the same custom. The arms of Chilperic, and the bones of the horse on which he was to be presented to Odin, were found in his tomb.

‡ The Dhakun (the Jigger Khor of Scinde) is the genuine vampire. Capt. W., after a long chase in the valley of Oodipur, speared a hyena, whose abode was the tombs, and well-known as the steed on which the witch of Ar sallied forth at night. Evil was predicted; and a dangerous fall, subsequently, in chasing an elk was attributed to his sacrilegious slaughter of of the weired sister's steed.

§ Pitri-es, 'Father-lords.'

‖ Mallet, Chap. xii.

¶ At Gwalior, on the east side of that famed fortress, where myriads

battle and in the places of "great sacrifice," produce a pleasing yet melancholy effect; and are the source of superstitious dread and reverence to the Hindu; having their origin in the same natural cause as the "wandering fires of Odin": the phosphorescent salts produced from animal decomposition.

The Scandinavian reared the tumulus over the ashes of the dead; so did the Gete of the Jaxartes, and the officiating priests of Hara, the Hindu god of battle.

The noble picture drawn by Gibbon of the sepulture of the Getic Alaric, is parallelled by that of the great Jungheez Khan. When the lofty mound was raised, extensive forests were planted, to exclude for ever the foot steps of man from his remains.

The tumulus, the cairn, or the pillar, still rises over the Rajpoot who falls in battle; and throughout Rajwarra these sacrificial monuments are found; where are seen, carved in relief, the warrior on his steed, armed at all points, his faithful wife (*Sati*) beside him, denoting a sacrifice, and the sun and moon on either side, emblematic of never-dying fame.

In Saurashtra, amidst the Catti, Comani, Balla, and others of Scythic descent, the Palia, or Joojar (sacrificial pillars), are conspicuous under the walls of every town, in lines, irregular groups, and circles. On each is displayed in rude relief the warrior, with the manner of his death, lance in hand, generally on horseback, though sometimes in his car; and on the coast "the pirates of Booddha"* are depicted, boarding from the shrouds.

Amidst the Comani of Tatary, the Jesuits found stone circles, similar to those met with wherever the Celtic rites prevailed; and it would require no great ingenuity to prove an analogy, if not a common origin, between Druidic circles and the Indu-Scythic monumental remains.

The *trilithon*, or seat, in the centre of the judicial circle, is

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of warriors have fattened the soil, these phosphorescent lights often present a singular appearance. I have, with friends whose eyes this will meet, marked the procession of these lambent night-fires, becoming extinguished at one place and rising at another, which, aided by the unequal *locale*, have been frequently mistaken for the Mahratta prince returning with his numerous torch-beares from a distant day's sport. I have dared as bold a Rajpoot as ever lived, to approach them; whose sense of the levity of my desire was strongly depicted, both in speech and mien: "men he would encounter, but not the spirits of those erst slain in battle." It was generally about the conclusion of the rains that these lights were observed, when evaporation took place from these marshy grounds impregnated with salts.

*At Dwarica, the god of thieves is called Booddha Trivicrama, or of triple energy;—the Hermes Triplex, or three-headed Mercury of the Egyptians.

formed by a number sacred to Hara, Bal, or the Sun, whose priest expounds the law.

WORSHIP OF ARMS: THE SWORD.—The devotion of the Rajpoot is still paid to his arms, as to his horse. He swears 'by the steel,' and prostrates himself before his defensive buckler, his lance, his sword, or his dagger.

The worship of the sword (*asi*) may divide with that of the horse (*aswa*) the honour of giving a name to the continent of Asia. It prevailed amongst the Scythic Getæ, and is described exactly by Herodotus. To Dacia and Thrace it was carried by Getic colonies from the Jaxartes, and fostered by these lovers of liberty when their hordes overran Europe.

The worship of the sword in the Acropolis of Athens by the Getic Atila, with all the accompaniments of pomp and place, forms an admirable episode in the history of the decline and fall of Rome; and had Gibbon witnessed the worship of the double-edged sword (*khanda*) by the prince of Mewar and all his chivalry, he might even have embellished his animated account of the adoration of the scimitar, the symbol of Mars.

INITIATION TO ARMS.—Initiation to military fame was the same with the German as with the Rajpoot, when the youthful candidate was presented with the lance, or buckled with the sword: a ceremony which will be noticed when their feudal manners are described; many other traits of character will then be depicted. It would be easy to swell the list of analogous customs, which, even to the objects of dislike in food,* would furnish comparison between the ancient Celt and Rajpoot; but they shall close with the detail of the most ancient of rites.

ASWAMEDHA, OR SACRIFICE OF THE HORSE.—There are some things, animate and inanimate, which have been common objects of adoration amongst the nations of the earth: the sun, the moon, and all the host of heaven; the sword; reptiles, as the serpent; animals, as the noblest, the horse. This last was not worshipped as an abstract object of devotion, but as a type of that glorious orb which has had reverence from every child of nature. The plains of Tatary, the sands of Libya, the rocks of Persia, the valley of the Ganges, and the wilds of Orinoco, have each yielded votaries alike ardent in devotion to his effulgence,

"Of this great world both eye and soul."

His symbolic worship and offerings varied with clime and

* Cæsar informs us that the Celts of Britain would not eat the hare, goose, or domestic fowl. The Rajpoot will hunt the first, but neither eats it, nor the goose, sacred to the god of battle (Hara). The Rajpoot of Mewar eats the jungle fowl, but rarely the domestic.

habit; and while the altars of Bal in Asia, of Belenus among the Celts of Gaul and Britain, smoked with human *sacrifices, the bull* bled to Mithras in Babylon, and the steed was the victim to Surya on the Jaxartes and Ganges.

The father of history says, that the great Gete of Central Asia deemed it right to offer the swiftest of created to the swiftest of non-created beings. It is fair to infer, that the sun's festival, with the Gete and Aswa nations of the Jaxartes as with those of Scandinavia, was the winter solstice, the Sacrant of the Rajpoot and Hindu in general.

Hi, Haya, Hywor, Aswa, denote the steed in Sanskrit and its dialects. In Gothic, *hyrsa*; Teutonic, *hors*; Saxon, *horse*.

The grand festival of the German tribes of the Baltic, was the *Hi-ul*, or *Hi-el* (already commented on), the Aswa-medha† of the children of Surya, on the Ganges.

The ceremonies of the Aswa-medha are too expensive, and attended with too great risk, to be attempted by modern princes. Of its fatal results we have many historical records, from the first dawn of Indian history to the last of its princes, Prithwiraja. The *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, and the poems of Chand, all illustrate this imposing rite and its effects.‡

The *Ramayana* affords a magnificient picture of the Aswamedha. Dasaratha, monarch of Ayodhya, father of Rama, is represented as commanding the rite: "Let the sacrifice be

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* As he did also to Bal-nath (the god Bal), in the ancient times of India. The *bul-dan* or gift of the bull to the sun, is well recorded. There are numerous temples, in Rajasthan, of Baalim; and Balpur (Mahadeo) has several in Saurashtra. All represent the sun:

"Peor his other name, when he enticed
Israel in Sittim, on their march from Nile."

Paradise Lost, book i.,

The temple of Solomon was to Bal, and all the idolators of that day seem to have held to the grosser tenets of Hinduism.

† In *Aswa* (*medha* signifies 'to kill') we have the derivation of the ancient races, sons of Bajaswa, who peopled the countries on both sides the Indus, and the probable *etymon* of Asia. The Assa-eni, the Ari-aspi of Alexander's historians, and Aspasianæ, to whom Arsaces fled from Seleucus, and whom Strabo terms a Getic race, have the same origin; hence *Asi-gurh*, 'the fortress of the *Asi*' (erroneously termed Hansi), and *As-gard* were the first settlements of the Getic Asi in Scandinavia.

Alexander received the homage of all these Getic races at 'the mother of cities,' Balkh, 'seat of Cathaian Khan' (the Jit Cathida of my inscription), according to Marco Polo, from whom Milton took his geography.

‡ The last was undertaken by the celebrated Sowaie Jey Sing, of Ambar; but the milk-white steed of the sun, I believe, was not turned out, or assuredly the Rahtores would have accepted the challenge.

prepared and the horse* liberated from the north bank of the Sarayu !"†

A year being ended, and the horse having returned from his wanderings,‡ the sacrificial ground was prepared on the spot of liberation.

Invitations were sent to all surrounding monarchs to repair to Ayodhya; king Kykaya,§ the king of Casi,‖ Lompada of Anga-des,¶ Cosbala of Magadha-desa,** with the kings of Sindhu,†† Sauvira,‡‡ and Saurashtra. §§

When the sacrificial pillars are erected, the rites commence. The portion of the ceremony, termed *Yuparchaya*, is thus minutely detailed: "There were twenty-one *yupas* or pillars,¶¶

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*A milk-white steed is selected with peculiar marks. On liberation, properly guarded, he wanders where he listeth. It is a virtual challenge. Arjuna guarded the steed liberated by Yudhisthira; but that sent round by Parikshita, his grandson, "was seized by the Takshac of the north," The same fate occurred to Sagara, ancestor of Dasaratha, which involved the loss of his kingdom.

†The Sarayu, or Gunduk, from the Kumaon mountains, passes through Koshal-desa, the dominion of Dasaratha.

‡The horse's return after a year, evidently indicates an astronomical revolution, or the sun's return to the same point in the ecliptic. This return from his southern declination must have been always a day of rejoicing to the Scythic and Scandinavian nations, who could not, says Gibbon, fancy a worse hell than a large abode open to the cold wind of the north. To the south they looked for the deity; and hence, with the Rajpoots, a religious law forbids their doors being to the north.

§Kykaya is supposed by the translator, Dr. Carey, to be a king of Persia, the Ky-vansa preceding Darius. The epithet *Ky* not frequently occurs in Hindu traditional couplets. One, which I remember, is connected with the ancient ruins of Abhaneer in Jeypur, recording the marriage of one of its princes with a daughter of Ky Camb.

Tu beti Ky Camb *ca, nam Permala ho*, &c. 'Thou art the daughter of *Ky Camb*; thy name Fairy Garland.' *Ky* was the epithet of one of the Persian dynasties. *Qu. Cam-buksh*, the Cambyses of the Greeks?

‖ Benares. ¶ Thibet or Ava. ** Behar.

†† Scind valley. ‡‡ Unknown to me. §§ Peninsula of Cattiwar.

¶¶ I have seen several of these sacrificial pillars of stone, of very ancient date. Many years ago, when all the Rajpoot states were suffering from the thraldom of the Mahrattas, a most worthy and wealthy banker of Surat, known by the family name of Tribeda, who felt acutely for the woes inflicted by incessant predatory foes on the sons of Rama and Crishna, told me, with tears in his eyes, that the evils which afflicted Jeypur were to be attributed to the sacrilege of the prince, Jagat Sing, who had dared to abstract the gold plates of the sacrificial pillars, and send them to his treasury—worse than Rehoboam, who, when he took away from the temple "the shields of gold Solomon had made," had the grace to substitute others of brass. Whether, when turned into currency, it went as a war contribution to the Mahrattas, or was applied to the less worthy use of his concubine queen, "the essence of camphor," it was of a piece with the rest of this prince's unwise conduct. Jey Sing, who erected the pillars, did honour to his country, of which he was a second founder, and under whom it attained the height from which it has now fallen.

of octagonal shape, each twenty-one feet in height and four feet in diameter, the capitals bearing the figure of a man, an elephant, or a bull. They were of the various sorts of wood appropriated to holy rites, overlaid with plates of gold and ornamented cloth, and adorned with festoons of flowers. While the *yupas* were erecting, the Adhwaryu, receiving his instructions from the Hotri, or sacrificing priest, recited aloud the incantations."

"The sacrificial pits were in triple rows, eighteen in number, and arranged in the form of the eagle. Here were placed the victims for immolation; birds, aquatic animals, and *the horse*."

"Thrice was the steed of king Dasaratha led round the sacred fire by Coshala, and as the priests pronounced the incantations he was immolated * amidst shouts of joy."

"The king and queen, placed by the high priest near the horse, sat up all night watching the birds; and the officiating priest, having taken out the hearts, dressed them agreeably to the holy books. The sovereign of men smelled the smoke of the offered hearts, acknowledging his transgressions in the order in which they were committed."

"The sixteen sacrificing priests then placed (as commanded in the oridinances) on the fire the parts of the horse. The oblation of all the animals was made on wood, except that of the horse, which was on cane."

"The rite concluded with gifts of land to the sacrificing priests and augurs; but the holy men preferring gold, ten millions of *jámbunada*† were bestowed on them."

Such is the circumstantial account of the Aswamedha, the most imposing and the earliest heathen rite on record. It were superfluous to point out the analogy between it and similar rites of various nations, from the chosen people to the Aurespex of Rome and the confessional rite of the Catholic church.

The Sacrant,‡ or Sivrat (night of Siva), is the winter solstice. On it the horse bled to the sun, or Bal-nath.

* On the Noroza, or festival of the new year, the great Mogul slays a camel with his own hand, which is distributed and eaten by the court-favourites.

† This was native gold, of a peculiarly dark and brilliant hue, which was compared to the fruit *jambu* (not unlike a damson). Every thing forms an allegory with the Hindus; and the production of this metal is appropriated to the period of gestation of Jahnavi, the river-goddess (Ganges), when by Agni, or fire, she produced Ku-mar, the god of war, the commander of the army of the gods. This was when she left the place of her birth, the Himalaya mountain (the great storehouse of metallic substances), whose daughter she is: and doubtless, this is in allusion to some very remote period, when bursting her rockbound bed, Gunga exposed from "her side" veins of this precious metal.

‡ Little bags of brocade, filled with seeds of the sesamum or cakes of the same, are distributed by the chiefs to friends on this occasion.

The Scandinavians termed the longest night the 'mother night,'* on which they held that the world was born. Hence, the Beltane, the fires of Bal or Belenus; the Hi-ul of northern nations; the sacrificial fires on the Aswamedha, or worship of the sun, by the Suryas on the Ganges, and the Syrians and Sauromatæ on the shores of the Mediterranean.

The altars of the Phœnician Heliopolis, Balbec† or Tadmor,‡ were sacred to the same divinity as on the banks of Sarayu, or Balpur in Saurashtra, where "the horses of the sun ascended from his fountain (*Surya-coond*)," to carry its princes to conquest.

From Syria came the instructors of the Celtic Druids, who made human sacrifices, and set up the pillar of Belenus on the hills of Cambria and Caledonia.

When "Judah did evil in the sight of the Lord, and built them high places, and images, and groves, on every high hill and under every tree," the object was Bal, and the pillar (the *lingam*) was his symbol. It was on his altar they burned incense, and "sacrificed unto the calf on the fifteenth § day of the month" (the sacred Amavus of the Hindus). The calf of Israel is the bull (*nandi*) of Balcesar or Iswara; the Apis of the Egyptian Osiris.

The ash was sacred to the sun-god in the West. The *aswattha* (or *peepul*)‖ is the 'chief of trees,' say the books sacred to Bal in the East; and death, or loss of limb, is incurred by the sacrilegious mutilator of his consecrated groves,¶ where a pillar is raised bearing the inhibitory edict.

While the author writes, he has before him two of these, sent to him by the young Mahratta prince, Holkar.

* *Sivarat* would be 'father night,' *Siva*, *Iswara*, is the 'universal father.'

† Ferishta, the compiler of the imperial history of India, gives us a Persian or Arabic derivation of this, from *Bal* 'the sun,' and *bee*, 'an idol.'

‡ Compare Tadmor in Palmyra, the *etymon* of which, I believe, has never been given, which is a version of Tadmor. In Sanskrit, *tat*, or *tar*, is the 'date-tree,' *mor* signifies 'chief.' We have more than one 'city of palms' (*Talpur*) in India; and the tribe ruling in Hydrabad, on the Indus, is called *Talpuris*, from the place whence they originated.

§ Kings, chap xxiii.

‖ *Ficus religiosa*. It presents a perfect resemblance to the *populs* (poplar) of Germany and Italy, a species of which is the aspen. So similar is it that the specimen of the *peepul* from Carolina is called, in the Isola Bella of the Lago Maggiore, *populus angulata*; and another, in the *Jardin des Plantes* at Toulon, is termed the *ficus populifolia, ou figuier a feuilles de peuplier*. The aspen, or ash, held sacred by the Celtic priests, is said to be the mountain-ash.

'The calf of Bal' is generally placed under the *peepul*; and Hindu tradition sanctifies a never-dying stem, which marks the spot where the Hindu Apollo, Hari (the sun), was slain by the savage Bhil on the shores of Saurashtra.

¶ The religious feelings of the Rajpoot, though outraged for centuries by Moguls and mercenary Pathans, will not permit him to see the axe applied to the noble *peepul* or umbrageous burr (*ficus indica*), without

We shall here conclude the analogy between the Indo-Scythic Rajpoot races and those of early Europe. Much more might be adduced; the old Runic characters of Scandinavia, the Celtic, and the Osci or Etruscan, might, by comparison with those found in the cave, temples, and rocks in Rajasthan and Saurashtra, yield yet more important evidence of original similarity; and the very name of German (from wer, *bellum*)* might be found to be derived from the *feud* (*wer*) and *foe-man* (*weri*) of the Rajpoot.

If these coincidences are merely accidental, then has too much been already said; if not, authorities are here recorded, and hypotheses founded, for the assistance of others.

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execrating the destroyer. Unhappy the constitution of mind which knowingly wounds religious prejudices of such ancient date! Yet is it thus with our countrymen in the East, who treat all foreign prejudices with contempt, shoot the bird sacred to the Indian Mars, slay the calves of Bal, and fell the noble *peepul* before the eyes of the native without remorse.

He is unphilosophic and unwise who treats such prejudices with contumely: prejudices beyond the reach of reason. He is uncharitable who does not respect them; impolitic, who does not use every means to prevent such offence by ignorance or levity. It is an abuse of our strength, and an ungenerous advantage over their weakness. Let us recollect who are the guardians of these fanes of Bal, his *peepul*, and sacred bird (the peacock); the children of Surya and Chandra, and the descendants of the sages of yore, they who fill the ranks of our army, and are attentive, though silent, observers of all our actions; the most attached, the most faithful, and the most obedient, of mankind! Let us maintain them in duty, obedience, and attachment, by respecting their prejudices and conciliating their pride. On the fulfilment of this, depends the maintenance of our sovereignty in India: but the last fifteen years have assuredly not increased their devotion to us. Let the question be put to the unprejudiced, whether their welfare has advanced in proportion to the dominion they have conquered for us, or if it has not been in the inverse ratio of their prosperity? Have not their allowances and comforts decreased? Does the same relative standard between the currency and conveniences of life exist as twenty years ago? Has not the first depreciated twenty-five per cent, as half-batta stations and duties have increased? For the good of ruler and servant, let these be rectified. With the utmost solemnity I aver, I have but the welfare of all at heart in these observations. I loved the service, I loved the native soldier. I have proved what he will do, where devoted, when in 1817, thirty-two fire locks of my guard attacked, defeated, and dispersed, a camp of fifteen hundred men, slaying thrice their number. Having quitted the scene for ever, I submit my opinion dispassionately for the welfare of the one, and with it the stability or reverse of the other.

(1) What says the Thermopylæ of India, Corygaum? Five hundred fire locks against twenty thousand men! Do the annals of Napoleon record a more brilliant exploit? Has a column been reared to the manes of of the brave, European and native, of this memorable day, to excite to future achievement? What order decks the breast of the gallant Fitzgerald, for the exploit on the field of Nagpore? At another time and place his words, "At my peril be it! *Charge!*" would have crowned his crest! These things call for remedy!

* D'Anville's derivation of German, from *wer* (bellum) and *manus*.

CHAPTER VII.

Catalogue of the Thirty-six Royal Races.

HAVING discussed the ancient genealogies of the martial races of Rajasthan, as well as the chief points in their character and religion analogous to those of early Europe, we proceed to the catalogue of the *Chhatees Raj-cula* or "thirty-six royal races."

The table before the reader presents, at one view, the authorities on which this list is given: they are as good as abundant. The first is from a detached leaf of an ancient work, obtained from a Yati of a Jain temple at the old city of Nadole in Marwar. The second is from the poems of Chund,* the bard of the last Hindu king of Delhi. The third is from an estimable work contemporary with Chand's, the *Komarpal Charitra*,† or 'History of the Monarchy of Anhulwarra Puttun.' The fourth list is from the Kheechee bard.‡ The fifth, from a bard of Saurashtra.

From every one of the bardic profession, from all the collectors and collections of Rajasthan, lists have been received, from which the catalogue No. 6 has been formed, admitted by the genealogists to be more perfect than any existing document. From it, therefore, in succession, each race shall have its history rapidly sketched; though, as a text, a single name is sufficient to fill many pages.

The first list is headed by an invocation to 'Mata Sacambhari Devi,' or mother-goddess, protectress of the races (sachæ).

Each race (sacha) has its '*Gotra Acharya*,' § a genealogical creed, describing the essential peculiarities, religious tenets, and pristine *locale* of the clan. Every Rajpoot should be able to repeat this; though it is now confined to the family priest or the genealogist. Many chiefs, in these degenerate days, would

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* Of his works I possess the most complete copy existing.

† Presented to the Royal Asiatic Society.

‡ Mog-jee, one of the most intelligent bards of the present day; but, heart-broken, he has now but the woes of his race to sing. Yet has he forgot them for a moment to rehearse the deeds of Pursunga, who sealed his fidelity by his death on the Caggar? Then the invisible mantle of Bhavani was wrapt around him; and with the bard (furor poeticus) flowing freely, their deeds of yore, their present degradation, time, and place were all forgot. But the time is fast approaching when he may sing with the Cambrian bard,

"Ye lost companions of my tuneful art,
"Where are ye fled?"

§ One or two specimens shall be given in the proper place.

be astonished if asked to repeat their 'Gotra Acharya,' and would refer to the bard. It is a touchstone of affinities, and guardian of the laws of intermarriage. When the inhibited degrees of propinquity have been broken, it has been known to rectify the mistake, where, however, "ignorance was bliss."*

Most of the *Cula* (races) are divided into numerous branches† (sacha), and these *sachá* sub-divided into innumerable clans (gotra),‡ the most important of which shall be given.

A few of the Culas never ramified: these are termed *eka*, or 'single': and nearly one-third are *eka*.

A table of the 'eighty-four' mercantile tribes, chiefly of Rajpoot origin, shall also be furnished, in which the remembrance of some races are preserved which would have perished. Lists of the aboriginal, the agricultural, and the pastoral tribes are also given to complete the subject.

In the earlier ages there were but two races, Surya and Chandra, to which were added the four Agniculas,§ in all six. The others are subdivisions of Surya and Chandra, or the *sacha* of Indo-Scythic origin, who found no difficulty in obtaining a place (though a low one), before the Mahomedan era, amongst the thirty-six regal races of Rajasthan. The former we may not unaptly consider, as to the time, as the Celtic, the latter as the Gothic races of India. On the generic terms Surya and Chandra, I need add nothing.

GRAHILOTE or GEHLOTE.—"*Pedigree*‖ *of the Suryavansi*

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* A prince of Boondi had married a Rajpootni of the Malani tribe, a name now unknown, but a bard repeating the 'gotra acharya,' it was discovered to ha been, about eight centuries before, a ramification (sacha) of the Chohan, to which the Hara of Boondi belonged—divorce and expiatory rites, with great unhappiness, were the consequences. What contrast to the unhallowed doctrines of Polyandrism, as mentioned amongst the Pandus, the Scythic nations, the inhabitants of Sirmor of the present day, and pertaining even to Britain in the days of Cæsar!—"*Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes*," says that accurate writer, speaking of the natives of this island; "*et maxime fratres cum fratribus, parentesque cum liberis: sed si qui sint ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, quo primum virgo quæque deducta est.*" A strange medley of polyandry and polygamy.

† *Aparam sakham*,'of innumerable branches,' is inscribed on an ancient tablet of the Grahilote race.

‡ *Gote*, *kamp*, denote a clan; its subdivisions have the patronymic terminating with the syllable *'ote'*, *'awut,'* *'sote*,, in the use of which euphony alone is their guide: thus *Suktamut*, 'sons of Sukta'; *Kurmasote*, "of Kurma;' *Mair-awut*, *mairote*, mountaineers, 'sons of the mountains.' Such is the Greek *Mainote* from *maina* a mountain, in the ancient Albanian dialect, of eastern origin.

§ From *agni* (q. *ignis?*) 'fire'; the sons of Vulcan, as the others of Sol and Luna, or Lunus, change the sex of the parent of the Indu (moon) race.

‖ *Vansavali*, *Suryavansi Rajculi Rana Cheetore ca Dhunni*, *Chhatees Culi Sengar.*—MSS. from the Rana's library, entitled *'Khoman Rasa.'*

Rana, of royal race, Lord of Cheetore, the ornament of the thirty-six royal races."

By universal consent, as well as by the *gotra* of this race, its princes are admitted to be the direct descendants of Rama, of the Solar line. The pedigree is deduced from him, and connected with Soomitra, the last prince mentioned in the genealogy of the Puranas.

As the origin and progressive history of this family will be fully discussed in the "Annals of Mewar," we shall here only notice the changes which have marked the patronymic, as well as the regions which have been under their sway, from Kanaksen, who, in the second century, abandoned his native kingdom Koshala, and established the race of Surya in Saurashtra.

On the site of Virat, the celebrated abode of the Pandus during exile, the descendant of Icshwacu established his line, and his descendant Vijaya, in a few generations, built Vijayapur.*

They became sovereigns, if not founders, of Ballabhi, which had a separate era of its own, called the *Ballabhi Samvat*, according with S. Vicrama 375.† Hence they became the Balacaraes, or kings of Ballabhi; a title maintained by successive dynasties of Saurashtra for a thousand years after this period, as can be satisfactorily proved by genuine history and inscriptions.

Gajni, or Gayni, was another capital, whence the last prince, Siladitya (who was slain), and his family, were expelled by Parthian invaders in the sixth century.

A posthumous son, called Grahâditya, obtained a petty sovereignty at Edur. The change was marked by his name becoming the patronymic, and 'Grahilote,' *vulgo* 'Gehlote,' designated the Suryavansa of Rama.

With reverses and migration from the wilds of Edur to Ahar,‡ the Gehlote was changed to Aharya, by which title the race continued to be designated till the twelfth century, when the elder brother, Rahup, abandoned his claim to 'the throne of Cheetore,' obtained§ by force of arms from the Mori,‖ and settled at Dongurpoor, which he yet holds, as well as the title 'Aharya;' while the younger, Mahup, established the seat of

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* Always conjoined with Virat—"Vijayapur Viratgurh."

† A. D. 316. The inscription recording this, as well as others relating to Ballabhi and this era, discovered in Saurashtra, as well as the site of this ancient capital occupying the position of "Byzantium" in Ptolemy's geography of India, will be given in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.

‡ Anundpur Ahar, or 'Ahar' the city of repose.' By the tide of events, the family was destined to fix their last capital, Oodipur, near Ahar.

§ The middle of the eighth century.

‖ A Pramara prince.

power at Seesoda, whence Seesodia set aside both Aharya and Gehlote.

Seesodia is now the common title of the race; but being only a subdivision, the Gehlote holds its rank in the Cula.

The Gehlote Cula is subdivided into twenty-four *sacha*, or ramifications, few of which exist:—

1.	Aharya	At Dongurpur.
2.	Mangulia	In the Deserts.
3.	Seesodia	Mewar.
4	Peeparra	In Marwar.
5.	Kalum	In few numbers, and mostly now unknown
6.	Gahor	
7.	Dhornia	
8.	Godah	
9.	Mugrasah	
10.	Bhimla	
11.	Kamkot	
12.	Kotecha	
13.	Sorah	
14.	Oohur	
15.	Ooseba	Almost extinct.
16.	Nir-roop	
17.	Nadoria	
18.	Nadhota	
19.	Ojakra	
20.	Kootchra	
21.	Dosaud	
22.	Batewara	
23.	Paha	
24.	Poorote	

YADU.—The Yadu was the most illustrious of all the tribes of Ind, and became the patronymic of the descendants of Boodha, progenitor of the Lunar (Indu) race.

Yudhisthira and Baladeva, on the death of Crishna and their expulsion from Delhi and Dwarica, the last strong-hold of their power, retired by Mooltan, across the Indus. The two first are abandoned by tradition; but the sons of Crishna, who accompanied them, after an intermediate halt in the further Do-ab* of the five rivers, eventually left the Indus behind, and passed into Zabulisthan, founded Gajni, and peopled these countries even to Samarkhand.

* The place where they found refuge was in the cluster of hills still called *Yadu ca dang*, 'the Yadu hills:'—the *Joudes* of Rennell's geography.

The annals of Jessulmeer which give this early history of their founder, mix up in a confused manner * the cause of their being again driven back into India; so that, it is impossible to say whether it was owing to the Greek princes who ruled all these countries for a century after Alexander, or to the rise of Islamism.

Driven back on the Indus, they obtained possession of the Punjab and founded Salbhanpur. Thence expelled, they retired across the Sutledge and Garah into the Indian deserts; whence expelling the Langahas, the Johyas, Mohilas, &c., they founded successively Tannote, Derawal, and Jussulmeer,† in S. 1212,‡ the present capital of the Bhattis, the lineal successors of Crishna.

BHATTI was the exile from Zabulisthan, and as usual with the Rajpoot races on any such event in their annals, his name set aside the more ancient patronymic, *Yadu*. The Bhattis subdued all the tracts south of the Garah; but their power has been greatly circumscribed since the arrival of the Rahtores. The Map defines their existing limits, and their annals will detail their past history.

JAREJA is the most important tribe of Yadu race, next to the Bhatti. Its history is similar. Descended from Crishna and migrating simultaneously with the remains of the Hariculas, there is the strongest ground for believing that their range was not wide as that of the elder branch, but that they settled themselves in the valley of the Indus, more especially on the west shore in Sewisthan; and in nominal and armorial distinctions, even in Alexander's time, they retained the marks of their ancestry.

Sambus, who brought on him the arms of the Grecians, was in all likelihood a Haricula; and the Minagara of Greek historians, Samanagara (city of Sama), his capital.

The most common epithet of Crishna, or Hari, was Shama or Sama, from his dark complexion. Hence the Jareja bore it as a patronymic, and the whole race were Samaputras (children of Sama), whence the titular name Sambus of its princes.

The modern Jareja, who from circumstances has so mixed with the Mahomedans of Scind as to have forfeited all pretensions to purity of blood, partly in ignorance and partly to cover disgrace, says that his origin is from Sham, or Syria,

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*The date assigned long prior to the Christian era, agrees with the Grecian, but the names and manners are Mahomedan.

† Lodurwa Puttun, whence they expelled an ancient race, was their capital before Jessulmeer. There is much to learn of these regions.

‡ A. D. 1157.

and of the stock of the Persian Jamsheed: consequently, Sam has been converted into Jam;* which epithet designates one of the Jareja petty governments, the Jam Raj.

These are the most conspicuous of the Yadu race; but there are others who still bear the original title, of which the head is the prince of the petty state of Kerowli on the Chumbul.

This portion of the Yadu stock would appear never to have strayed far beyond the ancient limits of the Suraseni,† their ancestral abodes. They held the celebrated Biana; whence expelled, they established Kerowli west, and Subulgurh east of the Chumbul. The tract under the latter, called Yaduvati, has been wrested from the family by Scindhia. Sri Mathura‡ is an independent fief of Kerowli, held by a junior branch.

The Yadus, or as pronounced in the dialects, Jadoon, are scattered over India, and many chiefs of consequence amongst the Mahrattas are of this tribe.

There are eight *sachs* of the Yadu race:

1. Yadu .....Chief Kerowli.
2. Bhatti .....Chief Jessulm
3. Jareja .....Chief C
4. Sumaitcha..... Mahor
5. Mudaicha.....
6. Bidmun.....
7. Budda.....
8. Soha.....

Unkown.

TUAR.—The Tuar, though acknowledged as a subdivision of the Yadu, is placed by the best genealogists as one of the 'thirty-six,' a rank to which its celebrity justly entitles it.

We have in almost every case the *etymon* of each celebrated race. For the Tuar we have none; and we must rest satisfied in delivering the dictum of the Bardai, who declares it of Pandu origin.

If it had to boast only of Vicramaditya, the paramount lord of India, whose era, established fifty-six years before the Christian, still serves as the grand beacon of Hindu chronology, this alone would entitle the Tuar to the highest rank. But it has other claims to respect. Delhi, the ancient

* They have an infinitely better etymology for this, in being descendants of Jambuvati, one of Hari's eight wives.

† The Suraseni of Vrij, the tract so named, thirty miles around Mathura.

‡ Its chief, Rao Manohur Sing, was well known to me, and was, I may say, my friend. For years letters passed between us, and he had made for me a transcript of a valuable copy of the *Mahabharat*.

Indraprastha, founded by Yudhisthira, and which tradition says lay desolate for eight centuries, was rebuilt and peopled by Anungpal Tuar, in S. 848 (A.D. 792), who was followed by a dynasty of twenty princes, which concluded with the name of the founder, Anungpal, in S. 1220 (A.D. 1164), when, contrary to the Salic law of the Rajpoots, he abdicated (having no issue) in favour of his grandchild, the Chohan Prithwiraja.

The Tuar must now rest on his ancient fame; for not an independent possession remains to the race, * which traces its lineage to the Pandus, boasts of Vicrama, and which furnished the last dynasty, emperors of Hindusthan.

It would be a fact unparalleled in the history of the world, could we establish to conviction that the last Anungpal Tuar was the lineal descendant of the founder of Indraprastha; that the issue of Yudhisthira sat on the throne which he erected, after a lapse of 2,250 years. Universal consent admits it, and the fact is as well established as most others of a historic nature of such a distant period: nor can any dynasty or family of Europe produce evidence so strong as the Tuar, even to a much less remote antiquity.

The chief possessions left to the Tuars are the distrct of Tuargarh, on the banks of the Chumbul, towards its junction with the Jumna, and a small chieftainship of Patun Tuarvati in the Jeypoor territory, whose head claims affinity with the ancient kings of Indraprastha.

RAHTORE.—A doubt hangs on the origin of this justly celebrated race. The Rahtore genealogies trace their pedigree to Cush, the second son of Rama; consequently they would be Suryavansa. But by the bards of this race they are denied this honour; and although Cushite, they are held to be the descendants of Casyapa, of the Solar race, by the daughter of a Daitya (Titan). The progeny of Hiranya Casipu is accordingly stigmatized as being of demoniac origin.

It is rather singular that they should have succeeded to the Lunar race of Cushnaba, descendants of Ajamida, the founders of Canouj. Indeed, some genealogists maintain the Rahtores to be of Cusika race.

The pristine *locale* of the Rahtores is Gadhipura, or Canouj, where they are found enthroned in the fifth century; and though beyond that period they connect their line with the princes of Kosala or Ayodhya the fact rests on assertion only.

From the fifth century, their history is cleared from the mist of ages, which envelopes them all prior to this time; and in the

* Several Mahratta chieftains deduce their origin from the Tuar race as Ram Rao Falkia, a very gallant leader of horse in Scindhia's State.

period approaching the Tatar conquest of India, we find them contesting, with the last Tuar and Chohan kings of Dehli, and the Balica-raes of Anhulwarra, the right to paramount importance amidst the princes of Ind.

The combats for this phantom supremacy destroyed them all. Weakened by internal strife, the Chohan of Delhi fell, and his death exposed the north-west frontier. Canouj followed; and while its last prince, Jeychand, found a grave in the Ganges, his son sought an asylum in Marusthuli, "the regions of death."

Seoji was this son; the founder of the Rahtore dynasty in Marwar, on the ruins of the Puriharas of Mundore. Here they brought their ancient martial spirit, and a more valiant being exists not, than can be found amongst the sons of Seoji. The Mogul emperors were indebted for half their conquests to the *Lakh Turwar Rahtoran*, the 100,000 swords of the Rahtores; for it is beyond a doubt that 50,000 of the blood of Seoji have been embodied at once. But enough of the noble Rahtores for the present.

The Rahtore has twenty-four Sachæ:—Dhandul, Bhadail, Chackit, Doohuria, Khokra, Baddura, Chajira, Ramdeva, Kabria Hatoondia, Malavat, Soondu, Kataicha, Muholi, Gogadeva Mahaicha, Jeysinga, Moorsia, Jotsia, Jora, &c., &c.

Rahtore Gotra Acharya.—Gotama* Gotra (race),—Mardwunduni Sacha (branch),—Sookra-acharya Gooru (Regent of the planet Venus, Preceptor,—Garroopata Agni,†—Pankhani Devi (tutelary goddess, winged).

CUSHWAHA.—The Cushwaha race‡ is descended from Cush, the second son of Rama. They are the Cushites,§ as the Rajpoots of Mewar are the Lavites, of India.

Two branches migrated from Koshala: one founded Rotas on the Sone, the other established a colony amidst the ravines of the Cohari, at Lahar.‖

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* From this I should be inclined to pronounce the Rahtores as descendants of a race (probably Scythic) professing the Booddhist faith, of which Gotama was the last great teacher, and disciple of the last Booddha Mahavira, in S 477 (A.D. 533).

† Enigmatical—'Clay formation by fire' (*agni*).

‡ Erroneously written and pronounced Cutchwaha.

§ The resemblance between the Cushite Ramesa of Ayodhya and the Rameses of Egypt is strong. Each was attended by his army of satyrs, Anubis and Cynocephalus, which last is a Greek misnomer, for the animal bearing this title is of the Simian family, as his images (in the Turin museum) disclose, and the brother of the faithful Hanuman. The comparison between the deities within the Indus (called *Nil-ab* 'blue waters') and those of the Nile in Egypt, is a point well worth discussion.

‖ A name in compliment, probably, to the elder branch of their race, Lava.

In the course of time they erected the celebrated fortress of Niwur, or Nirwar, the abode of the celebrated Raja Nala, whose descendants continued to hold possession throughout all the vicissitudes of the Tatar and Mogul domination, when they were deprived of it by the Mahrattas, and the abode of Nala is now a dependency of Sindhia.

In the tenth century a branch emigrated and founded Ambar, dispossessing the aborigines, the Meenas, and adding from the Rajpoot tribe Birgoojur, who held Rajore and large possessions around. But even in the twelfth century the Cushwahas were but principal vassals to the Chohan king of Delhi; and they have to date their greatness, as the other families (especially the Ranas of Mewar) of Rajasthan their decline, from the ascent of the house of Timoor to the throne of Delhi.

The map shews the limits of the sway of the Cushwahas, including their branches, the independent Nirookas of Macherri, and the tributary confederated Shikhavats.

The Cushwaha subdivisions have been mislaid; but the present partition into Kotres (chambers), of which there are twelve, shall be given in their annals.

AGNICULAS.—1st. *Pramara.* There are four races to whom the Hindu genealogists have given Agni, or the element of fire as progenitor. The Agniculas are therefore the sons of Vulcan as the others are of Sol,* Mercurius, and Terra.

The Agniculas are the Pramara, the Purihara, the Chalook or Solanki, and the Chohan.

That these races, the sons of Agni, were but regenerated, and converted by the Brahmans to fight their battles, the clearest interpretation of their allegorical history will disclose; and, as the most ancient of their inscriptions are in the Pali character, discovered wherever the Booddhist religion prevailed, their being declared of the race of Tusta or Takshac,† warrants our asserting the Agniculas to be of this same race, which

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* There is a captivating elegance thrown around the theogonies of Greece and Rome, which we fail to impart to the Hindu; though that elegant scholar, Sir William Jones, could make even Sanskrit literature fascinating, and that it merits the attempt intrinsically, we may infer from the charm it possesses to the learned chieftain of Rajasthan. That it is perfectly analogous to the Greek and Roman, we have but to translate the names to shew, for instance :—

Solar.		Lunar.
Mireecha	(*Lux*)	*Atri.*
Kasyapa	(*Uranus*)	*Samudra.* (Oceanus).
Vaivaswama or Surya	(Sol)	Soma, or Ind (Luna; b. Lunus?).
Vaivaswamasoot Manu	(Fillus Solis)	Vrihaspati (Jupiter).
Ella	(Terra)	Boodha (Mercurius).

† Figuratively, 'the serpent.'

invaded India about two centuries before Christ. It was about this period that Parswa, the twenty-third Booddha,* appeared in India; his symbol, the serpent.

The legend of the snake (Takshac) escaping with the elebrated work *Pingal*, which was recovered by Garuda, the eagle of Crishna, is purely allegorical; and descriptive of the contentions between the followers of Parswa, figured under his emblem, the snake, and those of Crishna, depicted under his sign, the eagle.

The worshippers of Surya probably recovered their power on the exterminating civil wars of the Lunar races, but the creation of the Agniculas is expressly stated to be for the preservation of the altars of Bal, or Iswara, against the Daityas, or Atheists.

The celebrated Aboo, or Ar-boodha, the Olympus of Rajasthan, was the scene of contention between the ministers of Surya and these Titans; and their relation might, with the aid of imagination, be equally amusing with the Titanic war of the ancient poets of the west.

The Booddhists claim it for Adi-nath, their first Booddha; the Brahmans for Iswara, or as the local divinity, styled Achal-es.†

The Agnicoonda is still shewn on the summit of Aboo, where the four races were created by the Brahmans to fight the battles of Achal-es and polytheism, against the monotheistic Booddhists, represented as the serpents or Takshacs.

The probable period of this conversion has been hinted at; but of the dynasties issuing from the Agniculas, many of the princes professed the Booddhist or Jain faith, to periods so late as the Mahomedan invasion.

The Pramara, though not, as his name implies, the 'chief warrior,' was the most potent of the Agniculas. He sent forth thirty-five *Sachæ*, or branches, several of whom enjoyed extensive sovereignties. 'The world is the Pramara's,' is an ancient saying denoting their extensive sway; and the *Wo-kote*‡

* To me it appears that there were four distinguished Booddh'as or wise men, teachers of monotheism in India, which they brought from Central Asia, with their science and its written character, the arrow or nail-headed, which I have discovered wherever they have been,—in the deserts of Jessulmeer, in the heart of Rajasthan, and the shores of Saurashtra; which were their nurseries.

The first Booddha is the parent of the Lunar race, A. C. 2550.
The Second (twenty-second of the Jains), Naminath, A. C. 1120.
The Third (twenty-third do.), Parswanath, A. C. 650.
The Fourth (twenty-fourth do.),Mahavira, A. C. 533.

† *Achal*, 'immoveable,' *Es*, contracted from *iswara*, lord.'

‡ It extended from the Indus almost to the Jumuna, occupying all the sandy regions, Nokote, Arboodhaor, Aboo, Dhat, Mundodri, Khyraloo, Parkur, Lodurva, and Poogul.

Marusthal" signified the nine divisions into which the country, from the Sutledge to the ocean, was partitioned amongst them.

Maheswar, Dhar, Mandoo, Oojein, Chandrabhaga, Cheetore, Aboo, Chandravati, Mhow, Maidana, Parmavati, Omrakote, Bekher, Lodurva, and Puttun, are the most conspicuous of the capitals they conquered or founded.

Though the Pramara family never equalled in wealth the famed Solanki princes of Anhulwarra, or shone with such lustre as the Chohan, it attained a wider range and an earlier consolidation of dominion than either, and far excelled in all, the Purihara, the last and least of the Agniculas, which it long held tributary.

Maheswar, the ancient seat of the Haya kings, appears to have been the first seat of government of the Pramaras. They subsequently founded Dharanagar, and Mandoo on the crest of the Vindhya hills; and to them is even attributed the city of Oojein, the first meridian of the Hindus, and the seat of Vicrama.

There are numerous records of the family, fixing eras in their history of more modern times; and it is to be hoped that the interpretation of yet undeciphered inscriptions, may carry us back beyond the seventh century.

The era* of Bhoj, the son of Moonj, has been statisfactorily settled; and an inscription† in the nail-headed character, carries it back a step farther,‡ and elicits an historical fact of infinite value, giving the date of the last prince of the Pramaras of Cheetore, and the consequent accession of the Gehlotes.

The Nerbudda was no limit to the power of the Pramaras. About the very period of the foregoing inscription, Ram Pramara held his court in Telungana, and is invested by the Chohan bard, Chund, with the dignity of paramount sovereign of India, and head of a splendid feudal§ association, whose members became independent on his death. The Bard makes this a voluntary act of the Pramaras; but coupled with the Gehlote's violent acquisition of Cheetore, we may suppose, the successor of Rama was unable to maintain such supremacy.

While Hindu literature survives, the name of Bhoj Pramara and "the nine gems" of his court cannot perish;

* See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol i. p. 227.

† Which will be given in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.

‡ S. 770, or A. D. 714.

§ "When the Pramara of Telung took sanctuary with Hara, to the thirty-six tribes he made gifts of land; to Kehur he gave Kuttair, to Rae Puhar, the coast of Scind; to the heroes of the same, the forest lands Ram Pramara of Telung, the Chukwa lord of Oojeni, made the gift. He bestowed Delhi on the Tuars, and Puttun on the Chawuras; Sambhur on the Chohans, and Canouj on the Kamdhuj; Mar-des on the Purihar, Sorat on the Jadu, Dekhan on Jawula, and Cutch on the Charun." (*Poems of Chund*).

though it is difficult to say which of the three * princes of this name is particularly alluded to, as they all appear to have been patrons of science.

Chandragoopta, the supposed opponent of Alexander, was a Mori, and in the sacred genealogies is declared of the race of Takshac. The ancient inscriptions of the Pramaras, of which the Mori is a principal branch, declare it of the race of Tusta and Takshac, as does that now given from the seat of their power Cheetore.†

Salivahana, the conqueror of Vicramaditya, was a Takshac, and his era set aside that of the Tuar in the Dekhan.

Not one remnant of independence exists to mark the greatness of the Pramaras: ruins are the sole records of their power. The prince of Dhat, ‡ in the Indian desert is the last phantom of royalty of the race; and the descendant of the prince who protected Humayoon, driven from the throne of Timoor, in whose capital, Omarkote, the great Akber was born, is at the foot of fortune's ladder; his throne in the desert, is the footstool of the Bulotch, on whose bounty he is dependent for support.

Among the thirty-five *sachæ* of the Pramaras, the Vihil was eminent, the princes of which line appear to have been lords of Chandravati, at the foot of the Aravali.

The Rao of Bijolli, one of the sixteen superior nobles of the Rana's court, is a Pramara of the ancient stock of Dhar and perhaps its most respectable representative.

Thirty-five Sachæ of the Pramaras.

Mori.—Of which was Chandragoopta, and the princes of Cheetore prior to the Gehlotes.

Soda.—Sogdi of Alexander, the princes of Dhat in the Indian desert,

Sankla.—Chiefs of Poogul, and in Marwar.

* The inscription gives S. 1100 (A. D. 1044) for the third Bhoj: and this date agrees with the period assigned to this prince in an ancient Chronogrammatic Catalogue of reigns embracing all the Princes of the name of Bhoj, which may therefore be considered authentic. This authority assigns S. 631 and 721 (or A. D. 575 and 665) to the first and second Bhoj.

† Herbert has a curious story of Cheetore being called Taxila; thence the story of the Ranas being sons of Porus. I have an inscription from a temple on the Chumbul, within the ancient limits of Mewar, which mentions Taksilanagara, 'the stone fort of the Tak,' but I cannot apply it. The city of Thoda (Tonk, or properly Tanka) is called in the Chohan chronicles, Takatpur.

‡ Of the Soda tribe, a grand division of the Pramaras, and who held all the desert regions in remote times. Their subdivisions, Oomar and Soomra, gave the names to Omarkote and Oomrasomra, in which was the insular Bekher on the Indus: so that we do not misapply etymology, when we say, in Soda we have the Sogdi of Alexander.

Khyr,—Capital Khyraloo.

Oomr and Soomra.—Anciently in the desert, now Mahomedans.

Vehil, or Bihil.—Princes of Chandravati.

Maipawut.—Present chief of Bijolli in Mewar.

Bulhar;—Northern desert.

Kaba.—Celebrated in Saurashtra in ancient times, a few yet in Sirowi.

Omuta.—The princes of Omutwarra in Malwa, there established for twelve generations. Omutwarra is the largest tract left to the Pramaras. Since the war in 1817, being under the British interference they cannot be called independent.

Rehar, ...
Dhoonda, ... } Grasia, petty chiefs in
Soruteah, ... } Malwa.
Hurair, ...

Besides others unknown; as Chaonda, Khejur, Sugra, Burkota, Pooni, Sampal, Bheeba, Kalpoosur, Kulmoh, Kohila, Pupa, Kahoria, Dhund, Deba, Burhur, Jeepra, Posra, Dhoonta, Rikumva, and Tyka. Many of these are proselytes to Islamism, and several beyond the Indus.

CHAHUMAN OR CHOHAN.—On this race so much has been said elsewhere,* that it would be superfluous to give more than a rapid sketch of them here.

This is the most valiant of the Agniculas, and it may be asserted not of them only, but of each of the whole Rajpoot race. Actions may be recorded of the greater part of the Chhateescula, which would yield to none in the ample and varied pages of history; and though the 'Tulwar Rhatoran' would be ready to contest the point, impartial decision, with a knowledge of their respective merits, must assign to the Chohan the van in the long career of arms.

Its branches (sachæ) have maintained all the vigour of the original stem; and the Haras, the Kheechees, the Deoras, the Sonigurras, and others of the twenty-four, have their names immortalized in the song of the bard.

The derivation of chohan is coeval with his fabulous birth: 'the four-handed warrior' (*Chatoor bhooja, Chatoor-bahu-Vira.*), all failed when sent against the demons but the Chohan, the last creation of the Brahmans to fight their battles against infidelity.

A short extract may be acceptable from the original respecting the birth of the Chohan, to guard the rites of our Indian Jove on this Olympus, the Sacred Aboo: "the Gooru

* See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 133, "Comments on a Sanskrit Inscription."

of mountains, like Soomeru or Kylas, which, Achalés made his abode. Fast but one day on its summit, and your sins will be forgiven; reside there for a year, and you may become the preceptor of mankind."

Notwithstanding the sanctity of Aboo, and the little temptation to distrub the anchorites of Bal, "the Munis, who passed their time in devotion, whom desire never approached, who drew support from the cow, from roots, fruits, and flowers," yet did the Daityas, envying their felicity, render the sacrifice impure, and stop in transit the share of the gods.

"The Brahmans dug the pit for burnt sacrifice to the south-west (nairrit); but the demons* raised storms which darkened the air and filled it with clouds of sand, showering ordure, blood, bones and flesh with every impurity, on their rites. Their penance was of no avail."

Again they kindled the sacred fire; and the priesty assembling round the *Agnicoonda*,† prayed for aid to Mahac .

"From the fire-fountain a figure issued forth, l ne had not a warrior's mien. The Brahmans placed him guardian of the gate, and thence his name, Prithiha-dwara.‡ A second issued forth, and being formed in the palm (*chaloo*) of the hand was named Chalooka. A third appeared and was named Pramara.§ He had the blessing of the Rics, and with the others went against the demons, but they did not prevail.

"Again Vasishtha, seated on the lotus, prepared incantations; again he called the gods to aid: and as he poured forth the libation, a figure arose, lofty in stature, of elevated front, hair like jet, eyes rolling, breast expanded, fierce, terrific, clad in armour, quiver filled, a bow in one hand and a brand in the other, quadriform (*Chatooranga*),‖ whence his name, *Chohan*.

"Vasishtha prayed that his hope¶ might be at length fulfilled, as the Chohan was despatched against the demons. Sacti-devi** on her lion, armed with the trident, descended and bestowed her blessing on the Chohan, and as Asapurna, or Kalika, promised always to hear his prayer. He went against the demons: their leaders he slew. The rest fled, nor halted

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* Asoora, Daitya, which it seems, were either the aboriginal Bhils or the Scythic hordes.

† I have visited the classic spot in Hindu mythology. An image is Adi-pal (the '*first created*'), in marble, which still adorns its embankment, and is a piece of very fine sculpture. It was too sacred a relic to remove.

‡ 'Portal or door (*dwar*) of the earth'; contracted to Prithihara and Purihara.

§ 'The first striker.'

‖ *Chatoor* or *Cha*, 'four'; *Anga*, 'body'.

¶ *Asa*, 'hope,' *Purna* to 'fulfil': whence the tutelary goddess of the Chohan race, Asapurna.

** The goddess of energy, (*Sacti*).

till they reached the depths of hell. Anhul slew the demons. The Brahmans were made happy ; and of his race was Prithwiraja."

The genealogical tree of the Chohans exhibits thirty-nine princes, from Anhul, the first created Chohan, to Prithwiraja, the last of the Hindu emperors of India.* But whether the chain is entire we cannot say. The inference is decidedly against its being so ; for this creation or generation is assigned to an age centuries anterior to Vicramaditya : and we may safely state these converts to be of the Takshac race, invaders of India at a very early period.

Ajipal is a name celebrated in the Chohan chronicles, as the founder of the fortress of Ajmeer, one of the earliest establishments of Chohan power.

Sambhur,† on the banks of the extensive salt lake of the same name, was probably anterior to Ajmeer, and yielded an epithet to the princes of this race, who were styled Sambri Rao. These continued to be the most important places of Chohan power, until the transalation of Prithwiraja to the imperial throne of Delhi threw a parting halo of splendour over the last of its independent kings. There were several princes whose action emblazon the history of the Chohans. Of these was Manika Rao, who first opposed the progress of the Mahomedan arms. Even the history of the conquerors records, that the most obstinate oposition which the arms of Mahmoud of Ghizni encountered, was from the prince of Ajmeer,‡ who forced him to retreat, foiled and disgraced, from this celebrated strong-hold, in his destructive route to Saurashtra.

The attack on Manika Rao appears to have been by Kasim, the general of Walid, on the close of the first century of the Hegira. The second attack was at the end of the fourth century. A third was during the reign of Beesaldeva, who headed a grand confederacy of the Rajpoot princes against the foes of their religion. The celebrated Udayadit Pramar is enumerated amongst the chiefs acting in subserviency to the Chohan prince on this occasion, and as his death has been fixed by unerring records in A. D. 1096, this combination must have been against the Islamite king Modud, the fourth from Mahmoud; and to this victory is the allusion in the inscription on the ancient pillar of Delhi. But these irruptions continued to the captivity and death of the last of the Chohans, whose reign exhibits a splendid picture of feudal manners.

* Born in S. 1215, or A. D. 1159.

† A name derived from the goddess Sacambhari, the tutelary divinity of the tribes, whose statue is in the middle of the lake.

‡ Dharma Dheraj, father of Beesaldeva, must have been the defender on this occasion.

The Chohans sent forth twenty-four branches, of whom the most celebrated are the existing families of Boondi and Kotah, in the division termed Haravati. They have well maintained the Chohan reputation for valour. Six princely brothers shed their blood in one field, in the support of the aged Shah Jehan against his rebellious son Aurungzebe, and of the six but one survived his wounds.

The Kheechees of Gagrown and Ragoogurh, the Deoras of Sirohi, the Sonagurras of Jhalore, the Chohans of Sooe Bah and Sanchore, and the Pawaitchas of Pawagurh, have all immortalized themselves by the most heroic and devoted deeds. Most of these families yet exist, brave as in the days of Prithwiraja.

Many chiefs of the Chohan race abandoned their faith to preserve their lands, the Kami-Khani,* the Surwains, the Lowanis, the Kurur-wanis, and the Baidwanis, chiefly residing in Shikavati, are the most conspicuous. No less than twelve petty princes thus deserted their faith: which, however, is not contrary to the Rajpoot creed; for even Manu says they may part with wife to preserve their land. Eesurdas, nephew of Prithwiraja, was the first who set this example,

TWENTY-FOUR SACHÆ OF THE CHOHANS—Chohan, Hera, Kheechee, Sonigurra, Deora, Pabia, Sanchora, Goelwal, Bhadoria, Nurbhan, Malani, Poorbea, Soora, Madraetcha, Sankraetcha, Bhooraetcha, Balaetcha, Tussairah, Chachairah, Rosiah, Chundu, Nacoompa, Bhawur, and Bankut.

CHALOOK OR SOLANKI.—Though we cannot trace the history of this branch of the Agniculas to such periods of antiquity as the Pramara or Chohan, it is from the deficiency of materials, rather than any want of celebrity, that we are unable to place it, in this respect, on a level with them. The tradition of the Bard makes the Solankis important as princes of Sooru on the Ganges, ere the Rahtores obtained Canouj. The Geneological test† claims Locote, said to be the ancient Lahore, as a residence, which makes them of the same Sacha (Madwuni) as the Chohans. Certain it is, that in the eighth century we find the Langahas‡ and Togras inhabiting Mooltan and the surrounding country, the chief opponents of the Bhattis on their establishment in the desert. They were princes of Calian, on

* About Futtehpur Jhoon-Joonee.

† Solanki Gotra Acharya is thus:—"Madwuni Sacha—Bhardwaj Gotra—Gurh Lokote Nekas—Sarasvati Nadi (river)—Sham Veda—Kapileswar Deva—Carduman Rikeswar—Teen Purwur—Zenar (zone of three threads)—Kenoj Devi—Maipal Putra (one of the Penates.)"

‡ Called Malkhani, being the sons of Mal Khan, the first apostate rom his faith to Islamism. Whether these branches of the Solankis were compelled to quit there religion, or did it voluntarly, we know not.

the Malabar coast,* which city still exhibits vestiges of ancient grandeur. It was from Calian that a scion of the Solanki tree was taken, and engrafted on the royal stem of the Chawuras of Anhulwarra Puttun.

It was in S. 987 (A.D. 931) that Bhojraj, the last of the Chawuras, and the Salic law of India were both set aside, to make way for the young Solanki, Moolraj,† who ruled Anhulwarra for the space of fifty-eight years. During the reign of his son and successor, Chaond Rae,‡ Mahmood of Ghazni carried his desolating arms into the kingdom of Anhulwarra. With its wealth he raised those magnificent trophies of his conquest, among which the "*Celestial Bride*" might have vied with anything ever erected by man as a monument of folly. The wealth abstracted, as reported in the history of the conquerors, by this scourge of India, though deemed incredible, would obtain belief, if the commercial riches of Anhulwarra could be appreciated. It was to India what Venice was to Europe, the *entrepôt* of the products of both the eastern and western hemispheres. It fully recovered the shock given by Mahmood and the desultory wars of his successors; and we find Sid Rae Jey Sing,§ the seventh from the founder, at the head of the richest, if not the most warlike, kingdom of India. Two and twenty principalities at one time owned his power, from the Carnatic to the base of the Himalaya mountains; but his unwise seccessor drew upon himself the vengeance of the Chohan, Prithwiraja, a slip of which race was engrafted, in the person of Komarpal, on the genealogical tree of the Solankis; and it is a curious fact, that this dynasty of the Balica-raes alone gives us two examples of the Salic law of India being violated. Komarpal, installed on the throne of Anhulwarra, "tied round his head the turban of the Solanki." He became of the tribe into which he was adopted. Komarpal, as well as Sid Rae, was the patron of Booddhism; and the monuments erected under them and their successors claim our admiration, from their magnificence and the perfection of the arts; for, at no period, were they more cultivated than at the courts of Anhulwarra.

The Lieutenants of Shahabudin disturbed the close of Komarpal's reign; and his successor, Ballo Mooldeo, closed this

* Near Bombay.

† Son of Jey Sing Solanki, the emigrant prince of Calian, who married the daughter of Bhojraj. These praticulars are taken from a valuable little geographical and historical treatise incomplete and without title.

‡ Called Jamund by Mahomedan historians.

§ He ruled from S. 1150 to 1201. It was his court that was visited by El Edrisi, commonly called the Nubian geographer, who particularly describes this prince as following the tenets of Booddha.

dynasty in S. 1284 (A.D. 1228), when a new dynasty, called the Baghela (descendants of Sid Rae) under Beesaldeva, succeeded. The dilapidations from religious persecution were repaired; Somnath, renowned as Delphis of old, rose from its ruins, and the kingdom of the Balica-Raes was attaining its pristine magnificence, when, under the fourth prince, Gehla Kurrun, the angel of destruction appeared in the shape of Alla-ud-din, and the kingdom of Anhulwarra was annihilated. The Lieutenants of the Tatar despot of Delhi, let loose the spirit of intolerance and avarice on the rich cities and fertile plains of Guzerat and Saurashtra. In contempt of their faith, the altar of an Islamite Dervish was placed in contact with the shrine of Adinath, on the most accessible of their sacred mounts: * the statues of Booddha were thrown down, and the books containing the mysteries of their faith suffered the same fate as the Alexandrian library. The walls of Anhulwarra were demolished; its foundations excavated, and again filled up with the fragments of their ancient temples. †

The remnants of the Solanki dynasty were scattered over the land, and this portion of India remained for upwards of a century without any paramount head, until, by a singular dispensation of Providence, its splendor was renovated, and its foundation rebuilt, by an adventurer of the same race from which the Agniculas were originally converts, though Seharun the Tak hid his name and his tribe under his new epithet of Zuffir Khan, and as Mozuffir ascended the throne of Guzerat, which he left to his son. The son was Ahmed, who founded Ahmedabad, whose most splendid edifices were built from the ancient cities around it.

Though the stem of the Solankis was thus uprooted, yet was it not before many of its branches (Sachæ), like their own indigenous burr-tree, had fixed themselves in other soils. The most conspicuous of these is the Bhagela ‡ family, which gave its name to an entire divison of Hindusthan; and Bhagelkhund has now been ruled for many centuries by the descendants of Sid Rae.

Besides Bandooghurh, there are minor chieftainships still in Guzerat of the Bhagela tribe. Of these, Peetapoor and Theraud are the most conspicuous. One of the chieftains of the

* Satrunja.

† in 1822 I made a journey to explore the remains of antiquity in Saurashtra. I discovered a ruined suburb of the ancient Puttun still bearing the name of *Anurwara*, the *Nehrwara* which D'Anville had "fort a cœur de retrouxer." I meditate a seperate account of this kingdom, and the dynasties which governed it.

‡ The name of this subdivision is from Bhag Rao, the son of Sid Rae; though the bards have another tradition for its origin.

second class in Mewar is a Solanki, and traces his line immediately from Sid Rae: this is the chief of Roopanagurh,* whose stronghold commands one of the passes leading to Marwar, and whose family annals would furnish a fine picture of the state of border-feuds. Few of them, till of late years, have died natural deaths.

The Solanki is divided into sixteen branches.

1. Bhagela—Raja of Bhagelkhund (capital, Bandoogurh), Raos of Peetapoor, Theraud, and Adaluj, &c.
2. Beerpoora—Rao of Lunawarra.
3. Behila—Kulianpoor in Mewar, styled Rao, but serving the chief of Saloombra.
4. Bhoorta† } In Baroo, Tekra, and Chahir, in Jessulmeer
5. Kalacha† }
6. Langaha—Mooslims about Mooltan.
7. Togru—Mooslims in the Punjnud.
8. Briku. Do. do.
9. Soorki—In Dekhan.
10. Sirwureah‡—Girnar in Saurashtra.
11. Raoka—Thoda in Jeypur.
12. Ranikar—Daisoori in Mewar.
13. Kharura—Allote and Jawura, in Malwa.
14. Tantia—Chandbhur Sakunbari.§
15. Almetcha—No land.
16. Kulamor—Guzerat.

PRITIHARA OR PURIHARA.—Of this, the last and least of the Agniculas, we have much to say. The Puriharas never acted a conspicuous part in the history of Rajasthan. They are always discovered in a subordinate capacity, acting in feudal subjection to the Tuars of Delhi or the Chohans of Ajmeer; and the brightest page of their history is the record of an abortive attempt of Nahur Rao to maintain his independence against Prithwiraja. Though a failure, it has immortalized his name, and given to the scene of action, one of the passes of the Aravali, a merited celebrity.

Mundawur‖ (classically Mundodri) was the capital of the

* I knew this chieftain well, and a very good specimen he is of the race. He is in possession of the famous war-shell of Jey Sing, which is an heir-loom.

† Famous robbers in the deserts, known as the Maldoots.

‡ Celebrated in traditional history

§ Desperate robbers. I saw this place fired and levelled in 1807, when the noted Kureem Pindarree was made prisoner by Sindhia. It afterwards cost some British blood in 1817.

‖ Though now desolate, the walls of this fortress attest its antiquity, and it is a work that could not be undertaken in this degenerate age. The remains of it bring to mind those of Volterra or Crotona, and other ancient cities of Tuscany; enormous squared masses of stone without any cement.

Purihars, and was the chief city of Marwar which owned the sway of this tribe prior to the invasion and settlement of the Rahtores. It is placed five miles northward of the modern Jodhpur, and preserves some specimens of the ancient Pali character, fragments of sculpture and Jain temples.

The Rahtore emigrant princes of Canouj found an asylum with the Purihars. They repaid it by treachery, and Chonda, a name celebrated in the Rahtore annals, dispossessed the last of the Purihars, and pitched the flag of the Rahtores on the battlements of Mundawur.

The power of the Purihars had, however, been much reduced previously by the princes of Mewar, who not only abstracted much territory from, but assumed the title of its princes—Rana.*

The Purihara is scattered over Rajasthan, but I am unaware of the existence of any independent chieftainship there. At the confluence of the Cohari, the Scind, and the Chumbul, there is a colony of this race, which has given its name to a commune of twenty-four villages, besides hamlets, situated amidst the ravines of these streams. They were nominally subjects of Sindhia; but it was deemed requisite for the line of defence along the Chumbul that it should be included within the British demarcation, by which we incorporated with our rule the most notorious body of thieves in the annals of Thug history.

The Purihars had twelve sub-divisions, of which the chief were the Indoh and Sindhil; a few of both are still to be found about the banks of the Loony.

CHAWURA or CHAURA.—This tribe was once renowned in the history of India, though its name is now scarcely known, or only in the chronicles of the bard. Of its origin we are in ignorance. It belongs neither to the Solar nor Lunar race, and consequently we may presume it to be of Scythic origin. The name is unkown in Hindusthan, and is confined, with many others originating from beyond the Indus, to the peninsula of Saurashtra. If foreign to India proper, its establishment must have been at a remote period, as we find individuals of it intermarrying with the Suryavansa ancestry of the present princes of Mewar, when this family were the lords of Ballabhi.

The capital of the Chawuras was the insular Deobunder, on the coast of Saurashtra, and the celebrated temple of Somnath, with many others on this coast, dedicated to Balnath,

* This was in the thirteenth century, when Mundawur was captured, and its prince slain, by the *Rawul* of Cheetore.

or the sun, is attributed to this tribe of the Sauras,* or worshippers of the sun: most probably the generic name of the tribe as well as of the peninsula.†

By a natural catastrophe, or as the Hindu superstitious chroniclers will have it, as a punishment for the piracies of the prince of Deo, the element whose privilege he abused, rose and overwhelmed his capital. As all this coast is very low, such an occurrence is not improbable; though the abandonment of Deo might have been compelled by the irruptions of the Arabians, who at this period carried on a trade with these parts and the plunder of some of their vessels may have brought this punishment on the Chawuras. That it was owing to some such political catastrophe, we have additional grounds for belief from the annals of Mewar, which state that its princes induced the Chawuras into the seats of the power they abandoned on the continent and peninsula of Saurashtra.

At all events, the princes of Deo laid the foundation of Anhulwarra Puttun in S. 802 (A. D. 746), which henceforth become the capital city of this portion of India, in lieu of Ballabhipura, which gave the title of Balica-raes to its princes, the Balhara of the earlier Arabian travellers, and following them, the geographers of Europe.

Vena Raja (or, in the dialects, Bunraj), was this founder and his dynasty ruled for one hundred and eighty-four years, when, as related in the sketch of the Solanki tribe, Bhoj Raj, the seventh from the founder, was deposed by his nephew. It was during this dynasty that the Arabian travellers‡ visited this court, of which they have left but a confused picture. We are not, however, altogether in darkness regarding the Chawura race, as in the Khoman Rassa, one of the chronicles of Mewar, mention is made of the auxiliaries under a leader named Chatunsi, in the defence of Cheetore against the first attack on record on the Mahomedans.

When Mahmood of Ghizni invaded Saurashtra and captured its capital, Anhulwarra, he deposed its prince, and placed upon the throne, according to Ferishta, a prince of the former dynasty, renowned for his ancient line and purity of blood, and

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* The *Suroi* of the Greek writers on Bactria, the boundary of the Bactrain kingdom under Apollodorus. On this, see the paper on Grecian medals in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i.

† Many of the inhabitants of the south and west of India cannot pronounce the *ch*, and invariably substitute the *s*. Thus the noted Pindarrie leader Cheeto was always called Seetoo by the Dekhanis. Again, with many of the tribes of the desert, the *s* is alike a stumbling-block, which causes many singular mistakes, when Jessulmeer, the 'hill of Jessul,' becomes *Jehulmeer*, 'the hill of *fools*.'

‡ 'Relations anciennes des Voyageurs, par Renaudot.'

who is styled Dabichalima; a name which has puzzled all European commentators. Now the Dabi was a celebrated tribe, said by some to be a branch of the Chawura, and this therefore may be a compound of Dabi Chawura, or the Chourasima, by some called a branch of the ancient Yadus.

This ancient connection between the Suryavansi chiefs and the Chawuras or Sauras, of Saurashtra, is still maintained after a lapse of more than one thousand years; for although an alliance with the Rana's family is deemed the highest honour that a Hindu prince can obtain, as being the first in rank in Rajasthan, yet is the humble Chawura sought out, even at the foot of fortune's ladder, whence to carry on the blood of Rama. The present heir-apparent of a line of 'one hundred kings,' the prince Jovana Sing, is the offspring of a Chawura mother, the daughter of a petty chieftain of Guzerat.

It were vain to give any account of the present state of the families bearing this name. They must depend upon the fame of past days: to this we leave them.

TAK or TAKSHAC,—Takshac appears to be the *generic* term of the race from which the various Scythic tribes, the early invaders of India, branched off. It appears of more ancient application than Gete, which was the parent of innumerable Sachæ. It might not be judicious to separate them, though it would be speculative to say which was the primitive title of the races called Scythic, after their country, Sakatai or Saca-dwipa, the land of the great Gete.

Abulgazi makes Taunak, * the son of Turc or Targetai, who appears to be the Turashka of the *Puranas*, the Tukyuks of the Chinese historians, the nomadic Tochari of Strabo, who aided to overturn the Greek kingdom of Bactria, and gave their name to the grand division of Asia, Tocharistan † or Turkistan:

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* Abulgazi says, when Noah left the ark he divided the earth amongst his three sons; Shem had Iran; Japhet, the country of "Kuttup Shamach," the name of the regions between the Caspain sea and India. There he lived two hundred and fifty years. He left eight sons, of whom Turc was the elder, and the seventh, Camari, supposed the Gomer of Scripture.

Turc had four sons; the eldest of whom was Tanuk, the fourth from whom was Mogul, a corruption of Mongul, signifying *sad*, whose successors made the Jaxartes their winter abode. Under his reign no trace of the true religion remained: idolatry reigned everywhere. Oguz Khan succeeded.

The ancient Cimbri, who went west with Odin's horde of Jits, Cattis, and Su, were probably the tribes descended from Camari, the son of Turc.

† Tacash continued to be a proper name with the great Khans of Carazm (Chorasmia) until they adopted the faith of Mahomed. The father of Jellal, the foe of Jungheez Khan, was named Tacash. Tachkund on the Jaxartes, the capital of Turkistan, may be derived from the name of the race.

and there is every appearance of that singular race, the Tajuk, * still scattered over those regions, and whose history appears a mystery, being the descendants of the Takshac.

It has been already observed, that ancient inscriptions in the Pali or Booddhist character have been discovered in various parts of Rajasthan, of the race called Tusta, Takshac, and Tak, relating to the tribes, the Mori, Pramara, their descendants. *Naga* and *Takshac* are synonymous appellations in Sanscrit for the *snake*, and the Takshac is the celebrated Nagvansa of the early heroic history of India. The *Mahabharat* describes, in its usual allegorical style, the wars between the Pandus of Indraprastha and the Takshacs of the north. The assassination of Parikshita by the Takshac, and the exterminating warfare carried on against them by his son and successor, Janmejaya, who at last compelled them to sign tributary engagements, divested of its allegory,† is plain historical fact.

When Alexander invaded India, he found the Parætakæ, the mountain (*pahar*) Tak, inhabiting the Paropamisan Range, nor is it by any means unlikely that Taxiles,‡ the ally of the

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Bayer says, "Tocharistan was the region of the Tochari, who were the ancient *Tocharoi* or *Tacharoi*. Ammianus Marcellinus says, "many nations obey the Bactrians, whom the Tochari surpass."—*Hist. Reg. Bact.*, p. 7.

* This singular race, the Tajuks, are repeatedly mentioned by Mr. Elphinstone, in his admirable account of the kingdom of Cabul. They are also particularly noticed as monopolizing the commercial transactions of the kingdom of Bokhara, in that interesting work "Voyage, d' Orenbourg a Bokhara," the map accompanying which, for the first time, lays down authentically the sources and course of the Oxus and Jaxartes.

† The *Mahabharat* describes this warfare against the snakes literally; of which, in one attack, he seized and made a burnt-offering (hom) of twenty thousand. It is surprising that the Hindu will accept these things literally. It might be said, he had but a choice of difficulties, and that it would be as impossible for any human being to make the barbarous sacrifice of twenty thousand of his species, as it would be difficult to find twenty thousand snakes for the purpose. The author's knowledge of what barbarity will inflict, leaves the fact of the human sacrifice, though not perhaps to this extent, not even improbable. In 1811 his duties called him to a survey amidst the ravines of the tract called Goojurgar, a district inhabited by the Goojur tribe. Turbulent and independent, like the sons of Esau, their hand against every man and every man's hand against them, their nominal prince, Surajmul, the Jit chief of Bhurotpore, pursued exactly the same plan towards the population of these villages, whom they captured in a night attack, that Janmejaya did to the Takshacs: he threw them into pits with combustibles, and actually thus consumed them! This occured not three quarters of a century ago.

‡ Arrian says that his name was Omphis, and that his father dying at this time, he did homage to Alexander, who invested him with the title and estates of his father Taxiles. Hence, perhaps (from *Tak*), the name of the Indus, *Attac*: not *Uttuc*, or 'forbidden,' according to modern signification, and which has only been given since the Mahomedan religion or a time made it the boundary between the two faiths.

Macedonian king, was the chief (*es*) of the Taks; and in the early history of the Bhatti princes of Jessulmeer, when driven from Zabulisthan, they dispossessed the Taks on the Indus, and established themselves in their land, the capital of which was called Salbhanpura; and as the date of this event is given as 3008 of the Yudhishthira era, it is by no means unlikely that Salivahana, or Salbhan (who was a Takshac), the conqueror of the Tuar Vicrama, was of the very family dispossessed by the Bhattis, who compelled them to migrate to the South.

The calculated period of invasion of the Takshacs, or Nag-vansa, under Ses-nag, is about six or seven centuries before the Christian era, at which very period the Scythic invasion of Egypt and Syria, "by the sons of Togarmah riding on horse" (the Aswas, or Asi), is alike recorded by the prophet Ezekiel and Diodorus. The Aboo Mahatmya calls the Takshacs "the sons of Himachal," all evincing Scyhic descent; and it was only eight reigns anterior to this change in the Lunar dynasties of India, that Parswanath, the twenty-third Booddha, introduced his tenets into India, and fixed his abode in the holy mount Sarnet. *

Enough of the ancient history of the Tak: we will now descend to more modern times, on which we shall be brief. We have already mentioned the Takshac Mori as being lords of Cheetore from a very early period; and but a few generations after the Gehlotes supplanted the Moris, this palladium of Hindu liberty was assailed by the arms of Islam. We find amongst the numerous defenders who appear to have considered the cause of Cheetore their own, "the Tac from Asergurh." † This race appears to have retained possession of Aser for at least two centuries after this event as its chieftain was one of the most conspicuous leaders in the array of Prithwiraja. In the poems of Chund he is called the "standard-bearer, Tac of Aser." ‡

This ancient race, the foe of Janmejaya and the friend of Alexander, closed its career in a blaze of splendour. The celebrity of the kings of Guzerat will make amends for the obscurity of the Taks of modern times, of whom a dynasty of fourteen kings followed each other in succession, commencing and ending with the proud title of Mozuffir. It was in

* In Behar, during the reign of Pradyota, the successor of Ripoonjyaya. Parswanath's symbol is the serpent or Tackshac. His doctrines spread to the remotest parts of India, and the princes of Ballabhipura of Muddodri and Anhulwarra all held to the tents of Booddha.

† This is the celebrated fortress in the Candeish, now in the possession of the British.

‡ In the list of the wounded at the battle of Canouj he is mentioned by name, as "Chatto of Tak."

the reign of Mohammed,* son of the first Togluc, that an accident to his nephew Feroz proved the dawn of the fortunes of the Tak: purchased, however, with the change of name and religion. Seharun, the Tak, was the first apostate of his line, who under the name of Wujeh-ool-Toolk concealed both his origin and tribe. His son, Zuffir Khan, was raised by his patron Feroz to the government of Guzerat, about the period when Timoor invaded India. Zuffir availed himself of the weakness of his master and the distraction of the times, and mounted the throne of Guzerat under the name of Mozuffir.† He was assassinated by the hand of his grandson, Ahmed, who changed the ancient capital, Anhulwarra, for the city founded by himself, and called Ahmedabad, one of the most splendid in the East.

With the apostacy of the Tak,‡ the name appears to have been obliterated from the tribes of Rajasthan; nor has my search ever discovered one of this name now existing.

JIT.—In all the ancient catalogues of the thirty-six royal races of India the Jit has a place, though by none is he ever styled 'Rajpoot'; nor am I aware of any instance of a Rajpoot's intermarriage with a Jit. It is a name widely disseminated over India, though it does not now occupy a very elevated place amongst the inhabitants, belonging chiefly to the agricultural classes.

In the Punjab they still retain their ancient name of *Jit*. On the Jumna and Ganges they are styled *Jats*, of whom the chief of Bhurtpur is the most conspicuous. On the Indus and in Saurashtra they are termed *Juts*. The greater portion of the husbandmen in Rajasthan are Jits; and there are numerous tribes beyond the Indus, now proselytes to the Mahomedan religion, who derive their origin from this class.

Of its ancient history sufficient has been already said. We will merely add, that the kingdom of the Great Gete, whose capital was on the Jaxartes, preserved its integrity and name from the period of Cyrus to the fourteenth century, when it was converted from idolatry to the faith of Islam. Herodotus informs us that the Getes were theists and held the tenets of the soul's immortality, and De Guignes§ from Chinese authorities

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* He reigned from A.D. 1325 to 1351.

† "The victorious."

‡ The *Mirat Secundri* gives the ancestry of the apostate for twenty-three generations; the last of whom was Ses, the same which introduced the Nagvansa, seven centuries before the Christian era, into India. Tak, or Taunk, from *Tarka* 'expulsion,' from his caste, which he styles Khetri, evincing his ignorance of this ancient race.

§ "The superiority of the Chinese over the Turks caused the great

asserts that at a very early period they had embraced the religion of Fo or Booddha.

The traditions of the Jits claim the regions west of the Indus as the cradle of the race, and make them of Yadu extraction; thus corroborating the annals of the Yadus, which state migration from Zabulisthan, and almost inducing us to dispense with the descent of this tribe from Crishna, and to pronounce it an important colony of the Yuchi, Yuti, or Jits. Of the first migration from central Asia of this race within the Indus, we have no record: it might have been simultaneous with the Takshac, from the wars of Cyrus or his ancestors.

It has been already remarked, that the Jit divided with the Takshac the claim of being the parent name of the various tribes called Scythic invaders of India; and there is now before the author an inscription of the fifth century applying both epithets to the same prince,* who is invested, moreover, with the Scythic quality of worshipping the sun. It states, likewise, that the mother of this Jit prince was of Yadu race: strengthening their claims to a niche amongst the thirty-six Rajculas, as well as their Yadu descent.

The fifth century of the Christian era, to which this inscription belongs, is a period of interest in Jit history. De Guignes, from original authorities, states the Yuchi, or Jits, to have established themselves in the Punjab in the fifth and sixth centuries, and the inscription now quoted applies to a prince whose capital is styled *Salindrapura* in these regions; and doubtless the *Salivahanpura*† where the Yadu Bhattis established themselves on the expulsion of the Tak.

Khan to turn his arms against the Nomadic Getes of Mawer-ool-Nehr (Transoxiana), descended from the Yuchi, and bred on the Jihoon or Oxus, hence they had extended themselves along the Indus and even Ganges, and are there yet found. These Getes had embraced the religion of Fo."—*Hist. Gen. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 375.

* "To my foe, salutation! This foe how shall I describe? Of the race "of *Jit Cattida*, whose ancestor, the warrior Takshac, formed the garland "on the neck of Mahadeva."

Though this is a figurative allusion to the snake necklace of the father of creation, yet it evidently pointed to the Jit's descent from the Takshac. But enough has been said elsewhere of the snake race, the parent of the Scythic tribes, which the divine Milton seems to have taken from Diodorus's account of the mother of the Scythæ:

> "Woman to the waist, and fair;
> "But ended foul in many a scaly fold?"
> *Par. Lost*, book ii.

Whether the *Jit Catti-da* is the Jit or Gete of Cathay (*da* being the mark of genetive case) we will leave to conjecture.

† This place existed in the twelfth century as a capital; since an inscription of Komarpal, prince of Anhulwarra, declares that this monarch carried his conquests "even to Salpur." There is a Syal-kote in Rennell's

How much earlier than this the Jit penetrated into Rajasthan must be left to more ancient inscriptions to determine: suffice it, that in A. D. 440 we find him in power.*

When the Yadu were expelled from Salivahanpura, and forced to seek refuge across the Sutledge among the Dahia and Johya Rajpoots of the Indian desert, where they founded their first capital, Derrawul, many from compulsion embraced the Mahomedan faith; on which occasion they assumed the name of *Jat*,† of which at least twenty different offshoots are enumerated in the Yadu chronicles.

That the Jits continued as a powerful community on the east bank of the Indus and in the Punjab, fully five centuries after the period our inscription and their annals illustrate, we have the most interesting records in the history of Mahmoud, the conqueror of India, whose progress they checked in a manner unprecedented in the annals of continental warfare. It was in 416 of the Hegira (A. D. 1026) that Mahmoud marched an army against the Jits, who had harassed and insulted him on the return from his last expedition against Saurashtra. The interest of the account authorises its being given from the original.

"The Jits inhabited the country on the borders of Mooltan, along the river that runs by the mountains of Joud.‡ When Mahmud reached Mooltan, finding the Jit country defended by great rivers, he built fifteen hundred boats,§ each armed with six iron spikes projecting from their prows to prevent their being boarded by the enemy, expert in this kind of warfare. In each boat he placed twenty arches, and some with

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geography, and Wilford mentions "Sangala, a famous city in ruins, sixty miles west by north of Lahore, situated in a forest, and said to be built by Pooru."

* At this time (A. D. 449) the Jut brothers, Hengist and Horsa, led a colony from Jutland and founded the kingdom of Kent (Q. *Cataki*, 'a coast.' in sanskrit, as in Gothic *Konia ?*). The laws they there introduced, more especially the still prevailing one of gavelkind, where all the sons share equally except the youngest, who has a double portion, are purely Scythic, and brought by the original Goth from the Jaxartes.

Alaric had finished his career, and Theodoric and Genseric (*ric*, 'king,' in Sanskrit) were carrying their arms into Spain and Africa.

† Why should these proselytes, if originally Yadu, assume the name of Jat? It must be either that the Yadus were themselves the Scythic Yuti, or Yuchi, or that the branches intermarried with the Jits, and consequently became degraded as Jadus, and the mixed issue bore the names of the mother.

‡ The Jiddo ca Dang, or 'hills of Yodu,' mentioned in the sketch of this race as one of their intermediate points of halt, when they were driven from India after the Mahabharat.

§ Near the spot where Alexander built his fleet, which navigated to Babylon, thirteen hundred years before.

fire-balls of naptha to burn the Jit fleet. The monarch having determined on their extirpation, awaited the result at Mooltan. The Jits sent their wives, children, and effects to Scind Sagur,* and launched four thousand, or, as others say, eight thousand boats well armed to meet the Guznians. A terrible conflict ensued, but the projecting spikes sunk the Jit boats while others were set on fire. Few escaped from this scene of terrors; and those who did, met with the more severe fate of captivity."†

Many doubtless did escape; and it is most probable that the Jit communities, on whose overthrow the state of Bikaneer was founded, were remnants of this very warfare.

Not long after this event the original empire of the Gete was overturned, when many fugitives found a refuge in India. In 1360, Togultash Timoor was the great Khan of the Gete nation; idolators even to this period. He had conquered Khorasan, invaded Transoxiana (whose prince fled, but whose nephew, Ameer Timoor, averted its subjugation), gained the friendship of Togultash, and commanded a hundred thousand Gete warriors. In 1369, when the Getic Khan died, such was the ascendency obtained by Timoor over his subjects, that the Couraltai, or general assembly, transferred the title of Grand Khan from the Getic to the Chagitai Timoor. In 1370 he married a Getic princess, and added Kogend and Samarkand to his patrimony, Transoxiana. Rebellions and massacres almost depopulated this nursery of mankind, ere the Getes abandoned their independence; nor was it till 1388, after six invasions, in which he burnt their towns, brought away their wealth, and almost annihilated the nation, that he felt himself secure.

In his expedition into India, having overrun great part of Europe, "taken Moscow, and slain the soldiers of the barbarous Ooroos," he encountered his old foes "the Getes, who inhabited the plains of Toheem, where he put two thousand to the sword, pursuing them into the desert and slaughtering many more near the Caggar."‡

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* Translated by Dow, 'an island.' Scind Sagur is one of the Do-abs of the Panjab. I have compared Dow's translation of the earlier portion of the history of Ferishta with the original, and it is infinitely more faithful than the world gives him credit for. His errors are most considerable in numerals and in weights and measures; and it is owing to this that he has made the captured wealth of India appear so incredible.

† Ferishta, vol. i.

‡ Abulgazi, vol. ii. chap. 16. After his battle with Sooltan Mahmud of Delhi, Timoor gave orders, to use the word of his historian, "for the slaughter of a hundred thousand infidel slaves. The great mosque was fired, and the souls of the infidels were sent to the abyss of hell. Towers were erected of their heads, and their bodies were thrown as food to the

Still the Jit maintained himself in the Punjab, and the most powerful and independent prince of India at this day, is the Jit prince of Lahore, holding dominion over the identical regions where the Yuchi colonized in the fifth century, and where the Yadus, driven from Guzni, established themselves on the Taks. The Jit cavalier retains a portion of his Scythic manners and preserves the use of the *chakra* or discus, the weapon of the Yadu Crishna in the remote age of the Bharat.

HUN or HOON.—Amongst the Scythic tribes who have secured for themselves a niche with the thirty-six races of India, is the Hun. At what period this race, so well known by its ravages and settlement in Europe, invaded India, we know not. Doubtless it was in the society of many others yet found in the peninsula of Saurashtra; as the Catti, the Balla, the Macwahana, &c. It is, however, confined to the genealogies of that peninsula; for although we have mention of the Hun in the chronicles and inscriptions of India at a very early period, he failed to obtain a place in the catalogue of the northern bards.

The earliest notice of the tribe is in an inscription* recording the power of a prince of Behar, who, amidst his other conquests, "humbled the pride of the Huns." In the annals or the early history of Mewar, in the catalogue of princes who made common cause with this the chief of all the Rajpoots, when Cheetore was assailed in the first irruption of the Mahomedans, was Ungutsi, lord of Huns, who led his quota on this occasion. De Guignes† describes *Ungut* as being the name of a considerable horde of Huns or Moguls; and Abulgazi says that the Tatar tribes, who guarded the great wall of China, were termed *Ungutti*, who had a distinct prince with high pay and honour. The countries inhabited by the Hiong-nou and the Ou-huon, the Turks and Moguls, called 'Tatar' from Tatan, the name of the country from the banks of the Irtish along the mountains of Altai to the shores of the Yellow Sea, are described at large by the historian of the Huns; following whom and other original sources, the historian of the Fall of Rome has given great interest to his narrative of their march into Europe. But those who are desirous to learn all that relates to the past history and manners of this people, must consult that monument of erudition and research, the Geography of Malte-Brun.‡

beasts and birds of prey. At Maitra the infidel Guebres were flayed alive." This was by order of Tamerlane, to whom, the dramatic historians of Europe assign every great and good quality!

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 136.

† Hist. Gen. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 238.

‡ Precis de Geographie Universelle. Malte Brun traces a connection between the Hungarians and the Scandinavians, from similarity of

D'Anville,* quoting Cosmas the traveller, informs us, that the white Huns (*Leukoi Ounnoi*)† occupied the north of India; and it is most probable, a colony of this found their way into Saurashtra and Mewar.

It is on the eastern bank of the Chumbul, at the ancient Barolli, that tradition assigns a residence to the Hoon; and one of the celebrated temples at that place, called the Sengar Chaorie, is the marriage hall of the Hoon prince, who is also declared to have been possessed of a lordship on the opposite banks, occupying the site of the present town of Bhynsror. In the twelfth century the Hun must have possessed consequence, to occupy the place he holds in the chronicle of the princes of Guzerat. The race is not extinct. One of the most intelligent of the living bards of India assured the author of their existence; and in a tour where he accompanied him, redeemed his pledge, by pointing out the residence of some, in a village on the estuary of the Myhie, though degraded and mixed with other classes.‡

We may infer that few convulsions occurred in central Asia, which drove forth these hordes of redundant population to seek subsistence in Europe, without India participating in such overflow. The only singular circumstance is, by what means they came to be recognized as Hindus, even though of the lowest class. Sudra we cannot term them; for although the Catti and the Balla connot be regarded as, or classed with Rajpoots, they would scorn the rank of Sudra.

CATTI.—Of the ancient notices of this people much has been already said, and all the genealogists, both of Rajasthan and Saurashtra, concur in assigning it a place amongst the races of India. It is one of the most important tribes of the western peninsula, and which has effected the change of the name from Saurashtra to Cattiwar.

Of all its inhabitants the Catti retains most originality: his religion, his manners, and his looks, are decidedly Scythic. He occupied, in the time of Alexander, that nook of the Punjab near the confluent five streams. It was against these

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language: "A ces siecles primitifs ou les Huns, les Goths, les Jotes, les Ases. et bien d'autres peuples etaient reunis autour des anciens autels d'Odin." Several of the words which he affords us are Sanskrit in origin. Vol. vi, p. 370.

* Eclaircissemens Geographiques sur la Carte de l'Inde, p. 43.

† An orthography which more assimilates with the Hindu pronunciation of the name Huon, or Oun, than Hun.

‡ The same bard says that there are three or four houses of these Hoons at Tresaowee, three *coss* from Baroda; and Kheechee bard, Mogjee, says their traditions record the existence of many powerful Hoon princes in India.

Alexander marched in person, when he nearly lost his life, and where he left such a signal memorial of his vengeance. The Catti can be traced from these scenes to his present haunts. In the earlier portion of the annals of Jessulmeer mention is made of their conflicts with the Catti; and their own traditions* fix their settlement in the Peninsula from the south-eastern part of the valley of the Indus, about the eighth century.

In the twelfth century the Catti were conspicuous in the wars with Prithwiraja, there being several leaders of the tribe attached to his army, as well as to that of his rival, the monarch of Kanouj.† Though on this occasion they acted in some degree of subservience to the monarch of Anhulwara, it would seem that this was more voluntary than forced.

The Catti still adores the sun, scorns the peaceful arts, and is much less contented with the tranquil subsistence of industry than the precarious earnings of his former predatory pursuits. The Catti was never happy but on horseback, collecting his *black mail*, lance in hand, from friend and foe.

We will conclude this brief sketch with Captain Macmurdo's character of this race. "The Catti differs in some respects from the Rajpoot. He is more cruel in his disposition, but far exceeds him in the virtue of bravery;‡ and a character possessed of more energy than a Catti, does not exist. His size is considerably larger than common, often exceeding six feet. He is sometimes seen with light hair and blue-coloured eyes. His frame is athletic and bony, and particularly well adapted to his mode of life. His countenance is expressive, but of the worst kind, being harsh, and often destitute of a single mild feature."§

BALLA.—All the genealogists, ancient and modern, insert the Balla tribe amongst the Raj-culas. The *byrd*, or 'blessing,' of the bard is "*Tatta Moltan ca rao*,"‖ indicative of their original abodes on the Indus. They lay claim, however, to descent from the Suryavansi, and maintain that their great ancestor, Balla or Bappa, was the offspring of Lava, the eldest

* The late Captain Macmurdo, whose death was a loss to the service and to literature, gives an animated account of the habits of the Catti. His opinions coincide entirely with my own regarding this race. See vol. i. p. 270, Trans. Soc. of Bombay.

† It is needless to particularize them here. In the poems of Chund, some books of which I have translated and purpose giving to the public, the important part the Catti had assigned to them will appear.

‡ It is the Rajpoot of Cattiwar, not of Rajasthan, to whom Captain Macmurdo alludes.

§ Of their personal appearance, and the blue eye indicative of their Gothic or Getic origin, the author will have occasion to speak more particularly in his personal narrative.

‖ 'Princes of Tatta and Mooltan.'

son of Rama; that their first settlement in Saurashtra was at the ancient Dhank, in more remote periods called Mongy Puttun; and that, in conquering the country adjacent, they termed it Ballakshetra (their capital Ballabhipura), and assumed the title of Balla-rae. Here they claim identity with the Gehlote race of Mewar; nor is it impossible that they may be a branch of this family, which long held power in Saurashtra. Before the Gehlotes adopted the worship of Mahadeva, which period is indicated in their annals, the chief object of their adoration was the sun, giving them that Scythic resemblance to which the Ballas have every appearance of claim.

The Ballas on the continent of Saurashtra, on the contrary, assert their origin to be Induvansa, and that they are the Balicaputras who were the ancient lords of Arore on the Indus. It would be presumption to decide between these claims; but I would venture to surmise, that they might be the offspring of Sehl, one of the princes of the Bharat, who founded Arore.

The Cattis claim descent from the Ballas: an additional proof of northern origin, and strengthening their right to the epithet of the bards, "Lords of Mooltan and Tatta." The Ballas were of sufficient consequence in the thirteenth century to make incursions on Mewar; and the first exploit of the celebrated Rana Hamir was his killing the Balla chieftain of Choteela. The present chief of Dhank is a Balla, and the tribe yet preserves importance in the peninsula.

JHALA MACWAHANA.—This tribe also inhabits the Saurashtra peninsula. It is styled Rajpoot, though neither classed with the Solar, Lunar, nor Agnicula races; but though we cannot directly prove it, we have every right to assign to it a northern origin. It is a tribe little known in Hindusthan or even Rajasthan, into which latter country it was introduced entirely through the medium of the ancient lords of Saurashtra, the present family of Mewar: a sanction which covers every defect. A splendid act of self-devotion of the Jhala chief, when Rana Pratap was oppressed with the whole weight of Akbar's power, obtained, with the gratitude of this prince, the highest honours he could confer,—his daughter in marriage, and a seat on his right hand. That it was the act, and not his rank in the scale of the thirty-six tribes, which gained him this distinction, we have decided proof in later times, when it was deemed a mark of great condescension that the present Rana should sanction a remote branch of his own family bestowing a daughter in marriage on the Jhala ruler of Kotah.*

* His son, Madhu Sing, the present administrator, is the offspring of

This tribe has given its name to one of the largest divisions of Saurashtra, Jhalawar. which possesses several towns of importance. Of these Bankaneer, Hulwud, and Drangdra, are the principal.

Regarding the period of the settlement of the Jhalas, tradition is silent, as also on their early history: but the aid of its quota was given to the Rana against the first attacks of the Mahomedans; and in the heroic history of Prithwiraja we have ample and repeated mention of the Jhala chieftains who distinguished themselves in his service, as well as in that of his antagonist; and the name of these, as recorded by the bard Chund, I have seen inscribed on the granite rock of the sacred Girnar, near their primitive abodes, where we leave them.

There are several subdivisions of the Jhala, of which the Macwahana is the principal.

JAITWA, JETWA, or CAMARI.—This is an ancient tribe, and by all authorities styled Rajpoot; though, like the Jhala, little known out of Saurashtra, to one of the divisons of which it has given its name, Jaitwar. Its present possessions are on the western coast of the peninsula: the residence of its prince who is styled Rana, is Purbunder.

In remote times their capital was Goomlee, whose ruins attest considerable power, and afford singular scope for analogy, in architectural device, with the style termed Saxon of Europe. The bards of the Jaitwas run through a long list of one hundred and thirty crowned heads, and in the eighth century, have chronicled the marriage of their prince with the Tuar refounder of Delhi. At this period the Jaitwa bore the name of Camar; and Sehl Camar is reported to be the prince who was driven from Goomlee, in the twelfth century, by invaders from the north. With this change the name of Camar was sunk, and that of Jaitwa assumed, which has induced the author to style them Camari; and as they, with the other inhabitants of this peninsula, have all the appearance of Scythic descent, urging no pretensions to connection with the ancient races of India, they may be a branch of that celebrated race, the Cimmerii of higher Asia, and the Cimbri of Europe.

Their legends are as fabulous as fanciful. They trace their descent from the monkey-god Hanuman, and confirm it by alleging the elongation, of the spine of their princes who

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the celebrated Zalim and a Ranawut chieftain's daughter, which has entitled his (Madhu Sing's) issue to marry far above their scale in rank. So much does superiority of blood rise above all worldly considerations with a Rajpoot, that although Zalim Sing held the reins of the richest and best ordered state of Rajasthan, he deemed his family honoured by his obtaining to wife for his grandson the daughter of a Cutchwaha minor chieftain.

bear the epithet of *Puncheria*, or the 'long-tailed,' Ranas of Saurashtra. But the manners and traditions of this race will appear more fully in the narrative of the author's travels amongst them.

GOHIL,—This was a distinguished race: it claims to be Suryavansi, and with some pretension. The first residence of the Gohils was Junah Khergurh, near the bend of the Loony in Marwar. How long they had been established here we know not. They took it from one of the aboriginal Bhil chiefs named Kherwo, and had been in possession of it for twenty generations, when expelled by the Rahtores at the end of the twelfth century. Thence migrating to Saurashtra, they fixed at Perumgur; which being destroyed, one branch settled at Bugwa, and the chief marrying the daughter of Nundun Nugger or Nandode, he usurped or obtained his father-in-law's estates; and twenty-seven generations are enumerated, from Sompal to Narsing, the present Raja of Nandode. Another branch fixed at Seehore, and thence founded Bhownugger and Gogo. The former town, on the gulf of the Myhie, is the residence of the Gohils, who have given their name, Gohilwar, to the eastern portion of the peninsula of Saurashtra.

The present chief addicts himself to commerce, and possesses ships which trade to the gold cost of Sofala.

SARWYA or SARIASPA.—Of this race tradition has left us only the knowledge that it once was famous; for although, in the catalogues of the bard, it is introduced as the "essence of the Khetri race," * we have only a few legends regarding its present degradation. Its name, as well as this epithet of the bard, induce a belief that it is a branch of the Aswas, with the prefix of *sar*, denoting 'essence,' or priority. But it is useless to speculate on a name.

SILAR or SULAR.—Like the former, we have here but the shade of a name; though one, which in all probability, originated the epithet *Larike*, by which the Saurashtra peninsula was known to Ptolemy and the geographers of early Europe. The tribe of Lar was once famous in Saurashtra, and in the annals of Anhulwarra mention is made of Sid Rae Jey Sing having extirpated them throughout his dominions. *Sular*, or *Silar*, would therefore be distinctively *the* Lar. † Indeed, the author of the *Komarpal Charitra* styles it *Raj-tilac*, or 'regal prince'; but the name only now exists amongst the mercantile classes professing the faith of Booddha: it is inserted as one of the eighty-four. The greater portion of these are of Rajpoot origin.

* "*Sarweya Khetrie tyn sar.*"

† *Su*, as before observed, is a distinctive prefix, meaning 'excellent.'

DABI.—Little can be said of this tribe, but that it was once celebrated in Saurashtra. By some it is called a branch of the Yadu, though all the genealogists give it distinct importance. It now possesses neither territory nor numbers.

GOR.—The Gor tribe was once respected in Rajasthan, though it never there attained to any considerable eminence. The ancient kings of Bengal were of this race, and gave their name to the capital, Luknowti.

We have every reason to believe that they were possessors of the land afterwards occupied by the Chohans, as they are styled in all the old chronicles the 'Gor of Ajmeer.' Repeated mention is made of them in the wars of Prithwiraja, as leaders of considerable renown, one of whom formed a small state in the centre of India, which survived through seven centuries of Mogul domination, till it at length fell a prey indirectly to the success of the British over the Mahrattas, when Sindhia, in 1809, annihilated the power of the Gor and took possession of his capital, Supur.* A petty district, yielding about £5000 annually, is all this rapacious head of a predatory government has left to the Gor, out of about twelve *lacs* of annual revenue. The Gor has five *sacha*: Ontahir, Silihala Toor, Doosena, and Bodano.

DOR or DODA.—We have little to say of this race. Though occupying a place in all the genealogies, time has destroyed all knowledge of the past history of a tribe, to gain a victory over whom was deemed by Prithwiraja worthy of a tablet.†

GHERWAL.—The Gherwal Rajpoot is scarcely known to his brethren in Rajasthan, who will not admit his contaminated blood to mix with theirs; though, as a brave warrior, he is entitled to their fellowship. The original country of the Gherwal is in the ancient kingdom of Kasi.‡ Their great

* In 1807 the author passed through this territory, in a solitary ramble to explore these parts, then little known; and though but a young *Sub*, was courteously received and entertained both at Baroda and Supur. In 1809 he again entered the country under very different circumstances, in the suit of the British envoy with Sindhia's court, and had the grief to witness the operations against Supur, and its fall, unable to aid his friends.

The Gor prince had laid aside the martial virtues. He became a zealot in the worship of Vishnu, left off animal food, was continually dancing before the image of the god, and was far more conversant in the mystical poetry of Crishna and his beloved Radha than in the martial song of the bard. His name was Radhica-das, 'the slave of Radha'; and, as far as he is personally concerned, we might cease to lament that he was the last of his race.

† See Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 133.

‡ Benares.

ancestor was Khortaj Deva, from whom Jessonda, the seventh in descent, in consequence of some grand sacrificial rites performed at Bindabassi, gave the title of Boondela to his issue. Boondela has now usurped the name of Gherwal, and become the appellation of the immense tract which its various branches inhabit in Boondelkhund, on the ruins of the Chundailas, whose chief cities, Kalinjara, Mohini, and Mohoba, they took possession of.

The Chundaila, classed by some of the genealogists amongst the thirty-six tribes, were powerful in the twelfth century, possessing the whole of the regions between the Jumna and Nerbudda, now occupied by the Boondelas and Bhaghelas. Their wars with Prithwiraja, forming one of the most interesting of his exploits, ended in the humiliation of the Chundaila, and prepared the way for their conquest by the Gherwals; the date of the supremacy of the Boondela Manvira was about A. D. 1200. Madhukar Sah, the thirteenth in descent from him, founded Orcha on the Betwa, by whose son, Birsing Deva, considerable power was attained. Orcha became the chief of the numerous Boondela principalities; but its founder drew upon himself everlasting infamy, by putting to death the wise Abul Fuzil,* the historian and friend of the magnanimous Akbar, and the encomiast and advocate of the Hindu race.

From the period of Akbar the Boondelas bore a distinguished part in all the grand conflicts, to the very close of the monarchy: nor, amongst all the brave chiefs of Rajasthan, did any perform more gallant or faithful services than the Boondela chieftains of Orcha and Duttea. Bagwan of Orcha commanded the advanced guard of the army of Shah Jehan. His son, Soopkurna, was Arungzebe's most distinguished leader in the Dekhan, and Dulput fell in the war of succession on the plains of Jajow. His descendants have not degenerated; nor is there any thing finer in the annals of the chivalry of the West, than the dignified and heroic conduct of the father of the present chief.†

* Slain at the instigation of prince Selim, son of Akbar, afterwards the emperor Jehangir. See this incident stated in the emperor's own *Commentaries*.

† On the death of Madajee Sindhia, the females of his family, in apprehension of his successor (Dowlut Rao), sought refuge and protection with the Raja of Duttea. An army was sent to demand their surrender, and hostility was proclaimed as the consequence of refusal. This brave man would not even await the attack, but at the head of a devoted band of three hundred horse with their lances, carried destruction amongst their assailants, neither giving nor receiving quarter: and thus he fell in defence of the laws of sanctuary and honour. Even when grievously wounded, he would accept no aid, and refused to leave the field, but disdaining all

The Boondela is now a numerous race, while the name Gherwal remains in their original haunts.

BIRGOOJUR.—This race is Suryavansi, and the only one with the exception of the Gehlote, which claims from Lava, the elder son of Rama. The Birgoojur held considerable possessions in Dhoondar,* and their capital was the hill fortress of Rajore,† in the principality of Macherri. Rajgurh and Alwa were also their possessions. The Birgoojurs were expelled from these abodes by the Cutchwahas. A colony found refuge in a new residence at Anupsahar on the Ganges.

SENGAR.—Of this tribe little is known, nor does it appear ever to have obtained great celebrity. The sole chieftainship of the Sengars is Jugmohunpur on the Jumna.

SIKERWAL.—This tribe, like the former, never appears to have claimed much notice amidst the princes of Rajasthan; nor is there a single independent chieftain now remaining, although there is a small district called after them, Sikerwar, on the right bank of the Chumbul, adjoining Jaduvati, and like it now incorporated in the province of Gwalior, in Sindhia's dominions. The Sikerwal is therefore reduced to subsist by cultivation, or the more precarious employment of his lance, either as a follower of others, or as a common depredator.

They have their name from the town of Sikri (Futtehpur), which was formerly an independent principality.

BYCE.—The Byce has obtained a place amongst the thirty-six races, though the author believes it but a subdivision of the Suryavansi, as it is neither to be met with in the lists of Chund, nor in those of the *Komarpal Charitra*. It is now numerous, and has given its name to an extensive district, Bycewara in the Do-ab or the land between the Ganges and Jumna.

DAHIA.—This is an ancient tribe, whose residence was the banks of the Indus, near its confluence with the Sutledge; and although they retain a place amongst the thirty-six royal races, we have not the knowledge of any as now existing. They are mentioned in the annals of the Bhattis of Jessulmeer, and from name as well as from *locale*, we may infer that they were the Dahæ of Alexander.

JOYHA.—This race possessed the same haunts as the Dahia,

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compromise awaited his fate. The author has paused upon the spot where this gallant deed was performed; and from his son, the present Raja, had the annals of his house.

* Ambar or Jeypur, as well as Macherri, were comprehended in Dhoondar, the ancient geographical designation.

† The ruins of Rajore are about fifteen miles west of Rajgurh. A person sent there by the author reported the existence of inscriptions in the temple of Nilkantha Mahadeva.

and are always coupled with them. They, however, extended across the Garah into the northern desert of India, and in ancient chronicles, are entitled "Lords of Jungul-Desa," a tract which comprehended Heriana, Bhatnair, and Nagore. The author possesses a work relative to this tribe, like the Dahia now extinct.

MOHIL.—We have no mode of judging of the pretensions of this race to the place it is allowed to occupy by the genealogists. All that can be learned of its past history is, that it inhabited a considerable tract, so late as the foundation of the present state of Bikaneer, the Rahtore founders of which expelled, if not extirpated, the Mohil. With the Malun, Malani, and Mallia, also extinct, it may claim the honour of descent from the ancient Malli, the foes of Alexander, whose abode was Mooltan. (*Qu.* Mohil-than?).

NICOOMPA.—Of this race, to which celebrity attaches in all the genealogies, we can only discover that they were proprietors of the district of Mandalgurh prior to the Gehlotes.

RAJ-PALI.—It is difficult to discover any thing regarding this race, which under the names of Raj-pali, Raj-palica, or simply Pala, is mentioned by all the genealogists; especially those of Saurashtra, to which in all probability it was confined. This tends to make it Scythic in origin; the conclusion is strengthened by the derivation of the name, meaning 'royal shepherd:' it was probably a branch of the ancient Pali.*

DAHIRYA.—The *Komarpal Charitra* is our sole authority for classing this race with the thirty-six. Of its history we know nothing. Amongst the princes who came to the aid of Cheetore, when first assailed by the arms of Islam, was "the lord of Debeil, Dahir, *Despati*."† From the ignorance of the transcriber of the Gehlote annals, *Delhi* is written instead of *Debeil*; but we not only have the whole of the names of the Tuar race, but Delhi was not in existence at this time. Slight as is the mention of this prince in the Cheetore annals, it is nevertheless of high value, as stamping them with authenticity; for this Dahir was actually the *despot* of Scind, whose tragical end in his capital Debeil is related by Abul Fuzil. It was in the ninety-ninth year of the Hegira that he was attacked by Cassim, the lieutenant of the Caliph of Bagdad, and treated with the greatest barbarity. Whether this prince used *Dahir* as a proper name, or as that of his tribe, must be left to conjecture.

* The final syllable *ca* is a mark of the genitive case.

† 'Chief of a country,' from *des*, 'country,' and *pati*, 'chief'. (*Qu. despotes.*)

DAHIMA.—The Dhima has left but the wreck of a great name. Seven centuries have swept away all recollection of a tribe who once afforded one of the proudest themes for the song of the bard. The Dahima was the lord of Biana, and one of the most powerful vassals of the Chohan emperor, Prithwiraja. Three brothers of this house held the highest offices under this monarch, and the period during which the elder, Kaimas, was his minister, was the brightest history of the Chohan; but he fell a victim to a blind jealousy. Pundir, the second brother, commanded the frontier at Lahore. The third, Chaond Rae, was the principal leader in the last battle, where Prithwiraja fell, with the whole of his chivalry, on the banks of the Caggar. Even the historians of Shabudin have preserved the name of the gallant Dahima, Chaond Rae, whom they style Khandirai; and to whose valour, they relate, Shabudin himself nearly fell a sacrifice. With the Chohan, the race seems to have been extinguished. Rainsi, his only son, was by the sister of Chaond Rae, but he did not survive the capture of Delhi. This marriage forms the subject of one of the books of the bard, who never was more eloquent than in the praise of the Dahima.*

Aboriginal Races.

Baugree, Mer, Kaba, Meena, Bhil, Seriah, Thori, Khangar, Goand, Bhurr, Junwar, and Sarud.

Agricultural and Pastoral Tribes.

Abhira or Aheer, Goala, Kurmi or Kulmbi, Goojur, and Jat.

Rajpoot Tribes to which no Sacha is assigned.

Jalia, Peshani, Sohagni, Chahira, Ran, Simala, Boteela,

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* Chund, the bard, thus describes Biana, and the marriage of Prithwiraja with the Dahimee: "On the summit of the hills of Druinadahar, whose awful load oppressed the head of Sesanag, was placed the castle of Biana, resembling Kylas. The Dahima had three sons and two fair daughters: may his name be perpetuated throughout this iron age! One daughter was married to the Lord of Mewat, the other to the Chohan. With her he gave in dower eight beauteous damsels and sixty-three female slaves, one hundred chosen horses of the breed of Irak, two elephants and ten shields, a pallet of silver for the bride, one hundred wooden images, one hundred chariots, and one thousand pieces of gold.

The bard, on taking leave, says: "the Dahima lavished his gold, and filled his coffers with the praises of mankind. The Dahimee produced a jewel, a gem without price, the Prince Rainsi."

The author here gives a fragment of the ruins of Biana, the ancient abode of Dahima.

Gotchir, Malun, Ohir, Hool, Bachuk, Batur, Keruch, Kotuk, Boosa, and Birgota.

Catalogue of the eighty-four Mercantile Tribes.

Sri Sri Mal, Srimal, Oswal, Bhagairwal, Deendoo, Pooshkurwal, Mairtawal, Hursoruh, Soorurwal, Pilliwal, Bhumboo, Khundailwal, Dohilwal, Kehderwal, Deesawal, Goojurwal, Sohorwal, Uggurwal, Jaelwal, Mahutwal, Kajotiwal, Kortawal Chehtrawal, Soni, Sojutwal, Nagur, Mad, Julhera, Lar, Kupole, Khuraita, Bururie, Dusora, Bamburwal, Nagudra, Kurbaira, Buttewura, Mewarra, Nursingpura, Khaterwal, Punchumwal, Hunerwal, Sirkaira, Byce, Stukhi, Kumbowal, Jeerunwal, Bhagelwal, Orchitwal, Bamunwal, Sreegoor, Thakoorwal, Balmiwal, Tepora, Tilota, Atburgi, Ladisaka, Bednora, Kheecho, Gusora, Bahaohur, Jaimo, Pudmora, Meherea, Dhakur wal, Mungora, Goelwal, Mohorwal, Cheetora Kakulea, Bhareja, Undora, Sachora, Bhoongrawal, Mundahulu, Bramunia, Bagria, Dindoria, Borwal, Sorbea, Orwal, Nufag, and Nagora. (One wanting.)

CHAPTER VIII.

Reflections on the present Political State of the Rajpoot Tribes.

HAVING thus taken a review of the tribes which at various times inhabited and still inhabit Hindusthan, the subject must be concluded.

In so extensive a field it was impossible to introduce all that could have been advanced on the distinctive marks in religion and manners; but this deficiency will be remedied in the annals of the most prominent races yet ruling, by which we shall prevent repetition.

The same religion governing the institutions of all these tribes, operates to counteract that dissimilarity in manners, which would naturally be expected amidst so great a variety, from situation or climate; although such causes do produce a material difference in external habit. Cross but the elevated range which divides upland Mewar from the low sandy region of Marwar, and the difference of costume and manners will strike the most casual observer But these changes are only exterior and personal; the mental character is less changed, because the same creed, the same religion (the principal former and reformer of manners), guides them all.

We have the same mythology, the same theogony, the same festivals, though commemorated with peculiar distinctions. There are niceties in thought, as in dress, which, if possible to communicate, would excite but little interest; when the tie of a turban and the fold of a robe are, like Masonic symbols, distinguishing badges of tribes. But it is in their domestic circle that manners are best seen; where restraint is thrown aside, and no authority controls the freedom of expression. But does the European seek access to this *Sanctum* of nationality ere he gives his *debtor and creditor* account of character, his balanced catalogue of virtues and vices? He may, however, with the Rajpoot, whose independence of mind places him above restraint, and whose hospitality and love of character will always afford free communication to those who respect his opinion and his prejudices, and who are devoid of that overweening opinion of self, which imagines that nothing can be learned from such friendly intercourse. The personal dissimilarity accordingly arises from *locale*; the mental similarity results from a grand fixed principle, which, whatever its intrinsic moral defect, whatever its incompatibility with the elevated notions we

entertain, has preserved to these races, as nations, the enjoyment of their ancient habits to this distant period. May our boasted superiority in all that exalts man above his fellows, ensure to our Eastern empire like duration; and may these notions of our own peculiarly favoured destiny operate to prevent us from laying prostrate, in our periodical ambitious visitations, these the most ancient relics of civilization on the face of the earth! For, the dread of their amalgamation with our empire will prevail, though such a result would be opposed not only to their happiness, but to our own stability.

With our present system of alliances, so pregnant with evil from their origin, this fatal consequence (far from desired by the legislative authorities at home) must inevitably ensue. If the wit of man had been taxed to devise a series of treaties with a view to an ultimate rupture, these would be entitled to applause as specimens of diplomacy.

There is a perpetual variation between the spirit and the letter of every treaty; and while the internal independence of each state is the groundwork, it is frittered away and nullified by successive stipulations, and these positive and negative qualities continue mutually repelling each other, until it is apparent that independence cannot exist under such conditions. Where discipline is lax, as with these feudal associations, and where each subordinate vassal is master of his own retainers, the article of military contingents alone, would prove a source of contention. By leading to interference with each individual chieftain, it would render such aid worse than useless. But this is a minor consideration to the tributary pecuniary stipulation, which unsettled and undetermined, leaves a door open to a system of espionage into their revenue accounts—a system not only disgusting, but contrary to treaty, which leaves 'internal administration,' sacred. These openings to dispute, and the general laxity of their governments coming in contact with our regular system, present dangerous handles for ambition: and who so blind as not to know, that ambition to be distinguished must influence every vicegerent in the East? While deeds in arms and acquisition of territory outweigh the meek eclat of civil virtue, the periodical visitations to these kingdoms will ever be like the comet's

"Foreboding change to princes."

Our position in the East has been, and continues to be one in which conquest forces herself upon us. We have yet the power, however late, to halt, and not anticipate her further orders to march. A contest for a mud-bank has carried our arms to the *Aurea Chersonesus*, the limit of Ptolemy's geography. With the Indus on the left, the

Brahmapootra to the right, the Himalayan barrier towering like gaint to guard the Tatarian ascent, the ocean and our ships at our back, such is our colossal attitude! But if misdirected ambition halts not at the Brahmapootra, but plunges in to gather laurels from the teak forest of Arracan, what surety have we for these Hindu states, placed by treaty within the grasp of our control?

But the hope is cherished, that the same generosity which formed those ties that snatched the Rajpoots from degradation and impending destruction, will maintain the pledge given in the fever of success, 'that their independence should be sacred;' that it will palliate faults we may not overlook, and perpetuate this oasis of ancient rule, in the desert of destructive revolution, of races whose virtues are their own, and whose vices are the grafts of tyranny, conquest, and religious intolerance.

To make them known is one step to obtain for them, at least, the boon of sympathy; for, with the ephemeral power of our governors, and the agents of governments is it to be expected that the rod will more softly fall when ignorance of their history prevails, and no kind association springs from a knowledge of their martial achievements and yet proud bearing, their generosity, courtesy, and extended hospitality? These are Rajpoot virtues yet extant amidst all their revolutions, and which have survived ages of Mahomedan bigotry and power; though to the honour of the virtuous and magnanimous few, among the crowned heads of eight centuries, both Tartar and Mogul, there were some great souls, men of high worth, who appeared at intervals to redeem the oppression of a whole preceding dynasty.

The high ground we assumed, and the lofty sentiments with which we introduced ourselves amongst the Rajpoots, arrogating motives of purity, of disinterested benevolence, scarcely belonging to humanity, and to which their sacred writings alone yielded a parallel, gave such exalted notions of our right of exerting the attributes of divinity, justice, and mercy, that they expected little less than almighty wisdom in our acts: but circumstances have throughout occurred in each individual state, to shew we were mere mortals, and that the poet's moral,

"This distance tends enchantment to the view,"

was true in politics. Sorrow and distrust were the consequence—anger succeeded; but the sense of obligation is still too powerful to operate a stronger and less generous sentiment. These errors may yet be remedied, and our Rajpoot allies yet be retained as useful friends: though they can only be so, while in the enjoyment of perfect internal independence, and their ancient institutions.

"No political institution can endure," observes the eloquent historian of the Middle Ages, "which does not rivet itself to the heart of men by ancient prejudices or acknowledged merit. The feudal compact had much of this character. In fulfilling the obligations of mutual assistance and fidelity by military service, the energies of friendship were awakened, and the ties of moral sympathy superadded to those of positive compact."

We shall throw out one of the assumed causes which give stability to political institution; 'acknowledged merit,' which never belonged to the loose feudal compact of Rajwarra: but the absence of this strengthens the necessary substitute, 'ancient prejudices,' which supply many defects.

Our anomalous and inconsistent interference in some cases, and our non-interference in others, operate alike to augment the dislocation induced by long predatory oppression in the various orders of society, instead of restoring that harmony and continuity which had previously existed. The great danger, nay, the inevitable consequence of perseverance in this line of conduct, will be their reduction to the same degradation with our other allies, and their ultimate incorporation with our already too extended dominion.

It may be contended, that the scope and tenor of these alliances were not altogether unfitted for the period when they were formed, and our circumscribed knowledge; but was it too late, when this knowledge was extended, to purify them from the dross which deteriorated the two grand principles of mutual benefit, on which all were grounded, *viz.* 'perfect internal independence to them, and acknowledged supremacy' to the protecting power? It will be said, that even these corner-stones of this grand political fabric, are far from possessing those durable qualities which the contracting parties define, but that, on the contrary, they are the Ormuzd and Ahrimanes, the good and evil principles of contention. But when we have superadded pecuniary engagements of indefinite extent, increasing in the ratio of their prosperity, and armed quotas or contingents of their troops, whose loose habits and discipline would ensure constant complaint, we may certainly take credit for having established a system which must compel that direct interference, which the broad principle of each treaty professes to check.

The inevitable consequence is the perpetuation of that denationalizing principle, so well understood by the Mahrattas, "*divide et impera.*" We are few; to use an oriental metaphor, our agents must "use the eyes and ears of others." That mutual dependence which would again have arisen, our interference will completely nullify. Princes will find they can

oppress their chiefs, chiefs will find channels by which their sovereign's commands may be rendered nugatory, and irresponsible ministers must have our support to raise these undefined tributary supplies; and unanimity, confidence, and all the sentiments of gratitude, which they owe and acknowledge to be our due, will gradually fade with the national degradation. That our alliances have this tendency cannot be disputed. By their very nature they transfer the respect of every class of subjects from their immediate sovereign to the paramount authority and its subordinate agents. Who will dare to urge that a government, which cannot support its internal rule without power unshackled and unrestrained by exterior council of espionage, can maintain self-respect, the corner-stone of every virtue, with states as with individuals? This first of feelings these treaties utterly annihilate. Can we suppose such denationalized allies are to be depended upon in emergencies? or, if allowed to retain a spark of their ancient moral inheritance, that it will not be kindled into a flame against us when opportunity offers, instead of lighting up the powerful feeling of gratitude which yet exists towards us in these warlike communities?

Like us they were the natural foes of that predatory system which so long disturbed our power, and our preservation and theirs were alike consulted in its destruction. When we sought their alliance, we spoke in the captivating accents of philanthropy; we courted them to disunite from this Ahrimanes of political convulsion. The benevolent motives of the great mover of these alliances, we dare not call in question, and his policy coincided with the soundest wisdom. But the treaties might have been revised, and the obnoxious parts which led to discord, abrogated, at the expense of a few paltry *lacs* of tribute and a portion of sovereign homage. It is not yet too late. True policy would enfranchise them altogether from our alliance; but till then let them not feel their shackles in the galling restraint on each internal operation. Remove that mill-stone to national prosperity, the poignant feeling that every increased bushel of corn raised in their long-deserted fields must send its tithe to the British granaries. Let the national mind recover its wonted elasticity, and they will again attain their former celebrity. We have the power to advance this greatness and make it and its result our own; or, by a system unworthy of Britain, to retard and even quench it altogether.*

* If Lord Hastings' philanthropy, which rejoiced in snatching these ancient states from the degradation of predatory warfare, expected that in four short years order should rise out of the chaos of a century, and "was prepared to visit with displeasure all symptoms of internal neglect, arising from supineness, indifference, or concealed ill-will;" if *he* signified, "that government would take upon itself the task of restoring order, and

Never were their national characteristics so much endangered as in the seducing calm which followed the tempestuous agitations in which they had so long floated; doubtful, to use their own figurative expression, whether "the gift of our friendship, or our arms," were fraught with greater evil. The latter they could not withstand; though it must never be lost sight of, that, like ancient Rome when her glory was fading, we use "the arms of the barbarians" to defend our conquests against them! Is the mind ever stationary? are virtue and high notions to be acquired from contact and example? Is there no mind above the level of £10 monthly pay in all the native legions of the three presidencies of India? No Odoacer, no Sevaji, again to revive? Is the book of knowledge and of truth, which we hold up, only to teach them submission and perpetuate their weakness? Can we without fresh claims expect eternal gratitude, and must we not rationally look for re-action in some grand impulse, which, by furnishing a signal instance of the mutability of power, may afford a lesson for the benefit of posterity?

Is the mantle of protection, which we have thrown over these warlike races, likely to avert such a result? It might certainly, if embued with all those philanthropic feelings for which we took credit, act with soporific influence, and extinguish the embers of international animosity. "The lion and the lamb were to drink from the same fountain:" they were led to expect the holy *Satya Yug*, when each man reposed under his own fig-tree, which neither strife nor envy dared approach.

When so many nations are called upon, in a period of great calamity and danger, to make over to a foreigner, their opposite in every thing, their superior in most, the control of their forces in time of war, the adjudication of their disputes in time of peace, and a share in the fruits of their renovating prosperity, what must be the result; when each Rajpoot may hang up his lance in the hall, convert his sword to a ploughshare, and make a basket of his buckler? What but the prostration of every virtue? It commences with the basis of the Rajpoot's, —the martial virtues; extinguish these and they will soon cease to respect themselves. Sloth, low cunning and meanness will follow. What nation ever maintained its character that devolved on the stranger the power of protection! To be great, to be independent, its martial spirit must be cherished;

that all charges on this score would be demanded and rigidly exacted; in fine, that such arrangements would be made as would deprive them of the power of longer abusing the spirit of liberal forbearance, the motives of which they were incapable of understanding or appreciating;" what have they to hope from those without his sympathies?

happy if within the bounds of moderation. Led away by enthusiasm, the author experienced the danger of interference, when observing but one side of the picture—the brilliant lights which shone on their long days of darkness, not calculating the shade which would follow the sudden glare.

On our cessation from every species of interference alone depends their independence or their amalgamation,—a crisis fraught with danger to our overgrown rule.

Let Alexander's speech to his veterans, tired of conquest and refusing to cross the Hyphasis, be applied and let us not reckon too strongly on our empire of opinion: "Fame never represents matters truly as they are, but on the contrary magnifies every thing. This is evident; for our own reputation and glory, though founded on solid truths, is yet more obliged to rumour than reality."*

We may conclude with the Macedonian conqueror's reasons for shewing the Persians and his other foreign allies so much favour: "The possession of what we got by the sword is not very durable, but the obligation of good offices is eternal. If we have a mind to keep Asia, and not simply pass through it, our clemency must extend to them also, and their fidelity will make our empire everlasting. As for ourselves, we have more than we know what to do with, and it must be an insatiable avaricious temper which desires to continue to fill what already runs over."†

* Quintus Curtius, lib. ix.
† Quintus Curtius, lib. viii.

SKETCH

OF

A FEUDAL SYSTEM IN RAJASTHAN.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.—Existing condition of Rajasthan.—General resemblance between the ancient systems of Asia and Europe.—Noble origin of the Rajpoot race.—Rahtores of Marwar.—Cutchwahas of Ambar.—Sesodias of Mewar.—Gradation of Ranks.—Revenues and rights of the Crown.—Burrar.—Khur Lakur.

IT is more than doubtful whether any code of civil or criminal jurisprudence ever existed in any of these principalities; though it is certain that none is at this day discoverable in their archives. But their is a martial system peculiar to these Rajpoot states, so extensive in its operation as to embrace every object of society. This is so analogous to the ancient feudal system of Europe, that I have not hesitated to hazard a comparison between them, with reference to a period when the latter was yet imperfect. Long and attentive observation enables me to give this outline of a system, of which there exists little written evidence. Curiosity originally, and subsequently a sense of public duty (lest I might be a party to injustice), co-operated in inducing me to make myself fully acquainted with the minutiæ of this traditionary theory of Government; and incidents, apparently trivial in themselves, exposed parts of a widely-extended system, which, though now disjoined, still continue to regulate the actions of extensive communities, and lead to the inference, that at one period it must have attained a certain degree of perfection.

Many years have elapsed since I first entertained these opinions, long before any connection existed between these states and the British Government; when their geography was little known to us, and their history still less so. At that period I frequently travelled amongst them for amusement, making these objects subservient thereto, and laying the result freely before my Government. I had abundant sources of intelligence

to guide me in forming my analogies; Montesquieu, Hume, Millar, Gibbon: * but I sought only general resemblances and lineaments similar to those before me. A more perfect, because more familiar, picture has since appeared by an author,† who has drawn aside the veil of mystery which covered the subject, owing to its being till then but imperfectly understood. I compared the features of Rajpoot society with the finished picture of this eloquent writer, and shall be satisfied with having substantiated the claim of these tribes to participation in a system, hitherto deemed to belong exclusively to Europe. I am aware of the danger of hypothesis, and shall advance nothing that I do not accompany by incontestable proofs.

The leading features of Government amongst semi-barbarous hordes or civilized independent tribes, must have a considerable resemblance to each other. In the same stages of society, the wants of men must everywhere be similar, and will produce the analogies which are observed to regulate Tatar hordes or German tribes, Caledonian clans, the Rajpoot Cula (race), or Jhareja Bhyad (brotherhood). All the countries of Europe participated in the system we denominate feudal; and we can observe it, in various degrees of perfection or deterioration, from the mountains of Caucasus to the Indian ocean. But it requires a persevering toil, and more discriminating judgment than I possess, to recover all these relics of civilization: yet though time, and still more oppression, have veiled the ancient institutions of Mewar, the mystery may be penetrated, and will discover parts of a system worthy of being rescued from oblivion.

Mahratta cunning, engrafted on Mahomedan intolerance, had greatly obscured these institutions. The nation itself was passing rapidly away: the remnant which was left had become a matter of calculation, and their records and their laws partook of this general decay. The nation may recover; the physical frame may be renewed; but the *morale* of the society must be recast. In this chaos, a casual observer sees nothing to attract notice; the theory of government appears, without any of the dignity which now marks our regular system. Whatever does exist is attributed to fortuitous causes—to nothing systematic: no fixed principle is discerned, and none is admitted; it is deemed a mechanism without a plan. This opinion is hasty. Attention to distinctions, though often merely nominal, will aid us in discovering the outlines of a picture which must at some period have been more finished; when real power, unrestrained by foreign influence, upheld a

* Vol. iii. Miscellaneous Works.
† Hallam's Middle Ages.

system, the plan of which was original. It is in these remote regions, so little known to the western world, and where original manners lie hidden under those of the conquerors, that we may search for the germs of the constitutions of European states.* A contempt for all that is Asiatic too often marks our countrymen in the East: though at one period on record the taunt might have been reversed.

In remarking the curious coincidence between the habits, notions, and governments of Europe in the middle ages, and those of Rajasthan, it is not absolutely necessary we should conclude that one system was borrowed from the other; each may, in truth, be said to have the patriarchal form for its basis. I have sometimes been inclined to agree with the definition of Gibbon, who styles the system of our ancestors the offspring of chance and barbarism. "Le systeme feodal, assemblage monstrueux de tant de parties que le tems et l' hazard ont reunies, nous offre un obje tres complique: pour l' etudier il faut le decomposer."† This I shall attempt.

The form, as before remarked, is truly patriarchal in these states, where the greater portion of the vassal chiefs, from the highest of the sixteen peers to the holders of a *Chursa* ‡ of land, claim affinity in blood to the sovereign.§

* It is a high gratification to be supported by such authority as M. St. Martin, who, in his 'Discours sur l' Origineet l' Historie des Arsacides,' thus speaks of the system of Government termed feudal, which I contend exists amongst the Rajpoots; "On pense assez generalement que cette sorte de gouvernment qui dominait il y a quelques siecles, et qu'on appelle systeme feudal, etait particuliere a l'Europe, et que c'est dans les forets de la Germanie qu'il faut en chercher l' origine. Cependant, si au d'admettre les faits sans les discuter, comme il arrive trop souvent, on examinate un peu cette opinion, elle disparait rait devant la critique, ou du moins elle se modifierait singulierement; et l'on verrait que, si c'est des forets de la Germanie que nous avons tire, le gouvernment feodal, il n'en est certainement pas originaire. Si l'on veut comparer l' Europe, telle qu'elle etait au xiie, siecle, avec la monarchie fondee en Asie par les Arsacides trois siecles avant notre cre, partout on verra des institutions et des usages pareils. On y trouvera les memes dignities, et jusqu'aux memes titres, &c. &c. Boire, chasser, combattre, faire et defaire des rois, c'etaient la les nobles occupations d'un parthe."—*Journal Asiatique*, vol. i. p. 65. It is nearly so with the Rajpoot.

† Gibbon, Miscell. vol. iii. Du government feodal.

‡ A 'skin or hide.' Millar (chap. v. 85) defines a 'hide of land,' the quantity which can be cultivated by a single plough. *A chursa*, 'skin or hide' of land, is as much as one man can water; and what one can water is equal to what one plough can cultivate. If irrigation ever had existence by the founders of the system, we may suppose this the meaning of the term which designated a *knight's fee*. It may have gone westward with emigration.

§ *Baapjee*, 'sire,' is the appellation of royalty, and, strange enough, whether to male or female; while its offsets, which form a numerous branch of vassals, are called *babas*, 'the infants.'

The natural seeds are implanted in every soil, but the tree did not gain maturity except in a favoured aspect. The perfection of the system in England is due to Normans, who brought it from Scandinavia, whither it was probably conveyed by Odin and the Sacasenæ, or by anterior migrations, from Asia; which would coincide with Richardson's hypothesis, who contends that it was introduced from Tatary. Although speculative reasoning forms no part of my plan, yet when I observe analogy on the subject in the customs of the ancient German tribes, the Franks or Gothic races, I shall venture to note them. Of one thing there is no doubt—knowledge must have accompanied the tide of migration from the east; and from higher Asia emerged the Asi, the Catti, and the Cimbric Lombard, who spread the system in Scandinavia, Friesland, and Italy.

"It has been very common," says the enlightened historian of the Feudal System in the Middle Ages, "to seek for the origin of feuds, or at least for analogies to them, in the history of various countries: but though it is of great importance to trace the similarity of customs in different parts of the world, we should guard against seeming analogies which vanish away when they are closely observed. It is easy to find partial resemblances to the feudal system. The relation of patron and client in the republic of Rome has been deemed to resemble it, as well as the barbarians and veterans who held frontier lands on the tenure of defending them and the frontier; but they were bound not to an individual, but to the state. Such a resemblance of fiefs may be found in the Zemindars of Hindusthan and the Timariots of Turkey. The clans of the Highlanders and Irish followed their chieftain into the field: but their tie was that of imagined kindred and birth, not the spontaneous compact of vassalage"*

I give this at length to shew, that if I still persist in deeming the Rajpoot system a pure relation of feuds, I have before my eyes the danger of seeming resemblances. But grants, deeds, charters, and traditions, copies of all of which will be found in the Appendix, will establish my opinions. I hope to prove that the tribes in the northern regions of Hindusthan did possess the system, and that it was handed down, and still obtains, notwithstanding seven centuries of paramount sway of the Mogul and Pathan dynasties, altogether opposed to them except in this feature of government, where there was an original similarity. In some of these states—those least affected by conquest—the system remained freer from innovation. It is, however, from Mewar chiefly that I shall

* Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 200.

deduce my examples, as its internal rule was less influenced by foreign policy, even to the period at which the imperial power of Delhi was on the decline.

As in Europe, for a length of time, traditionary custom was the only regulator of the rights and tenures of this system, varying in each state, and not frequently (in its minor details) in the different provinces of one state, according to their mode of acquisition and the description of occupants when acquired. It is from such circumstances that the variety of tenure and customary law proceeds. To account for this variety, a knowledge of them is requisite; nor is it until every part of the system is developed that it can be fully understood. The most trifling cause is discovered to be the parent of some important result. If ever these were embodied into a code (and we are justified in assuming such to have been the case), the varied revolutions which have swept away almost all relics of their history, were not likely to spare these. Mention is made of several princes of the house of Mewar who legislated for their country; but precedents for every occurring case lie scattered in formulas, grants, and traditionary sayings. The inscriptions still existing on stone would alone, if collected, form a body of laws sufficient for an infant community, and these were always first committed to writing, and registered ere the column was raised. The seven centuries of turmoil and disaster, during which these states were in continual strife with the foe, produced many princes of high intellect as well as valour. Sanga Rana, and his antagonist, Sultan Baber, were revived in their no less celebrated grandsons, the great Akbar and Rana Pratap: the son of the latter, Umra, the foe of Jehangir, was a character of whom the proudest nation might be vain.

The pen has recorded, and tradition handed down, many isolated fragments of the genius of these Rajpoot princes, as statesmen and warriors touching the political division, regulations of the aristocracy, and commercial and agricultural bodies. Sumptuary laws, even, which append to a feudal system, are to be traced in these inscriptions: the annulling of monopolies and exorbitant taxes; the regulation of transit duties; prohibition of profaning sacred days by labour; immunities, privileges, and charters to trades, corporations, and towns; such as would, inclines more favourable to liberty, have matured into a league, or obtained for these branches a voice in the councils of the state. My search for less perishable documents than parchment, when I found the cabinet of the prince contained them not, was unceasing; but though the bigotted Mahomedan destroyed most of the traces of civilization within his reach, perseverance was rewarded with a

considerable number. They are at least matter of curiosity. They will evince that monopolies and restraints on commerce were well understood in Rajwarra, though the doctrines of political economy never gained footing there. The setting up of these engraved tablets or pillars, called *Seoras*,* is of the highest antiquity. Every subject commences with invoking the sun and moon as witnesses, and concludes with a denunciation of the severest penalties on those who break the spirit of the imperishable bond. Tablets of an historical nature I have of twelve and fourteen hundred years' antiquity, but of grants of land or privileges about one thousand years is the oldest. Time has destroyed many, but man more. They became more numerous during the last three centuries, when successful struggles against their foes produced new privileges, granted in order to recall the scattered inhabitants. Thus one contains an abolition of the monopoly of tobacco ;† another, the remission of tax on printed cloths, with permission to the country manufacturers to sell their goods free of duty at the neighbouring towns. To a third, a mercantile city, the abolition of war contributions,‡ and the establishment of its internal judicial authority. Nay, even where good manners alone are concerned, the lawgiver appears, and with an amusing simplicity:§ "From the public feast none shall attempt to carry any thing away." "None shall eat after sunset," shews that a Jain obtained the edict. To yoke the bullock or other animal for any work on the sacred Amavus,‖ is also declared punishable. Others contain revocations of vexatious fees to officers of the crown; "of beds and quilts,"¶ "the seizure of the carts, implements, or cattle of the husbandmen,"**—the sole boon in our own *Magna Charta* demanded for the husbandman. These and several others, of which copies are annexed, need not be repeated. If even from such memoranda a sufficient number could be collected of each prince's reign up to the olden time, what more could we desire to enable us to judge of the genius of their princes, the wants and habits of the people, their acts and occupations? The most ancient written customary law of France is in A. D. 1088,†† at which time Mewar was in high prosperity; opposing, at the head of a league far more powerful than France could

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* Sanscrit, *sula*. † See Appendix, No. XII.
‡ See Appendix, No. XIII. § See Appendix, No. XIV.
‖ 'Full moon.'—See Appendix, No. XIII.
¶ It is customary, when officers of the government are detached on service, to exact from the towns where they are sent both bed and board.
** Seized for public service, and frequently to exact a composition in money. †† Hallam, vol. i, p. 197.

form for ages after, the progress of revolution and foreign conquest. Ignorance, sloth, and all the vices which wait on and result from continual oppression in a perpetual struggle for existence of ages' duration, gradually diminished the reverence of the inhabitants themselves for these relics of the wisdom of their forefathers. In later years, they so far forgot the ennobling feeling and respect for "the stone which told" their once exalted condition, as to convert the materials of the temple, in which many of these stood, into places of abode. Thus many a valuable relic is built up in the castles of their barons, or buried in the rubbish of the fallen pile.

We have, however, the books of grants to the chiefs and vassals, and also the grand rent-roll of the country. These are of themselves valuable documents. Could we but obtain those of remoter periods, they would serve as a commentary on the history of the country, as each contains the detail of every estate, and the stipulated services in horse and foot, to be performed for it. In later times, when turbulence and disaffection went unpunished, it was useless to specify a stipulation of service that was nugatory and too often the grants contained but the names of towns and villages, and their value; or if they had the more general terms of service, none of its details.* From all these, however, a sufficiency of customary rules could easily be found to form the written law of fiefs in Rajasthan. In France, in the sixteenth century, the variety of these customs amounted to two hundred and eighty-five, of which only sixty† were of great importance. The number of consequence in Mewar which have come to my observation is considerable, and the most important will be given in the Appendix. Were the same plan pursued there as in that ordinance which produced the laws of *Pays Coutumiers*‡ of France, *viz.*, ascertaining those of each district, the materials are ready.

Such a collection would be amusing, particularly if the traditionary were added to the engraved laws. They would often appear *jejune*, and might involve contradictions; but we should see the wants of the people; and if ever our connection (which God forbid!) should be drawn closer, we could then legislate without offending national customs or religious prejudices. Could this, by any instinctive impulse or external stimulus, be effected by themselves, it would be the era of their emersion from long oppression, and might lead to better notions of government, and consequent happiness to them all.

NOBLE ORIGIN OF THE RAJPOOT RACE.—If we compare

* Some of these, of old date, I have seen three feet in length.

† Hallam, vol. i. p. 199.

‡ Hallam notices these laws by this technical phrase.

the antiquity and illustrious descent of the dynasties which have ruled, and some which continue to rule, the small sovereignties of Rajasthan, with many of celebrity in Europe, superiority will often attach to the Rajpoot. From the most remote periods we can trace nothing ignoble, nor any vestige of vassal origin. Reduced in power, circumscribed in territory, compelled to yield much of their splendour and many of the dignities of birth, they have not abandoned an iota of the pride and high bearing arising from a knowledge of their illustrious and regal descent. On this principle the various revolutions in the Rana's family never encroached; and the mighty Jehangir himself, the Emperor of the Moguls, became, like Cæsar, the commentator of the history of the tribe of Sesodia.* The potentate of the twenty-two Satrapies of Hind dwells with proud complacency on this Rajpoot king having made terms with him. He praises heaven, that what his immortal ancestor Baber, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, failed to do, the project in which Hemayoon had also failed, and in which the illustrious Akbar, his father, had but partial success, was reserved for him. It is pleasing to peruse in the commentaries of these conquerors, Baber and Jehangir, their sentiments with regard to these princes. We have the evidence of Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of Elizabeth to Jehangir, as to the splendour of this race: it appears throughout their annals and those of their neighbours.

RAHTORES OF MARWAR.—The Rahtores can boast a splendid pedigree; and if we cannot trace its source with equal certainty to such a period of antiquity as the Rana's, we can, at all events, shew the Rahtore monarch wielding the sceptre at Canouj, at the time the leader of an unknown tribe of the Franks was paving the way towards the foundation of the future kingdom of France. Unwieldy greatness caused the sudden fall of Canouj in the twelfth century, of which the existing line of Marwar is a renovated scion.

CUTCHWAHAS OF AMBAR.—Ambar is a branch of the once illustrious and ancient Nissida, now Nirwur, which produced the ill-fated prince whose story† is so interesting. Revolution and conquest compelled them to quit their ancestral abodes. Hindusthan was then divided into no more than four great kingdoms. By Arabian‡ travellers we have a confused picture of these states. But all the minor states, now existing in the west, arose about the period when the feudal system was approaching maturity in France and England.

* Sesodia is the last change of name which the Rana's race has undergone. It was first Suryavansa, then Grahilote or Gehlote, Aharya, and Sesodia. These changes arise from revolutions and local circumstances.

† Nala and Dumayanti.

‡ Relations anciennes des Voyageurs, par Renaudot.

The others are less illustrious, being the descendants of the great vassals of their ancient kings.

SESODIAS OF MEWAR.—Mewar exhibits a marked difference from all the other states in her policy and institutions. She was an old established dynasty when these renovated scions were in embryo. We can trace the losses of Mewar, but with difficulty her acquisitions, while it is easy to note the gradual aggrandizement of Marwar and Ambar, and all the minor states. Marwar was composed of many petty states, whose ancient possessions formed an allodial vassalage under the new dynasty. A superior independence of the control of the prince arises from the peculiarity of the mode of acquisition; that is, with rights similar to the allodial vassals of the European feudal system.

The poorest Rajpoot of this day retains all the pride of ancestry, often his sole inheritance: he scorns to hold the plough, or to use his lance but on horseback. In these aristocratic ideas he is supported by his reception amongst his superiors, and the respect paid to him by his inferiors. The honours and privileges, and the gradations of rank, amongst the vassals of the Rana's house, exhibit a highly artificial and refined state of society. Each of the superior rank is entitled to a banner, kettle-drums preceded by heralds and silver maces, with peculiar gifts and personal honours, in commemoration of some exploit of their ancestors.

The martial Rajpoots are not strangers to armorial bearings,* now so indiscriminately used in Europe. The great banner of Mewar exhibits a golden sun on a crimson field: those of the chiefs bear a dagger. Ambar displays the *panch-ranga*, or five-coloured flag. The lion rampant on an argent field is extinct with the estate of Chanderi.†

In Europe these customs were not introduced till the period of the Crusades, and were copied from the Saracens; while

* It is generally admitted that armorial bearings were little known till the period of the Crusades and that they belong to the east. The twelve tribes of Israel were distinguished by the animals on their banners, and the sacred writings frequently allude to the "Lion of Judah." The peacock was a favourite armorial emblem of the Rajpoot warrior; it is the bird sacred to their Mars (Kumara), as it was to Juno, his mother, in the west. The feather of the peacock decorates the turban of the Rajpoot and the warrior of the crusade, adopted from the Hindu through the Saracens. "Le paon a toujours ete l'embleme de la noblesse. Plusieurs chevaliers ornaient leurs casques des plumes de cet oiseau; un grand nombre de familles nobles le portaient dans leur blazon ou sur leur cimier; quelques uns n'en portaient que la queue."—Art. 'Armoirie,' Dict. de l'ancien Regime.

† I was the first European who traversed this wild country, in 1807, not without some hazard. It was then independent: about three years after it fell a prey to Sindhia.

the use of them amongst the Rajpoot tribes can be traced to a period anterior to the war of Troy. In the Mahabharat, or great war, twelve hundred years before Christ, we find the hero Bhishma exulting over his trophy, the banner of Arjuna, its field adorned with the figure of the Indian Hanuman.*

These emblems had a religious reference amongst the Hindus, and were taken from their mythology, the origin of all devices.

Every royal house has its palladium, which is frequently borne to battle at the saddle-bow of the prince. Rao Bhima Hara, of Kotah, lost his life and protecting deity together. The late celebrated Kheechee† leader, Jey Sing, never took the field without the god before him. "Victory to Bujrung" was his signal for the charge so dreaded by the Mahratta, and often has the deity been sprinkled with his blood and that of the foe.

Their ancestors, who opposed Alexander, did the same, and carried the images of Hercules (*Baldeva*) at the head of their array.

The custom (says Arrian) of presenting banners as an emblem of sovereignty over vassals, also obtained amongst the tribes of the Indus when invaded by Alexander. When he conquered the Sacæ and tribes east of the Caspian, he divided the provinces amongst the princes of the ancient families, for which they paid homage, engaged to serve with a certain quota of troops, and received from his own hand a banner; in all of which he followed the customs of the country. But in these we see only the outline of the system; we must descend to more modern days to observe it more minutely. A grand picture is drawn of the power of Mewar, when the first grand irruption of the Mahomedans occurred in the first century of their era; when "a hundred‡ kings, its allies and dependents, had their thrones raised in Cheetore," for its defence and their own individually, when a new religion, propagated by the sword of conquest, came to enslave these realms. This invasion was by Scind and Mekran; for it was half a century later, ere "the light" shone from the heights of Pamer§ on the plains of the Jumna and Ganges.

From the commencement of this religious war in the mountains westward of the Indus, many ages elapsed ere the

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* The monkey-deity.

† The Kheechees are a branch of the Chohans, and Kheechiwara lies east of Haravati.

‡ See annals of Mewar, and note from D'Anville.

§ The Pamer range is a grand branch of the Indian Caucasus. Chund, the bard, designates them as the "Purbut Putt Pamer," or Pamer, Lord of Mountains. From Pahar and Pamer the Greeks may have compounded Paropamisan, in which was situated the most remote of the Alexandrias.

"King of the Faith' obtained a seat on the throne of Yudhisthira. Chund, the bard, has left us various valuable memorials of this period, applicable to the subject historically as well as to the immediate topic. Visaldeva, the monarch whose name appears on the pillar of victory at Delhi, led an army against the invader, in which, according to the bard, "the banners of eighty-four princes were assembled." The bard describes with great animation the summons sent for this magnificent feudal levy from the heart of Anterbed* to the shores of the western sea, and it coincides with the record of his victory, which most probably this very army obtained for him. But no finer picture of feudal manners exists than the history of Prithwiraja, contained in Chund's poem. It is surprising that this epic should have been allowed so long to sleep neglected: a thorough knowledge of it, and of others of the same character, would open many sources of new knowledge, and enable us to trace many curious and interesting coincidences.†

In persuing these tales of the days that are past, we should be induced to conclude that the *Couroltai* of the Tatars, the *Chougan* of the Rajpoot, and the *Cham de Mars* of the Frank, had one common origin.

Caste has for ever prevented the inferior classes of society from being incorporated with this haughty noblesse. Only those of pure blood in both lines can hold fiefs of the crown. The highest may marry the daughter of a Rajpoot, whose sole possession is a '*skin of land*:' ‡ the sovereign himself is not degraded by such alliance. There is no moral blot, and the operation of a law like the Salic would prevent any political evil resulting therefrom. Titles are granted, and even fiefs of office, to ministers and civil servants not Rajpoot: they are, however, but official, and never confer hereditary rights. These official fiefs may have originally arisen, here and in Europe, from the same cause; the want of a circulating medium to pay the offices. The Mantris § of Mewar prefer estates to pecuniary stipend, which gives more consequence in every point of

* The space between the grand rivers Ganges and Jumna, well known as the Do-ab.

† Domestic habits and national manners are painted to the life, and no man can well understand the Rajpoot of yore, who does not read these. Those were the days of chivalry and romance, when the assembled princes contended for the hand of the fair, who chose her own lord, and threw to the object of her choice, in full court, the *bur-mala*, or garland of marriage. Those were the days which the Rajpoot yet loves to talk of, when the glance of an eye weighed with a sceptre; when three things alone occupied him: his horse, his lance and his mistress; for she is but the third in this estimation, after all to the two first he owed her.

‡ Chursa, a 'hide or skin.'

§ 'Ministers,' from *Muntra*, 'mystifications.'

view. All the higher offices—as cup-bearer, butler, stewards of the household, wardrobe, kitchen, master of the horse—all these are enumerated as ministerialists* at the court of Charlemagne in the dark ages of Europe, and of whom we have the duplicates. These are what the author of the Middle Ages designates as "improper feuds."† In Mewar the prince's architect, painter, physician, bard, genealogist, heralds, and all the generation of the foster-brothers, hold lands. Offices are hereditary in this patriarchal government; their services personal. The title even appends to the family, and if the chance of events deprive them of the substance, they are seldom left destitute. It is not uncommon to see three or four with the title of *pradhan* or premier.‡

But before I proceed further in these desultory and general remarks, I shall commence the chief details of the system as described in times past, and in part, still obtaining in the principality of the Rana of Mewar. As its geography and distribution are fully related in their proper place, I must refer the reader to that for a preliminary understanding of its localities.

The local disposition of the estates was admirably contrived. Bounded on three sides, the south, east, and west, by marauding barbarous tribes of Bhils, Mers, and Meenas; the circumference of this circle was sub-divided into estates for the chiefs; while the *khalisa*, or fiscal land, the best and richest, was in the heart of the country, and consequently well protected.

It appears doubtful whether the *khalisa* lands amounted to one-fourth of those distributed in grant to the chiefs. The value of the crown demesne as the nerve and sinew of sovereignty, was well known by the former heads of this house. To obtain any portion thereof was the reward of important services; to have a grant of a few acres near the capital for a garden was deemed a high favour; and a village in the amphitheatre or valley, in which the present capital is situated, was the *ne plus ultra* of recompense. But the lavish folly of the present prince, out of this tract, twenty-five miles in circumference, has not preserved a single village in his *khalisa*.

By this distribution, and by the inroads of the wild tribes

* It is probably of Teutonic origin, and akin to '*mantri*,' which embraces all the ministers and councillors of royalty. (Hallam, p. 195.)

† Hallam p. 193.

‡ One I know, in whose family the office has remained since the period of Prithwiraja, who transferred his ancestor to the service of the Rana's house seven hundred years ago. He is not merely a nominal hereditary minister, for his uncle actually held the office; but in consequence of having favoured the views of a pretender to the crown, its active duties are not entrusted to any of the family.

in the vicinity, or of Moguls and Mahrattas, the valour of the chiefs was kept in constant play.

The country was partitioned into districts, each containing from fifty to one hundered towns and villages, though sometimes exceeding that proportion. The great number of Chourasis* leads to the conclusion that portions to the amount of eighty-four, had been the general sub-division. Many of these yet remain: as the 'Chourasi' of Jehazpur and of Komulmeer: tantamount to the old 'hundreds' of our Saxon ancestry. A circle of posts was distributed, within which the quotas of the chiefs attended, under "the Foujdar of the Sima," (*vulgo* Seem) or commander of the border. It was found expedient to appoint from court this lord of the frontier, always accompanied by a portion of the royal insignia, standard, kettle-drums and heralds, and being generally a civil officer, he united to his military office the administration of justice.† The higher vassals never attended personally at these posts, but deputed a confidential branch of their family, with the quota required. For the government of the districts, there were conjoined a civil and military officer; the latter generally a vassal of the second rank. Their residence was the chief place of the district, commonly a strong-hold.

The division of the chiefs into distinct grades, shews a highly artificial state of society.

1st Class. We have the sixteen, whose estates were from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand rupees and upwards, of yearly rent. These appear in the presence only on special invitation, upon festivals and solemn ceremonies, and are the hereditary councillors of the crown.‡

2nd Class, from five to fifty thousand rupees. Their duty is to be always in attendance. From these, chiefly, Foujdars and military officers are selected.‡

3rd Class is that of *Gole*,‡ holding lands chiefly under five thousand rupees, though by favour they may exceed this limit. They are generally the holders of separate villages and portions of land, and in former times they were the most useful class to the prince. They always attended on his person, and indeed formed his strength against any combination or opposition of the higher vassals.

4th Class. The offsets of the younger branches of the

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* The numeral eighty-four.

† Now each chief claims the right of administering justice in his own domain, that is, in civil matters; but in criminal cases they ought not, without the special sanction of the crown. Justice, however, has long been left to work its own way, and the self-constituted tribunals, the *punchaets* sit in judgement in all cases where property is involved.

‡ See Appendix, No. XX.

Rana's own family, within a certain period, are called the *babas*, literally 'infants,' and have appanages bestowed on them. Of this class are Shapura and Bunera, too powerful for subjects. They hold on none of the terms of the great clans, but consider themselves at the disposal of the prince. These are more within the influence of the crown. Allowing adoption into these houses, except in the case of near kindred, is assuredly an innovation: they ought to revert to the crown, failing immediate issue, as did the great estate of Bhynsrorgurh, two generations back.

From these to the holder of a *chursa*, or hide of land, the peculiarity of tenure and duties of each, will form a subject for discussion.

REVENUES AND RIGHTS OF THE CROWN.—I need not here expatiate upon the variety of items which constitute the revenues of the prince, the details of which will appear in their proper place. The land-tax in the *khalisa* demesne is, of course, the chief source of supply; the transit duties on commerce and trade, and those of the larger towns and commercial marts, rank next. In former time more attention was paid to this important branch of income, and the produce was greater because less shackled. The liberality on the side of the crown was only equalled by the integrity of the merchant, and the extent to which it was carried would imply an almost Utopain degree of perfection in their mutual qualities of liberality and honesty; the one, perhaps, generating the other. The remark of a merchant recently, on the vexatious train of duties and espionage attending their collection, is not merely figurative: "our ancestors tied their invoice to the horns of the oxen* at the first frontier post of customs, and no intermediate questions were put till we passed to the opposite or sold our goods, when it was opened and payment made accordingly; but now every town has its rights." It will be long ere this degree of confidence is restored on either side; extensive demand on the one is met by fraud and evasion on the other, though at least one-half of these evils have already been subdued.

The mines were very productive in former times, and yielded several *lacs* to the princes of Mewar. The rich tin mines of Jawara produced at one time a considerable proportion of silver. Those of copper are abundant as is also iron on the now alienated domain on the Chumbul; but lead least of all.†

* Oxen and carts are chiefly used in the *Tandas*, or caravans, for transportation of goods in these countries; camels further to the north.

† The privilege of coining is a reservation of royalty. No subject is allowed to coin gold or silver, though the Saloombra chief has on sufferance

The marble quarries also added to the revenue; and where there is such a multiplicity of sources, none are considered too minute to be applied in these necessitous times.

BURRAR.—*Burrar* is an indefinite term for taxation, and is connected with the thing taxed: as *ganeem-burrar** 'war-tax;' *gurh geentee-burrar*,† 'house tax'; *hal-burrar*, 'plough-tax'; *neauta-burrar*, 'marriage-tax,' and others, both of old and new standing. The war-tax was a kind of substitute for the regular mode of levying the rents on the produce of the soil; which was rendered very difficult during the disturbed period, and did not accord with the wants of the prince. It is also a substitute in those mountainous regions for the *jareeb*,‡ where the produce bears no proportion to the cultivated surface; sometimes from poverty of soil, but often from the reverse, as in Komalmeer, where the choicest crops are produced on the cultivated terraces, and on the sides of its mountains which abound with springs yielding the richest canes and cottons, and where experiment has proved that four crops can be raised in the same patch of soil within the year.

The offering on confirmation of estates (or fine on renewal) is now, though a very small, yet still one source of supply; as is the annual and triennial payment of the quit-rents of the Bhoomia chiefs. Fines in composition of offences may also be mentioned; and they might be larger, if more activity were introduced in the detection of offenders.

These governments are mild in the execution of the laws; and a heavy fine has more effect (especially on the hill tribes) than the execution of the offender, who fears death less than the loss of property.

KHUR-LAKUR.—The composition for 'wood and forage' afforded a considerable supply. When the princes of Mewar were oftener in the tented field than in the palace, combating for their preservation, it was the duty of every individual to store up wood and forage for the supply of the prince's army. What originated in necessity was converted into an abuse and annual demand. The towns also supplied a certain portion of provisions; where the prince halted for the day, these were levied on the community; a goat or sheep from the shepherd,

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a copper currency. The mint was a considerable source of income, and may be again, when confidence is restored and a new currency introduced. The Cheetore rupee is now thirty-one per cent. inferior to the old Bhilara standard, and there was one struck at the capital even worse, and very nearly as bad as the *moneta nigra* of Philip the Fair of France, who allowed his vassals the privilege of coining it.

* Enemy.

† Numbering of houses.

‡ A measure of land.

milk and flour from the farmer. The maintenance of these customs is observable in taxes, for the origin of which it is impossible to assign a reason without going into the history of the period; they scarcely recollect the source of some of these themselves. They are akin to those known under the feudal tenures of France, arising from exactly the same causes, and commuted for money payments: such as the *droit de giste et de chevauche.** Many also originated in the perambulations of these princes to visit their domains:† a black year in the calendar to the chief and the subject. When he honoured the chief by a visit, he had to present horses and arms, and to entertain his prince, in all which honours the cultivators and merchants had to share.

The duties on the sale of spirits, opium, tobacco, and even to a share of the garden-stuff, afford also modes of supply.‡

* Hallam, vol. i. p. 232.

† Hume describes the necessity for our earlier kings making these tours to consume the produce, being in kind. So it is in Mewar; but I fancy the supply was always too easily convertible into circulating medium to be the cause there.

‡ See Appendix, No. X.

CHAPTER II.

Legislative authority.—Rozina.—Military Service.—Inefficiency of this form of Government.

LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY.—During the period still called "the good times of Mewar," the prince, with the aid of his civil council, the four ministers of the crown and their deputies, promulgated all the legislative enactments in which the general rights and wants of the community were involved. In these the martial vassals or chiefs had no concern: a wise exclusion, comprehending also their immediate dependents, military, commercial, and agricultural. Even now, the little that is done in these matters is effected by the civil administration, though the Rajpoot Pradhans have been too apt to interfere in matters from which they ought always to be kept aloof, being ever more tenacious of their own rights than solicitous for the welfare of the community.

The neglect in the legislation of late years was supplied by the self-constituted tribunals, the useful *punchaets*, of which enough has been said to render further illustration unnecessary. Besides the resident ruler of the district, who was also a judicial functionary, there was, as already stated, a special officer of the government in each frontier Thana, or garrison post. He united the triple occupation of embodying the quotas, levying the transit duties, and administering justice, in which he was aided at the Chabootra* or *court*, by assembling the Chotias or assessors of justice. Each town and village has its Chotia, the members of which are elected by their fellow citizens, and remain as long as they conduct themselves impartially in disentangling the intricacies of complains preferred to them.

They are the aids to the Nagar Seth, or chief magistrate, an hereditary office in every large city in Rajasthan. Of this Chotia, the Patel and Patwarri are generally members. The former of these, like the Dusondee of the Mahrattas, resembles in his duties the *decanus* of France and the tithing-man in England. The Chotia and Punchaet of these districts are analogous to the assessors of justic called *scabini* † in France, who held the office by election or concurrence of the people. But these are the special and fixed council of each town: the

* Literally 'terrace,' or 'altar.'

† They were considered a sort of jury, bearing a close analogy to the *judices selecti*, who sat with the prætor in the tribunal of Rome.—Hallam.

general Punchaets are formed from the respectable population at large, and were formerly from all classes of society.

The Chabootras, or terraces of justice, were always established in the *khalisa*, or crown demesne. It was deemed a humiliating intrusion if they sat within the bounds of a chief. To 'erect the flag' within his limits, whether for the formation of defensive posts or the collection of duties, is deemed a gross breach of his privileged independence, as to establish them within the walls of his residence would be deemed equal to sequestration. It often becomes necessary to see justice enforced on a chief or his dependant, but it begets eternal disputes and disobedience, till at length they are worried to compliance by *rozina*.

ROZINA.—When delay in these matters, or to the general commands of the prince, is evinced, an officer or herald is deputed with a party of four, ten or twenty horse or foot, to the fief of the chief, at whose residence they take up their abode; and carrying, under the seal, a warrant to furnish them with specified dela (*rozina*) rations; they live at free quarters till he is quickened into complience with the commands of the prince. This is only accelerator of the slow movements of a Rajpoot chieftain in these days, whether for his appearance at court or the performance of an act of justicc. It is often carried to a harassing excess, and causes much complaint.

In cases regarding the distribution of justice or the internal economy of the chiefs' estates, the government officers seldom interfere. But of their Punchaets I will only remark, that their import amongst the vassals is very comprehensive; and when they talk of the '*punch*,' it means the 'collective wisdom.' In the reply to the remonstrance of the Deogurh vassals,* the chief promises never to undertake any measure without their deliberation and sanction.

On all grand occasions where the general peace or tranquilty of the government is threatencd, the chiefs form the council of the sovereign. Such subjects are always first discussed in the domestic councils of each chief; so that when the *wittenagemote* of Mewar was assembled, each had prepared himself by previous discussion, and was fortified by abundance of advice.

To be excluded the council of the prince is to be in utter disgrace. These grand divans produce infinite speculation, and the ramifications which form the opinions are extensive. The council of each chief is, in fact, a miniature representation of the sovereign's. The greater sub-vassals, his civil Pradhan, the

* See Appendix, No. III.

mayor of the household, the *purohit*,* the bard and two or three of the most intelligent citizens, form the minor councils, and all are separately deliberating while the superior court is in discussion. Thus is collected the wisdom of the magnates of Rajwarra.

MILITARY SERVICE.—In Mewar, during the days of her glory and prosperity, fifteen thousand horse, bound by the ties of fidelity and service, followed their prince into the field, all supported by lands held by grant; from the chief who headed five hundred of his own vassals, to the single horseman.

KNIGHT'S FEE OR SINGLE HORSEMEN.—A knight's fee in these states varies. For each thousand rupees of annual rent, never less than two, and generally three horsemen were furnished; and sometimes three horse and three foot soldiers, according to the exigence of the times when the grant was conferred. The different grants† appended will shew this variety, and furnish additional proof that this, and all similar system of policy, must be much indebted to chance for the shape they ultimately take. The knight's fee, when William the Conqueror partitioned England into sixty thousand such portions, from each of which a soldier's service was due, was fixed at £20. Each portion furnished its soldier or paid escuage. The knight's fee of Mewar may be said to be two hundred and fifty Rupees, or about £30.

LIMITATIONS OF SERVICE.—In Europe, service was so restricted, that the monarch had but a precarious authority. He could only calculate upon forty day's annual service from the tenant of a knight's fee. In Rajasthan it is very different: "at home and abroad, service shall be performed when demanded;" such is the condition of the tenure.

For state and show, a portion of the greater vassals‡ reside at the capital for some months, when they have permission to retire to their estates, and are relieved by another portion. On the grand military festival the whole attend for a given time; and when the prince took the field, the whole assembled at their own charge; but if hostilities carried them beyond the frontier they were allowed certain rations.

ESCUAGE or SCUTAGE.—Escuage or scutage, the phrase in Europe to denote the amercement § for non-attendance, is also known and exemplified in deeds. Failure from disaffection, turbulence, or pride, brought a heavy fine; the sequestration

* Family priest.

† See Appendix, Nos. IV, V, and VI.

‡ See Appendix No. XX, art, 6; the treaty between the chiefs and his vassals defining service.

§ Appendix, No. XVI.

of the whole or part of the estate.* The princes of these states would willingly desire to see escuage more general. All have made this first attempt towards an approximation to a standing army: but, though the chiefs would make compensation to get rid of some particular service, they are very reluctant to renounce lands, by which alone a fixed force could be maintained. The rapacity of the court would gladly fly to scutages, but in the present impoverished state of the fiefs, such, if injudiciously levied, would be almost equivalent to resumption; but this measure is so full of difficulty as to be almost impracticable.

INEFFICIENCY OF THIS FORM OF GOVERNMENT.—Throughout Rajasthan the character and welfare of the estates depend on that of the sovereign: he is the main-spring of the system—the active power to set and keep in motion all these discordant materials; if he relax, each part separates, and moves in a narrow sphere of its own. Yet will the impulse of one great mind put the machine in regular movement, which shall endure during two or three imbecile successors, if no fresh exterior force be applied to check it. It is a system full of defects; yet we see them so often balanced by virtues, that we alternately biassed by these counteracting qualities: loyalty and patriotism, which combine a love of the institutions, religion, and manners of the country, are the counterpoise to systematic evil. In no country has the system ever proved efficient. It has been one of eternal excitement and irregular action; inimical to order and the repose deemed necessary after conflict for recruiting the national strength. The absence of an external foe was but the signal for disorders within, which increased to a terrific height in the feuds of the two great rival factions of Mewar, the clans of Chondawut,† and Suktawut,‡ as the weakness of the prince augmented by the abstraction of his personal domain and the diminution of the services of the third class of vassals (the Gole), the personal retainers of the crown; but when these feuds broke out, even with the enemy at their gates, it required a prince of great nerve and talent to regulate them. Yet is there a redeeming quality in the system, which, imperfect as it is, could render such perilous circumstances but the impulse to a rivalry of heroism.

When Jehangir had obtained possession of the palladium

* Both of which I have witnessed.

† A clan called after Chonda, eldest son of an ancient Rana, who resigned his birthright.

‡ Sukta was the son of Rana Udya Sing, founder of Udyapura, or Oodipur. The feuds of these two clans, like those of the Armagnacs and Bourguignons, "qui couvrirent la France d'un crepe sanglant," have been the destruction of Mewar. It requires but a change of names and places, while reading the one, to understand perfectly the history of the other.

of Mewar, the ancient fortress of Cheetore, and driven the prince into the wilds and mountains of the west, an opportunity offered to recover some frontier lands in the plains, and the Rana with all his chiefs were assembled for the purpose. But the Suktawuts asserted an equal privilege with their rivals to form the vanguard ;* a right which their indisputable valour (perhaps superior to that of the other party) rendered not invalid. The Chondawuts claimed it as an hereditary privilege, and the sword would have decided the matter but for the tact of the prince. "The *herole* to the clan which first enters Ontala," was a decision which the Suktawut leader quickly heard ; while the other could no longer plead his right, when such a gauntlet was thrown down for its maintenance.

Ontala is the frontier fortress in the plains, about eighteen miles east of the capital, and covering the road which leads from it to the more ancient one of Cheetore. It is situated on a rising ground, with a stream flowing beneath its walls, which are of solid masonry, lofty, and with round towers at intervals.† In the centre was the Governor's house, also fortified. One gate only gave admission to this castle.

The clans, always rivals in power, now competitors in glory, moved off at the same time, some hours before daybreak, —Ontala the goal, the *herole* the reward ! Animated with hope —a barbarous and cruel foe the object of their prowess—their wives and families spectators, on their return, of the meed of enterprize ; the bard, who sang the praise of each race at their outset, demanding of each materials for a new wreath, supplied every stimulus that a Rajpoot could have to exertion.

The Suktawuts made directly for the gateway, which they reached as the day broke, and took the foe unprepared ; but the walls were soon manned, and the action commenced. The Chondawuts, less skilled in topography, had traversed a swamp, which retarded them—but through which they dashed, fortunately meeting a guide in a shepherd of Ontala. With more foresight than their opponents, they had brought ladders. The chief led the escalade, but a ball rolled him back amidst his vassals : it was not his distiny to lead the *herole* ! Each party was checked. The Suktawut depended on the elephant he rode, to gain admission by forcing the gate ; but its projecting spikes deterred the animal from applying its strength. His men were falling thick around him, when a shout from the other party made him dread their success. He descended from his seat, placed his body on the spikes, and commanded the driver,

* Herole.

† It is now in ruins, but the towers and part of the walls are still standing.

on pain of instant death, to propel the elephant against him. The gates gave way, and over the dead body of their chief his clan rushed to the combat! But even this heroic surrender of his life failed to purchase the honour for his clan. The lifeless corpse of his rival was already in Ontala, and this was the event announced by the shout which urged sacrifice to honour and ambition. When the Chondawut chief fell, the next in rank and kin took the command. He was one of those arrogant, reckless Rajpoots, who signalized themselves wherever there was danger, not only against men but tigers, and his common appelation was the *Benda Thakur* ('mad chief') of Deogurh. When his leader fell, he rolled the body in his scarf; then tying it on his back, scaled the wall, and with his lance having cleared the way before him, he threw the dead body over the parapet of Ontala, shouting, "the vanguard to the Chondawut! we are first in!" The shout was echoed by the clan, and the rampart was in their possession nearly at the moment of the entry of the Suktawuts. The Moguls fell under their swords: the standard of Mewar was erected in the castle of Ontala, but the leading of the vanguard remained with the Chondawuts.*

This is not the sole instance of such jealousies being converted into a generous and patriotic rivalry; many others could be adduced throughout the greater principalities, but especially amongst the brave Rahtores of Marwar.

It was a nice point to keep these clans poised against each other: their feuds were not without utility, and the tact of the prince frequently turned them to account. One party was certain to be enlisted on the side of the sovereign, and this alone counterbalanced the evil tendencies before described. To this day it has been a perpetual struggle for supremacy; and the epithets of "loyalist" and "traitor" have been alternating between them for centuries, according to the portion they enjoyed of the prince's favour, and the talents and disposition of the heads of the clans to maintain their predominance at court. The Suktawuts are weaker in numbers, but have the reputation

* An anecdote appended by my friend Umra (the bard of the Sungawuts, a powerful division of the Chondawuts whose head is Deogurh, often alluded to, and who alone used to lead two thousand vassals into the field) was well attested. Two Mogul chiefs of note were deeply engaged in a game of chess when the tumult was reported to them. Feeling confident of success, they continued their game; nor would they desist till the inner castle of this 'donjon keep' was taken, and they were surrounded by the Rajpoots, when they coolly begged they might be allowed to terminate their game. This the enemy granted; but the loss of their chiefs had steeled their breasts against mercy, and they were afterwards put to death.

of greater bravery and more genius, than their rivals. I am inclined, on the whole, to assent to this opinion; and the very consciousness of this reputation must be a powerful incentive to its preservation.

When all these governments were founded and maintained on the same principle, a system of feuds, doubtless, answered very well; but it cannot exist with a well-constituted monarchy. Where individual will controls the energies of a nation, it must eventually lose its liberties. To preserve their power, the princes of Rajasthan surrendered a portion of theirs to the emperors of Delhi. They made a nominal surrender to him of their kingdoms, receiving them back with a *sunnud*, or grant, renewed on each lapse: thereby acknowledging him as lord paramount. They received, on these occasions, the *khelat* of honour and investiture, consisting of elephants, horses, arms, and jewels; and to their hereditary title of 'prince' was added by the emperor, one of dignity, *munsub*. Besides this acknowledgment of supremacy, they offered *nuzzerana** and homage, especially on the festival of Noroza (the new year), engaging to attend the royal presence when required, at the head of a stipulated number of their vassals. The emperor presented them with a royal standard, kettle-drums, and other insignia, which headed the array of each prince. Here we have all the chief incidents of a great feudal sovereignty. Whether the Tatar sovereigns borrowed the customs from their princely vassals, or brought them from the highlands of Asia, from the Oxus and Jexartes, whence, there is little doubt, many of these Sacha Rajpoots originated, shall be elsewhere considered.

The splendour of such an array, whether in the field or at the palace, can scarcely be conceived. Though Hemayoon had gained the services of some of the Rājpoot princes, their aid was uncertain. It was reserved for his son, the wise and magnanimous Akbar, to induce them to become at once the ornament and support of his throne. The power which he consolidated, and knew so well to wield, was irresistible; while the beneficence of his disposition, and the wisdom of his policy, maintained what his might conquered. He felt that a constant exhibition of authority would not only be ineffectual but dangerous, and that the surest hold on their fealty and esteem would be the giving them a personal interest in the support of the monarchy.

He determined to unite the pure Rajpoot blood to the scarcely less noble stream which flowed from Oguz Khan, through Jungheez, Timoor, and Baber, to himself, calculating

* Fine of relief.

that they would more readily yield obedience to a prince who claimed kindred with them, than to one purely Tatar; and that at all events, it would gain the support of their immediate kin, and might in the end become general. In this suppositon he did not err. We are less acquainted with the obstacles which opposed his first success, than those he subsequently encountered: *one* of which neither he nor his descendants *ever* overcame in the family of Mewar, who could never be brought to submit to such alliance.

Ambar, the nearest to Delhi and the most exposed, though more open to temptation than to conquest, in its then contracted sphere, was the first to set the example.

Its Raja Bhagwandas gave his daughter to Hemayoon; and subsequently this practice became so common, that some of the most celebrated emperors were the offsprings of Rajpoot princesses.

Of these, Selim, called after his accession, Jehangir; his ill-fated son, Khosroo; Shah Jehan;* Kambaksh,† the favourite of his father; Aurungzebe, and his rebellious son Akbar, whom his Rajpoot kin would have placed on the throne had his genius equalled their power, are the most prominent instances. Feroksere, when the empire began to totter, furnished the last instance of Mogul sovereign marrying a Hindu princess,‡ the daughter of Raja Ajeet Sing, sovereign of Marwar.

These Rajpoot princes became the guardians of the minority of their imperial nephews, and had a direct stake in the empire, and in the augmentation of their estates.

Of the four hundred and sixteen Munsubdars, or military commanders of Akbar's empire, from leaders of two hundred to ten thousand men, forty-seven were Rajpoots, and the aggregate of their quotas amounted to fifty-three thousand horse:§ exactly one-tenth of the united Munsubdars of the empire, or five hundred and thirty thousand horse.‖

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* The son of the Princess Jodh Bae, whose magnificent tomb still excites admiration at Secundra, near Agra.

† 'Gift of Love.'

‡ To this very marriage we owe the origin of our power. When the nuptials were preparing, the Emperor fell ill. A mission was at that time at Delhi from Surat, where we traded, of which Mr. Hamilton was the surgeon. He cured the King, and the marriage was completed. In the oriental style, he desired the doctor to name his reward; but instead of asking any thing for himself, he demanded a grant of land for a factory on the Hoogly for his employers. It was accorded, and this was the origin of the greatness of the British empire in the East. Such an act deserved at least a column; but neither "trophied urn or monumental bust" marks the spot where his remains are laid.

§ Abul Fuzil's Institutes of Akbar.

‖ The infantry, regulars and militia, exceeded, 4,000,000.

Of the forty-seven Rajpoot leaders, there were seventeen whose *munsubs* were from one thousand to five thousand horse, and thirty from two hundred to one thousand.

The princes of Ambar, Marwar, Bikneer, Boondi, Jessulmeer, Boondelkhund, and even Shekawut, held *munsubs* of above one thousand; but Ambar only, being allied to the throne, had the dignity of five thousand.

The Raja Udya Sing of Marwar, surnamed the Fat, chief of the Rahtores, held but the *munsub* of one thousand, while a scion of his house, Rae Sing of Bikaneer, had four thousand. This is to be accounted for by the dignity being thrust upon the head of that house. The independent princes of Chanderi, Kerowli, Duttea, with the tributary feudatories of the larger principalities, and members of the Shekawut federation, were enrolled on the other grades, from four to seven hundred. Amongst these we find the founder of the Suktawut clan, who quarrelling with his brother, Rana Pratap of Mewar, gave his services to Akbar. In short it became general, and what originated in force or persuasion, was soon coveted from interested motives; and as nearly all the states submitted in time to give queens to the empire, few were left to stigmatize this dereliction from Hindu principle.

Akbar thus gained a double victory, securing the good opinions as well as the swords of these princes in his aid. A judicious perseverance would have rendered the throne of Timoor immoveable, had not the tolerant principles and beneficence of Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jehan, been lost sight of by the bigotted and blood-thirsty Aurungzebe; who although, while he lived, his commanding genius wielded the destinies of this immense empire at pleasure, alienated the affections by insulting the prejudices of those who had aided in raising the empire to the height on which it stood. This affection withdrawn, and the weakness of Feroksere substituted for the strength of Aurungzebe, it fell and went rapidly to pieces. Predatory warfare and spoliation rose on its ruins. The Rajpoot princes, with a short-sighted policy, at first connived at, and even secretly invited the tumult; not calculating on its affecting their interests. Each looked to the return of ancient independence, and several reckoned on great accession of power. Old jealousies were not lessened by the part which each had played in the hour of ephemeral greatness; and the prince of Mewar, who preserved his blood uncontaminated, though with loss of land, was at once an object of respect and envy to those who had forfeited the first pretensions* of a Rajpoot. It was the

* See, in the annals of Mewar, the the letter of Rae Sing of Bikaneer (who had been compelled to submit to this practice), on hearing that Rana

only ovation the Sesodia* had to boast for centuries of oppression and spoliation, whilst their neighbours were basking in court favour. The great increase of territory of these princes nearly eqalled the power of Mewar, and the dignities thus acquired from the sons of Timoor, they naturally wished, should appear as distinguished as his ancient title. Hence, while one inscribed on his seal "the exalted in dignity, a prince amongst princes, and king of kings,"† the prince of Mewar preserved his royal simplicity in 'Maha-Rana Bhima Sing, son of Ursi.' But this is digression.

It would be difficult to say what would be the happiest form of government for these states without reference to their neighbours. Their own feudal customs would seem to have worked well. The experiment of centuries has secured to them political existence, while successive dynasties of Afghans and Moguls, during eight hundred years, have left but the wreck of splendid names. Were they to become more monarchical, they would have every thing to dread from unchecked despotism, over which even the turbulence of their chiefs is a salutary control.

Were they somewhat more advanced towards prosperity, the crown demesne redeemed from dissipation and sterility, and the chiefs enabled to bring their quotas into play for protection and police, recourse should never be had to bodies of mercenary troops, which practice, if persevered in, will inevitably change their present form of government. This has invariably been the result, in Europe as well Rajasthan, else why the dread of standing armies?

Escuage is an approximating step. When Charles VII. of France‡ raised his companies of ordnance, the basis of the first national standing army ever embodied in Europe, a tax called *'taille'* was imposed to pay them, and Guienne rebelled. Kotah is a melancholy instance of subversion of the ancient order of society. Mewar made the experiment from necessity sixty years ago, when rebellion and invasion conjoined and a body of Sindies were employed, which completed their disgust, and they fought with each other till almost mutually exterminated, and till all faith in their prince was lost. Jeypur had adopted this custom to a greater extent; but it was an ill paid band, neither respected at home nor feared abroad. In Marwar

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Pratap's reverses were likely to cause a similar result. It is a noble production, and gives the character of both.

* The tribe to which the princes of Mewar belonged.

† *Raj Rajeswara*, the little of the prince of Marwar: the prince of Ambar, *Raj Raj Indra*.

‡ Hallam, vol. i. p. 117.

the feudal compact was too strong to tolerate it, till Pathan predatory bands, prowling amidst the ruins of Mogul despotism, were called in to partake in each family broil; the consequence was the weakening of all, opening the door to a power stronger than any, to be the arbiter of their fate.

GENERAL DUTIES OF THE PUTTAWUT OR VASSAL CHIEF OF RAJASTHAN.—"The essential principle of a fief was a mutual contract of support and fidelity. Whatever obligations it laid upon the vassal of service to his lord, corresponding duties of protection were imposed by it on the lord towards his vassal. If these were transgressed on either side, the one forfeited his land, the other his signiory or rights over it."*

In this is comprehended the very foundation of feudal policy, because in its simplicity we recognize first principles involving mutual preservation. The best commentary on this definition of simple truth will be the sentiments of the Rajpoots themselves in two papers: one containing the opinions of the chiefs of Marwar on the reciprocal duties of sovereign and vassal;† the other, those of the sub-vassals of Deogurh, one of the largest fiefs in Rajasthan, of their rights, the infringement of them, and the remedy.‡

If, at any former period in the history of Marwar, its prince had thus dared to act, his signiory and rights over it would not have been of great value; his crown and life would both have been endangered by these turbulent and determined vassals. How much is comprehended in that manly, yet respectful sentence: "If he accepts our services, then is he our prince and leader; if not, but our equal, and we again his brothers, claimants of, and laying claim to the soil."

In the remonstrance of the sub-vassals of Deogurh, we have the same sentiments on a reduced scale. In both we have the ties of blood and kindred, connected with and strengthening national policy. If a doubt could exist as to the principle of fiefs being similiar in Rajasthan and in Europe, it might be set at rest by the important question long agitated by the feudal lawyers in Europe, "whether the vassal is bound to follow the standard of his lord against his own kindred or against his sovereign:" which in these states is illutrated by a simple and universal proof. If the question were put to a Rajpoot, to whom his service is due, whether to his chief or his sovereign, the reply would be, *Rajca malik weh pat* § *ca*

* Hallam, vol. i. p. 173.
† See Appendix, No. I.
‡ See Appendix, Nos. II. and III.
§ *Pat* means 'head,' 'chief;' also, 'board,' 'throne'—like *tukht* in Persian

malik yeh: 'He is the sovereign of the state, but this is my *head*:' an ambiguous phrase, but well understood to imply that his own immediate chief is the only authority he regards.

This will appear to militate against the right of remonstrance (as in the case of the vassals of Deogurh), for they look to the crown for protection against injustice; they annihilate other rights by admitting appeal higher than this. Every class looks out for some resource against oppression. The sovereign is the last applied to on such occasions, with whom the sub-vassal has no bond of connection. He can receive no favour, nor perform any service, but through his own immediate superior; and presumes not to question (in cases not personal to himself) the propriety of his chief's actions, adopting implicitly his feelings and resentments. The daily familiar intercourse of life is far too engrossing to allow him to speculate, and with his lord he lives a patriot or dies a traitor. In proof of this, numerous instances could be given of whole clans devoting themselves to the chief against their sovereign; * not from the ties of kindred, for many were aliens in blood; but from the ties of duty, gratitude, and all that constitutes clannish attachment, superadded to feudal obligation. The sovereign, as before observed, has nothing to do with those vassals not holding directly from the crown; and those who wish to stand well with their chiefs, would be very slow in receiving any honours or favours from the general fountain-head. The Deogurh chief sent one of his sub-vassal to court on a mission: his address and deportment gained him favour, and his consequence was increased by a seat in the presence of his sovereign. When he returned, he found this had lost him the favour of his chief, who was offended, and conceived a jealousy both of his prince and his servant. The distinction paid to the latter was, he said, subversive of his proper authority, and the vassal incurred by his vanity the loss of estimation where alone it was of value.

OBLIGATIONS OF A VASSAL.—The attempt to define all the obligations of a vassal would be endless: they involve all the duties of kindred in addition to those of obedience. To attend the court of his chief; never to absent himself without leave; to ride with him a-hunting; to attend him at the court of his sovereign or to war, and even give himself as a hostage for his release; these are some of the duties of a vsssal.

* The death of the chief of Nimaj, in the annals of Marwar, and Seogurh Feud, in the Personal Narrative vol. ii.

CHAPTER III.

Feudal Incidents.—Durations of Grants.

FEUDAL INCIDENTS.—I shall now proceed to compare the more general obligations of vassals, known under the term of 'Feudal Incidents' in Europe, and shew their existence in Rajasthan. These were six in number:—1. reliefs; 2. fines of alienation; 3. escheats; 4. aids; 5. wardship; 6. marriage.

RELIEF.—The first and most essential mark of a feudal relation exists in all its force and purity here. It is a perpetually recurring mark of the source of the grant, and the solemn renewal of the pledge which originally obtained it. In Mewar it is a virtual and *bona fide* surrender of the fief and renewal thereof. It is thus defined in European polity: "A relief* is a sum of money due from every one of full age taking a fief by descent." It was arbitrary, and the consequent exactions formed a ground of discontent; nor was the tax fixed till a comparatively recent period.

By *Magna Charta* reliefs were settled at rates proportionate to the dignity of the holder.† In France the relief was fixed by the customary laws at one year's revenue.‡ This last has long been the settled amount of *nuzzerana*, or fine of relief, in Mewar.

On the demise of a chief, the prince immediately sends a party, termed the *zubti* (sequestrator), consisting of a civil officer and a few soldiers, who take possession of the estate in prince's name. The heir sends his prayer to court to be installed in the property, offering the proper relief. This paid, the chief is invited to repair to the presence, when he performs homage, and makes protestations of service and fealty. He

* "Plusieurs possesseurs de fiefs, ayant voulu en laisser perpetuellement la propriete a leurs descendans, pricent des arrangmens avec leur Seigneur; et, outre ce qu'ils donnerent pour faire le marche, ils s'engagerent, eux et leur posterite, a abandonner pendant une annee, au Seigneur, la jouissance entiere du fief, chaque fois que le dit fief changrait de main. C'est ce qui forma le droit de *relief*.

'Quand un gentilhomme avaid deroge, il pouvait effacer cette tache moyennant finances, et ce qu'il payait s'appelait *relief*, il recevait pour quittance des letters de *relief* ou de rehabilitation."—Art. '*Relief*,' Dict, de l'anc. Regime.

† *Vis.* "the heir or or heirs of an earl, for an entire earldom, one hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a baron, for an entire barony, one hundred marks; the heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, one hundred shillings at most."—Art. III *Magna Charta*.

‡ "Le droit de rachat devoit se payer a chaque mutation d'heritier, et se paya meme d'abord en ligne directe.—La contume la plus generalel'avait fixe a une annee du revenue."—"*L'Esprit des Loix*," Liv. xxxi. chap. xxxiii.

receives a fresh grant, and the inauguration terminates by the prince girding him with a sword in the old forms of chivalry. It is an imposing ceremony, performed in a full assembly of the court, and one of the few which has never been relinquished. The fine paid, and the brand buckled to his side, a steed, turban, plume, and dress of honour given to the chief, the investiture* is complete. The sequestrator returns to court, and the chief to his estate, to receive the vows and congratulations of his vassals.

In this, we plainly perceive the original power (whether exercised or not) of resumption. On this subject more will appear in treating of the duration of grants. The *kharg bandai*, or 'binding of the swords,' is also performed when a Rajpoot is fit to bear arms; as amongst the ancient German tribes, when they put into the hands of the aspirant for fame a lance. Such are the substitutes for the *toga virilis* of the young Roman. The Rana himself is thus ordained a knight by the first of his vassals in dignity, the chief of Saloombra.

RENUNCIATION OF RELIEFS.—In the demoralization of all those states, some of the chiefs obtained renunciation of the fine of relief, which was tantamount to making a grant in perpetuity, and annulling the most overt sign of paramount sovereignty. But these and many other important encroachments were made when little remained of the reality, or when it was obscured by a series of oppressions unexampled in any European state.

It is in Mewar alone, I belive, of all Rajasthan, that these marks of fealty are observable to such an extent. But what is remarked elsewhere upon the fiefs being moveable, will support the doctrine of resumption though it might not be practised: a prerogative may exist without its being exercised.

FINE OF ALIENATION.—Rajasthan never attained this refinement indicative of the dismemberment of the system: so vicious and self-destructive a notion never had existence in these states. Alienation does not belong to a system of fiefs. The lord would never consent to it, but on very peculiar occasions.

* That symbolic species of investiture denominated 'improper investiture,' the delivery of a turf, stone, and wand, has its analogies amongst the mountaineers of the Aravali. The old baron of Bednor, when the Mer villages were reduced, was clamorous about his feudal rights over those wild people. It was but the point of honour. From one he had a hare, from another a bullock, and so low as a pair of sticks which they use on the festivals of the *Holi*. These marks of vassalage come under the head of 'petite serjantrei' (petit serjentri) in the feudal system of Europe. (See Art. XLI. of *Magna Charta*.)

In Kutch, amongst the Jhareja* tribes, sub-vassals may alienate their estates; but this privilege is dependent on the mode of acquisition. Perhaps the only knowledge we have in Rajasthan of alienation requiring the sanction of the lord paramount, is in donation for pious uses; but this is partial. We see in the remonstrance of the Deogurh vassals the opinion they entertained of their lord's alienation of their sub-fees to strangers, and without the Rana's consent; which, with a smiliar train of conduct, produced sequestration of his fiefs till they were reinducted.

TENANTS OF THE CROWN MAY ALIENATE.—The agricultural tenants, proprietors of land held of the crown, may alienate their rights upon a small fine, levied merely to mark the transaction. But the tenures of these non-combatants and the holders of fees are entirely distinct, and cannot here be entered on, further than to say that the agriculturist is, or was, the proprietor of the soil; the chief, solely of the tax levied thereon. But in Europe, the alienation of the *feudum paternum* was not good without the consent of the kindered in the line of succession.† This would involve sub-infeudation and frerage, which I shall touch on distinctly, and many of the troubles of these countries arising therefrom.

ESCHEATS AND FORFEITURES.—The fiefs which were only to descend in lineal succession, reverted to the crown on failure of heirs, as they could not be bequeathed by will. This answers equally well for England as for Mewar. I have witnessed escheats of this kind, and foresee more, if the pernicious practice of unlimited adoption do not prevent the Rana from regaining lands, alienated by himself at periods of contention. Forfeitures for crimes must of course occur, and these are partial or entire, according to the delinquency.

In Marwar, at this moment, nearly all the representatives of the great fiefs of that country are exiles from their house. A distant branch of the same family, the prince of Edur, would have adopted a similar line of conduct but for a timely check from the hand of benevolence.‡

There is, or rather was, a class of lands in Mewar appended to the crown, of which it bestowed life-rents on men of

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* Jhareja is the title of the Rajpoot race in Kutch; they are descendants of the Yadus, and claim from Crishna. In early ages they inhabited the tracts on the Indus and in Sewisthan.

† Wright on Tenures *apud* Hallam, vol. i. p. 185.

‡ The Hon. Mr. Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay. As we prevented the spoliation of Edur by the predatory powers, we are but right in seeing that the head does not become the spoliator himself, and make these brave men "wish any change but that which we have given them."

merit. These were termed *Chur-cotar*, and were given and taken back, as the name implies; in contradistinction to grants which, though originating in good behaviour, not only continued for life but descended in perpetuity. Such places are still so marked in the rent-roll, but they are seldom applied to the proper purpose.

AIDS.—Aids, implying 'free gifts,' or 'benevolence,' as they were termed in a European code, are well known. The *burrar* (war-tax) is well understood in Mewar, and is levied on many occasions for the necessities of the prince or the head of a clan. It is a curious fact, that the *dusoond*, or 'tenth,' in Mewar, as in Europe, was the stated sum to be levied in periods of emergency or danger. On the marriage of the daughters of the prince, a benevolence or contribution was always levied: this varied. A few years ago, when two daughters and a granddaughter were married to the princes of Jessulmeer, Bikaneer, and Kishengurh, a schedule of one-sixth, to portion the three, was made out; but it did not realize above an eighth. In this aid, the civil officers of Government contribute equally with others. It is a point of honour with all to see their sovereign's daughters married, and for once the contribution merited the name of benevolence.

But it is not levied solely from the coffers of the rich; by the chiefs it is exacted of their tenantry of all classes, who, of course, wish such subjects of rejoicing to be of as rare occurence as possible.

"These feudal aids are deserving of our notice as the commencement of taxation, of which they long answered the purpose, till the craving necessities and covetous policy of kings established for them more durable and onerous burthens."*

The great chiefs, it may be assumed, were not backward, on like occasions, to follow such examples; but these gifts were more voluntary. Of the details of aids in France, we find enumerated, "paying the relief to the suzerain on taking possession of his lands;"† and by *Magna Charta* our barons could levy them on the following counts: to make the baron's eldest son a knight, to marry his eldest daughter, or to redeem his person from captivity. The latter is also one occassion for the demand in all these countries. The chief is frequently made prisoner in their predatory invasions, and carried off as a hostage for the payment of a war contribution. Everything disposable is often got rid of on an occasion of this kind.

* Hallam.
† Ducange *apud* Hallam.

Cœur de Lion would not have remained so long in the dungeons of Austria had his subjects been Rajpoots.

In Ambar the most extensive benevolence, or *barrar*,* is on the marriage of the Raj-Cumar, or heir-apparent.

WARDSHIP.—This does exist to foster the infant vassal during minority; but often terminating, as in the system of Europe, in the nefarious act of defrauding a helpless infant, to the pecuniary benefit of some court favourite. It is accordingly here undertaken occasionally by the head of the clan; but two strong recent instances brought the dark ages and the purchase of wardships for the purpose of spoliation, to mind. The first was in the Deogurh chief obtaining by bribe the entire management of the lands of Singramgurh, on pretence of improving them for the infant, Nahar Sing, whose father was incapacitated by derangement. Nahar was a junior branch of the clan *Sangawut*, a sub-division of the Chondawut clan, both, Sesodias of the Rana's blood. The object, at the time, was to unite them to Deogurh, though he pleaded duty as head of the clan. His nomination of young Nahar as his own heir gives a colouring of truth to his intentions; and he succeeded, though there were nearer of kin, who were set aside (at the wish of the vassals of Deogurh and with the concurrence of the sovereign) as unfit to head them or serve him.

Another instance of the danger of permitting wardships, particularly where the guardian is the superior in clanship and kindred, is exemplified in the Kalianpur estate in Mewar. That property had been derived from the crown only two generations back, and was of the annual value of ten thousand rupees. The mother having little interest at court, the Saloombra chief, by bribery and intrigue, upon paying a fine of about one year's rent, obtained possession—ostensibly to guard the infant's rights; but the falsehood of this motive was soon apparent. There were duties to perform on holding it which were not thought of. It was a frontier post, and a place of rendezvous for the quotas to defend that border from the incursions of the wild tribes of the south-west. The Saloombra chief, being always deficient in the quota for his own estate, was not likely to be very zealous in his muster-roll for his ward's, and complaints were made which threatened a change. The chief of Chaond was talked of as one who would provide for the widow and minor, who could not perform the duties of defence.

The sovereign himself often assumes the guardianship of minors; but the mother is generally considered the most

* *Burrar* is the generic name for taxation.

proper guardian for her infant son. All others may have interest of their own, but she can be actuated by his welfare alone. Custom, therefore, constitutes her the guardian; and with the assistance of the elders of the family, she rears and educates the young chief till he is fit to be girded with the sword.*

The Foujdar, or military manager, who frequently regulates the household as well as the sub-division of the estate, is seldom of the kin or clan of the chief: a wise regulation, the omission of which has been known to produce, in these *maires du palais* on a small scale, the same results as will be described in the larger. This officer, and the civil functionary who transacts all the pecuniary concerns of the estate with the mother and her family, are always considered to be the proper guardians of the minor. "Blood which could not inherit" was the requisite for a guardian in Europe,† as here; and when neglected, the results are in both cases the same.

MARRIAGE.—Refinement was too strong on the side of the Rajpoot to admit this incident, which, with that of wardship (both partial in Europe), illustrated the rapacity of the feudal aristocracy. Every chief, before he marries, makes it known to his sovereign. It is a compliment which is expected, and is besides attended with some advantage, as the prince invariably confers presents of honour, according to the station of the individual.

No Rajpoot can marry in his own clan; and the incident was originated in the Norman institutes, to prevent the vassal marrying out of his class, or amongst the enemies of his sovereign.

Thus, setting aside marriage (which even in Europe was only partial and local) and alienation, four of the six chief incidents marking the feudal system are in force in Rajasthan, *viz.* reliefs, escheats, aids, and wardship.

DURATION OF GRANTS.—I shall now endeavour to combine all the knowledge I possess with regard to the objects attained in granting lands, the nature and durability of these grants, whether for life and renewable, or in perpetuity. I speak of the rules as understood in Mewar. We ought not to expect much system in what was devoid of regularity, even according to the old principles of European feudal law, which, though now reduced to some fixed principles, originated in, and was governed by, fortuitous circumstances; and after often changing its character, ended in despotism, oligarchy, or democracy.

* The charter of Henry I. promises the custody of heirs to the mother or next of kin.—Hallam, vol. ii. p. 429

† Hallam, vol. i. p. 190.

There are two classes of Rajpoot landholders in Mewar, though the one greatly exceeds the other in number. One is the *Grasya thacoor*, or lord; the other the *Bhoomia*. The Grasya chieftain is he who holds (*gras*) by grant (*putta*) of the prince, for which he performs service with specified quotas at home and abroad, renewable at lapse, when all the ceremonies of resumption,* the fine of relief,† and the investiture take place.

The Bhoomia does not renew his grant, but holds on prescriptive possession. He succeeds without any fine, but pays a small annual quit-rent, and can be called upon for local service in the district which he inhabits, for a certain period of time. He is the counterpart of the allodial proprietor of the European system, and the real 'Zemindar' of these principalities. Both have the same signification; from *bhoom* and *semin*, 'land:' the latter is an exotic of Persian origin.

GRASYA.—Grasya is from *gras*, 'a subsistence'; literally and familiarly, 'a mouthful.' Whether it may have a like origin with the Celtic word *gwas*,‡ said to mean 'a servant,'§ and whence the word vassal is derived, I shall leave to etymologists to decide, who may trace the resemblance to the *grasya*, the vassal chieftain of the Rajpoots. All the chartularies or Puttas‖ commence, "To.....*gras* has been ordained."

WHETHER RESUMABLE.—It has always been a subject of doubt whether grants were resumable at pleasure, or without some delinquency imputable to the vassal. Their duration in Europe was, *at least*, the life of the possessor, when they reverted¶ to the fisc. The whole of the ceremonies in cases of such lapse are decisive on this point in Mewar. The right to resume, therefore, may be presumed to exist; while the non-practice of it, the formalities of renewal being gone through, may be said to render the right a dead letter. But to prove its existence I need only mention, that so late as the reign of Rana Singram,** the fiefs of Mewar were actually moveable; and little more than a century and a half has a passed since this practice ceased. Thus a Rahtore would shift, with family,

* *Zubti*, 'sequestration.' † *Nuzzerana.*

‡ It might not be unworthy of research to trace many words common to the Hindu and Celt; or to enquire whether the Kimbri, the Juts or Getes, the Sacasenæ, the Catti of the Elbe and Cimbric Chersonese, and the ancient Britons, did not bring their terms, with their bards and *vates* (the Bhats and Bardais) from the high-land of Scythia east of the Caspian, which originated the nations common to both, improved beyond the Volga and the Indus. § Hallam, vol. i.

‖ *putta*, a 'patent' or 'grant:' *puttawat* 'holder of the fief or grant.'

¶ Montesquieu, chap. XXV, LIV, XXXI.

** Ten generations ago.

chattels, and retainers, from the north into the wilds of Chuppun ;* while the Suktawut relieved, would occupy the plains at the foot of the Aravali ;† or a Chondawut would exchange his abode on the banks of the Chumbul with a Pramara or Chohan from the table-mountain, the eastern boundary of Mewar.‡

Since these exchanges were occurring, it is evident the fiefs (puttas) were not grants in perpetuity. This is just the state of the benefices in France at an early period, as described by Gibbon, following Montesquieu: "Les benefices etoient amovibles ; bientot ils les rendirent perpetuels, et enfin hereditaires."§ This is the precise gradation of fiefs in Mewar; moveable, perpetual, and then hereditary. The sons were occasionally permitted to succeed their fathers ;|| an indulgence which easily grew into a right, though the crown had the indubitable reversion. It is not, however, impossible that these changes ¶ were not of ancient authority, but arose from the policy of the times to prevent infidelity.

We ought to have a high opinion of princes who could produce an effect so powerful on the minds of a proud and turbulent nobility. The son was heir to the title and power over vassals' personals and moveables, and to the allegiance of his father, but to nothing which could endanger that allegiance.

A proper apportioning and mixture of the different clans was another good result to prevent their combinations in powerful families, which gave effect to rebellion, and has tended

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* The grand mountainous and woody region to the south-west, dividing Mewar from Guzerat.

† The grand chain dividing the western from the central states of Rajasthan.

‡ Such changes were triennial ; and, as I have heard the prince himself say, interwoven with their customs, was this rule that it caused no dissatisfaction ; but of this we may be allowed at least to doubt. It was a perfect check to the imbibing of local attachment ; and the prohibition against erecting forts for refuge or defiance, prevented its growth if acquired. It produced the object intended, obedience to the prince, and unity against the restless Mogul. Perhaps to these institutions it is owing that Mewar alone never was conquered by the kings during the protracted struggle of seven centuries ; though at length worried and worn out, her power expired with their's, and predatory spoliation completed her ruin.

§ Gibbon, Misc. Works, vol. iii. p. 189 ; *sur le systeme feodal surtout en France.*

|| Hallam, quoting Gregory of Tours ; the picture drawn in A. D. 595.

¶ Fiefs had partially become hereditary towards the end of the first race ; in these days they had not the idea of an 'unalienable fief.' Montesquieu, vol. ii. p. 431. The historian of the middle ages doubts if ever they were resumable at pleasure, unless from delinquency.

more than external causes to the ruin which the state of Mewar exhibits.

Throughout the various gradations of its nobility, it was the original policy to introduce some who were foreign in country and blood. Chiefs of the Rahtore, Chohan, Pramara, Solanki, and Bhatti tribes were intermingled. Of these several were lineal descendants of the most ancient races of the kings of Delhi and Anhulwarra Puttun ; * and from these in order to preserve the purity of blood, the princes of Mewar took their wives, when the other princes of Hind assented to the degradation of giving daughters in marriage to the emperors of Delhi. The princes of Mewar never yielded in this point, but preserved their ancient manners amidst all vicissitudes. In like manner did the nobles of the Rana's blood take daughters from the same tribes ; the interest of this foreign race was therefore strongly identified with the general welfare, and on all occasions of internal turmoil and rebellion they invariably supported their prince. But when these wise institutions were overlooked, when the great clans increased and congregated together, and the crown demesne was impoverished by prodigality, rebellions were fostered by Mahratta rapacity, which were little known during the lengthened paramount sway of the kings of Delhi. This foreign admixture will lead us to the discussion of the different kinds of grants : a difference, perhaps more nominal than real, but exhibiting a distinction so wide as to imply grants resumable and irresumable.

KALA PUTTAS.—It is elsewhere related that two great clans, descendants of the Ranas Rao Mul and Udya Sing, and their numerous scions, forming subdivisions with separate titles or patronymics, compose the chief vassalage of this country.

Chondawut and Suktawut are the stock ; the former is subdivided into ten, the latter into about six clans. Rajpoots never intermarry with their own kin : the prohibition has no limit ; it extends to the remotest degree. All these clans are resolvable into the generic term of 'the race' of Cula Sesodia. A Sesodia man and woman cannot unite in wedlock—all these are therefore of the blood royal ; and the essayists on population would have had a fine field in these quarters a century ago, ere constant misery had thinned the country, to trace the numerous progeny of Chonda and Sukta in the *Genesis*† of Mewar. The Bhat's genealogies would still, to a certain extent, afford the same means.

* The Nehlvara of D'Anville and the Arabian travellers of the eighth century, the capital of the Ballam kings.

† *Janam*, 'birth :' *es*, 'lord' or 'man.'

Descent gives a strength to the tenure of these tribes which the foreign nobles do not possess; for although, from all that has been said, it will be evident that a right of reversion and resumption existed (though seldom exercised, and never but in cases of crime), yet the foreigner had not this strength in the soil, even though of twenty generations duration. The epithet of *kala putta*, or black grant, attaches to the foreign grant, and is admitted by the holder from which the kinsman thinks himself exempt. It is virtually a grant resumable; nor can the possessors feel that security which the other widely affiliated aristocracies afford. When on a recent occasion, a revision of all the grants took place, the old ones being called in to be renewed under the sign-manual of the reigning prince, the minister himself visited the chief of Saloombra, the head of the Chondawuts, at his residence at the capital, for this purpose. Having become possessed of several villages in the confusion of the times, a perusal of the grant would have been the means of detection; and on being urged to send to his estate for it, he replied, pointing to the palace, "my grant is in the foundation of that edifice:" an answer worthy of a descendant of Chonda, then only just of age. The expression marks the spirit which animates this people, and recalls to mind the well-known reply of our own Earl Warenne, on the very same occasion, to the *quo warranto* of Edward: "by their swords my ancestors obtained this land, and by mine will I maintain it."

Hence, it may be pronounced that a grant of an estate is for the life of the holder, with inheritance for his offspring in lineal descent or adoption, with the sanction of the prince, and resumable for crime or incapacity:* this reversion and power of resumption being marked by the usual ceremonies on each lapse of the grantee, of sequestration (*zubti*), of relief (*nuzzerana*), of homage and investiture of the heir. Those estates held by foreign nobles differ not in tenure; though, for the reasons specified, they have not the same grounds of security as the others, in whose welfare the whole body is interested, feeling the case to be their own; and their interests, certainly, have not been so consulted since the rebellions of S. 1822,† and subsequent years. Witness the Chohans of Baidla

* "La loi des Lombards oppose les benefices a la propriete. Les historiens, les formules, les codes des differens peuples barbares, tous les monumens qui nous restent, sont unanimes. Enfin, ceux qui ont ecrit le livre des fiefs, nous apprennent, que d'abord les Seigneurs purent les oter a leur voloute, qu'ensuite ils les assurerent pour un an, et apres les donnerent pour la vie."—*L'Esprit des Loix*, chap. xvi, liv. 30.

† A. D. 1766.

and Kotario (in the Oodipur valley), and the Pramar of the plateau of Mewar, all chief of the first rank.

The difficulty and danger of resuming an old established grant in those countries are too great to be lightly risked. Though in all these estates there is mixture of foreign Rajpoots, yet the blood of the chief predominates; and these must have a leader of their own, or be incorporated in the estates of the nearest of kin. This increase might not be desirable for the crown, but the sub-vassals cannot be turned adrift; a resumption therefore in these countries is widely felt, as it involves many. If crime or incapacity render it necessary, the prince inducts a new head of that blood; and it is their pride, as well as the prince's interest, that a proper choice should be made. If, as has often occurred, the title be abolished, the sub-vassals retain their sub-infeudations, and become attached to the crown.

Many estates were obtained, during periods of external commotion by threats, combination, or the avarice of the prince—his short-sighted policy, or that of his ministers—which have been remedied in the late re-organization of Mewar; where, by retrograding half a century, and bringing matters as near as possible to the period preceeding civil dissention, they have advanced at least a century towards order.

BHOOMIA, THE ALLODIAL PROPRIETOR.—It is stated in the historical annals of this country, that the ancient clans, prior to Sanga Rana,* had ceased, on the rising greatness of the subsequent new division of clans, to hold the higher grades of rank; and had, in fact, merged into the general military landed proprietors of this country under the term '*bhoomia*,' a most expressive and comprehensive name importing absolute identity with the soil: *bhoom* meaning 'land,' and being far more expressive than the new-fangled word, unknown to Hindu India, of *Zemindar*, the 'land-holder' of Mahomedan growth. These Bhoomias, the scions of the earliest princes, are to be met with in various parts of Mewar; though only in those of high antiquity, where they defended from oppression by the rocks and wilds in which they obtained a footing; as in Komulmeer, the wilds of Chuppun, or plains of Mandalgurh, long under the kings, and where their agricultural pursuits maintained them.

Their clannish appellations Kombawut, Loonawut, and Ranawut distinctly shew from what stem and when they branched off; and as they ceased to be of sufficient importance to visit the court on the new and continually extending ramifications, they took to the plough. But while they disdained not

* Contemporary and opponent of Sultan Baber.

to derive a subsistence from labouring as husbandmen, they never abandonded their arms; and the Bhoomia, amid the crags of the alpine Aravali where he pastures his cattle or cultivates his fields, preserves the erect mien and proud spirit of his ancestors, with more tractability, and less arrogance and folly, than his more courtly but now widely separated brethern, who often make a jest of his industrious but less refined qualifications.* Some of these yet possess entire villages, which are subject to the payment of a small quit-rent. They also constitute a local militia, to be called in by the governor of the district, but for which service they are entitled to rations or *paiti*.† These, the allodial ‡ tenantry of our feudal system, form a considerable body in many districts, armed with matchlock, sword, and shield. In Mandalgurh, when their own interests and the prince's unite (though the rapacity of governors, pupils of the Mahratta and other predatory schools, have disgusted these independents), four thousand Bhoomias could be collected. They held and maintained without support the important fortress of that district, during half a century of turmoil, for their prince. Mandalgurh is the largest district of Mewar, and in its three hundred and sixty towns and villages, many specimens of ancient usage may be found. The Solanki held largely here in ancient days, and the descendant of the princes of Puttun still retains his Bhoom and title of Rao.§

* Many of them taking wives from the degraded but aboriginal races in their neighbouring retreats, have begot a mixed progeny, who, in describing themselves, unite the tribes of father and mother.

† Literally, 'a belly-full.'

‡ Allodial property is defined (Hallam, vol. i. p. 144) as "land which had descended by inheritance, subject to no burthen but public defence. It passed to all the children equally; in failure of children, to the nearest kindred." Thus it is strictly the *Meeras* or *Bhoom* of the Rajpoot inheritance, patrimony. In Mewar it is divisible to a certain extent; but in Kutch, to infinity; and is liable only to local defence. The holder of *bhoom* calls it his *Adyapi*, *i.e.* of old, by prescriptive right; not by written deed.

Montesquieu, describing the conversion of allodial estates into fiefs, says, "these lands were held by Romans or Franks (*i.e.* freemen) not the king's vassals," *viz.* lands exterior and anterior to the monarchy. We have Rahtore, Solanki, and other tribes, now holding *bhoom* in various districts, whose ancestors were conquered by the Sesodias, but left in possession of small portions insufficient to cause jealousy. Some of these may be said to have converted their lands into fiefs, as the Chohan lord of——, who served the Saloombra chief.

§ Amidst ruins overgrown with forest, I discovered on two tables of stone the genealogical history of this branch, which was of considerable use in elucidating that of Anhulwarra, and which corresponded so well with the genealogies of a decayed bard of the family, who travelled the country for a subsistance, that I feel assured they formerly made good use of these marble records.

All this feudal militia pay a quit-rent to the crown, and perform local but limited service on the frontier garrison; and upon invasion,* when *Kher* is called out, the whole are at the disposal of the prince on furnishing rations only. They assert that they ought not to pay this quit-rent and perform service also; but this may be doubted, since the sum is so small. To elude it, they often performed service under some powerful chief, where faction or court interest caused it to be winked at. To serve without a *putta* is the great object of ambition. *Ma ca bhoom*, 'my land,' in their doric tongue, is a favourite phrase.†

Circumstances have concurred to produce a resemblance even to the refined fiction of giving up their allodial property to have it conferred as a fief. But in candour it should be stated, that the only instances were caused by the desire of being revenged on the immediate superiors of the vassals. The Rahtore chief of Dabla held of his superior, the Raja of Bunera, three considerable places included in the grant of Bunera. He paid homage, an annual quit-rent, was bound to attend him personally to court, and to furnish thirty-five horse in case of an invasion. During the troubles, though perfectly equal to their performance, he was remiss in all these duties. His chief, with returning peace, desired to enforce the return to ancient customs, and his rights so long withheld; but the Rahtore had felt the sweets of entire independence, and refused to attend his summons. To the warrant he replied, "his head and Dabla were together;" and he would neither pay the quit-rent nor attend his court. This refractory spirit was reported to the Rana; and it ended in Dabla being added to the fisc, and the chief's holding the rest as a vassal of the Rana, but only to perform local service. There are many other petty free proprietors in the Bunera estate, holding from small portions of

* See Appendix, Nos. XVI and XVII.

† I was intimately acquainted with, and much esteemed, many of these Bhoomia chiefs—from my friend Puharjee (the rock) Ranawut of Umurgurh, to the Kombawut of Sesodia on the highest point, lord of the pass of the Aravali; and even the mountain lion, Doonger Sing, who bore amongst us, from his old raids, the familiar title of Roderic Dhu. In each situation I have had my tents filled with them; and it was one of the greatest pleasures I ever experienced, after I had taken my leave of them, perhaps for ever, crossed the frontiers of Mewar, and encamped in the dreary pass between it and Marwar, to find that a body of them had been my guards during the night. This is one of the many pleasing recollections of the past. Fortunately for our happiness, the mind admits their preponderance over opposite feelings. I had much to do in aiding the restoration of their past condition; leaving, I believe, as few traces of error in the mode as could be expected, where so many conflicting interests were to be reconciled.

land to small villages; but the service is limited and local, in order to swell the chief's miniature court. If they accompany him, he must find rations for them and their steeds.

So cherished is this tenure of Bhoom, that the greatest chiefs are always solicitous to obtain it, even in the villages wholly dependent on their authority: a decided proof of its durablility above common grants.

The various modes in which it is acquired, and the precise technicalites which distinguished its tenure, as well as the privileges attached to it, are fully developed in translations of different deeds on the subject.*

RAJAS OF BUNERA AND SHAPURA.—We have also, amongst the nobility of Mewar, two who hold the independent title of prince or Raja, one of whom is by far too powerful for a subject. These are the Rajas of Bunera and Shapura, both of the blood royal. The ancestor of the first was the twin-brother of Rana Jey Sing; the other, a Ranawut branched off from Rana Udya Sing.

They have their grants renewed, and receive the *khelat* of investiture; but they pay no relief, and are exempt from all but personal attendance at their prince's court, and the local service of the district in which their estates are situated. They have hitherto paid but little attention to their duties, but this defect arose out of the times. These lands lying most exposed to the imperial head-quarters at Ajmeer, they were compelled to bend to circumstances, and the kings were glad to confer rank and honour on such near relations of the Rana's house. He bestowed on them the titles of Raja, and added to the Shapura chief's patrimony a large estate in Ajmeer, which he now holds direct of the British Government, on payment of an annual tribute.

FORM AND SUBSTANCE OF GRANT.—To give a proper idea of the variety of items forming these chartularies, I append several† which exhibit the rights, privileges, and honours, as well as the sources of income, while they also record the terms on which they are granted. Many royalties have been alienated in modern times by the thoughtless prodigality of the princes; even the grand mark of vassalage, the fine of relief has been forgiven to one or two individuals; portions of transit duties, tolls on ferries and other seignorial rights, coining copper currency, exactions of every kind, from the levy of toll for night-protection of merchandize and for the repairs of fortifications, to the share of the depredations of the common robber, will sufficiently shew the demoralization of the country.

* See Appendix. † See Appendix, Nos, IV, V, VI.

DIVISION OF PUTTAS, OR SUB-INFEUDATION.—Many years ago, when the similarity of the systems first struck my attention, I took one of the grants or *puttas* of a great vassal of Jeypur, and dissected it in all its minutiæ, with the aid of a very competent authority who had resided as one of the managers of the chief. This document, in which the sub-division of the whole clan is detailed, materially aided me in developing the system.

The court and the household economy of a great chieftain is a miniature representation of the sovereign's: the same officers from the *pradhan*, or minister, to the cup-bearer (panairie), as well as the same domestic arrangements. He must have his *sheeshmahal*,* his *bari-mahal*,† and his *mandir*,‡ like his prince. He enters the *durri-sala*, or carpet hall, the ministrel§ preceding him rehearsing the praises of his family and he takes his seat on his throne, while the assembled retainers, marshalled in lines on the right and left, simultaneously exclaim, "health to our chief!" which salutation he returns by bowing to all, as he passes them. When he is seated, at a given signal they all follow the example, and shield rattles against shield as they wedge into their places.

We have neither the kiss nor individual oaths of fidelity administered. It is sufficient, when a chief succeeds to his patrimony, that his *'an'*‖ is proclaimed within his *seem* or boundary. Allegiance is as hereditary as the land: "I am your child, my head and sword are your's, my service is at your command." It is a rare thing for a Rajpoot to betray his Thacoor, while the instances of self-devotion for him are innumerable: many will be seen interspersed in these papers. Base desertion, to their honour be it said, is little known, and known, only to be execrated. Fidelity to the chief, "*Swam Dharma*," is the climax of all the virtues. The Rajpoot is taught from his infancy, in the song of the bard, to regard it as the source of honour here, and of happiness hereafter. The poet Chund abounds with episodes on the duty and beauty of fidelity; nor does it require a very fervid imagination to picture the affections which such a life is calculated to promote, when the chief is possessed of the qualities to call them forth At the chase his vassals attend him: in the covert of the forest, the ground their social board, they eat their repast together.

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* Mirror apartments.

† Gardens on the terrace within the palace.

‡ Private temple of worship.

§ 'Dholi.'

‖ *An* is the oath of allegiance. Three things in Mewar are royalties which a subject cannot meddle with: 1. *An*, or oath of allegiance: 2. *Dan*, transit dues on commerce: 3. *Kan*, or mines of precious metals.

from the venison or wild boar furnished by the sport of the day; nor is the cup neglected. They are familiarly admitted at all times to his presence, and accompany him to the court of their mutual sovereign. In short, they are inseparable. *

Their having retained so much of their ancient manners and customs, during centuries of misery and oppression, is the best evidence that those customs were rivetted to their very souls. The Rajpoot of character is a being of the most acute sensibility; where honour is concerned, the most trivial omission is often ignorantly construed into an affront.

In all the large estates, the chief must provide for his sons or brothers, according to his means and the number of immediate descendants. In an estate of sixty to eighty thousand rupees of annual rent, the second brother might have a village of three to five thousand of rent. This is his patrimony (*bapota*): he besides pushes his fortune at the court of his sovereign or abroad. Juniors share in proportion. These again subdivide, and have their little circle of dependants. Each new family is known by the name of the founder conjoined to that of his father and tribe: *Man Megsingote Suktawut*; that is, 'Man, family of Megh, tribe Suktawut.' The sub-divisions descend to the lowest denomination.

CHURSA.—*Chursa*, 'hide of land,' or land sufficient to furnish an equipped cavalier. It is a singular coincidence, that the term for the lowest subdivision of land for military service should be the same amongst the Rajpoots, as in the English system. Besides being similar in name, it nearly corresponds in actual quantity. From the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon government, the land was divided into hides, each comprehending what could be cultivated by a single plough.† Four hides constituted one knight's fee,‡ which is stated to be about forty acres. The Chursa may have from twenty-five to thirty *beegas*; which are equal to about ten acres,—the Saxon hide.

For what these minor vassals held to be their rights on the great Puttawuts, the reader is again referred to the letter or protest of the inferior Puttawuts of the Deogurh estate—it may aid his judgment; and it is curious to observe how nearly the subject of their prayer to the sovereign corresponded with the edict of Conrad of Italy,§ in the year 1037, which originated

* I rather describe what they were, than what they are. Contention and poverty have weakened their sympathies and affections; but the mind of philanthropy must hope that they will again become what they have been.

† Millar's Historical View of the English Government, p. 85.

‡ Hume, Hist. of England, Appendix 2nd, vol. ii. p. 291.

§ "1. That no man should be deprived of his fief, whether held of the emperor or mesne lord, but by the laws of the empire and *judgment*

in disagreements between the great lords and their vassals on the subject of sub-infeudations.

The extent to which the sub-division before-mentioned is carried in some of the Rajpoot states, is ruinous to the protection and general welfare of the country. It is pursued in some parts till there is actually nothing left sufficiently large to share, or to furnish subsistence for one individual! consequently a great deprivation of services to the state ensues. But this does not prevail so much in the larger principalities as in the isolated tributary *thacoorats* or lordships scattered over the country; as amongst the Jharejas of Kutch, the tribes in Cattiwar, and the small independencies of Guzerat bordering on the greater western Rajpoot states. This error in policy requires to be checked by supreme authority, as it was in England by *Magna Charta*,* when the barons of those days took such precautions to secure their own seignorial rights.

The system in these countries of minute sub-division of fiefs is termed *bhyad*,† or brotherhood, synonymous to the tenure by frerage of France, but styled only an approximation to sub-infeudation.‡ "Give me my *bhut* (share)," says the Rajpoot, when he attains to man's state, 'the *bhut* of the *bhyad*,' the portion of the frerage; and thus they go on clipping and paring till all are impoverished. The 'customs' of France§ preserved the dignities of families and the indivisibility of a feudal homage, without exposing the younger sons of a gentleman to beggary and dependence. It would be a great national benefit if some means could be found to limit this sub-division; but it is an evil difficult of remedy. The divisibility of the Kutch and Cattiwar frerage, carried to the most destructive extent, is productive of litigation, crime, and misery. Where it has proper limits it is useful; but though the idea of each rood supporting its man is very poetical, it does not and cannot answer in practice. Its limits in Mewar we would not undertake to assert, but the vassals are careful not to let it become too small. They send the extra numbers to seek their fortunes abroad. In this custom, and the difficulty of finding *daijas*, or dowers, for their daughters, we have the two chief

of his peers.—2. That from such judgment the vassal might appeal to his sovereign.—3. That fiefs should be inherited by sons and their children or in their failure by brothers, provided they were *feuda paterna*, such as had descended from the father.—4. That the lord should not alienate the fiefs of his vassal without his consent."

* By the revised statute '*Quia emptores*,' of Edw. I., which forbids it in excess, under penalty of forfeiture.—Hallam, vol. i. p. 184.

† *Bhayad*, 'frerage.'

‡ Hallam, vol. i p. 186.

§ Hallam *ibid*

causes of infanticide amongst the Rajpoots, which horrible practice was not always confined to the female.

The author of the Middle Ages exemplifies ingeniously the advantage of sub-infeudation, by the instance of two persons holding one knight's fee; and as the lord was entitled to the service of one for forty days, he could commute it for the joint service of the two for twenty days each. He even erects as a maxim on it, that "whatever opposition was made to the rights of sub-infeudation or frerage, would indicate decay in the military character, the living principle of feudal tenure;"* which remark may be just where proper limitation exists, before it reaches that extent when the impoverished vassals would descend to mend his shoes instead of his shield. Primogeniture is the corner-stone of feudality, but this unrestricted sub-infeudation would soon destroy it.† It is strong in these states; its rights were first introduced by the Normans from Scandinavia. But more will appear on this subject and its technicalities in the personal narrative of the author.

* Hallam, vol. i. p. 186.

† "Le *droit d'ainesse* a cause, pendant l' existence duregime feodal, une multitude de guerres et de proces. Notre histoire nous presente, a chaque page, des cadets reduifs a la mandicite, se livrant a toutes sortes de brigandages pour reparer les torts de la fortune; des aines, refusant la egitime a leurs freres; des cadets, assassinant leur aine pour lui succeder, &c."—See article, '*Droit d'ainesse*,' Dict. de l' Ancien Regime.

CHAPTER IV.

Rekwalee—Servitude—Bussee—Gola and Das—Private Feuds and Composition—Rajpoot Pradhans or Premiers.

REKWALEE.—I now proceed to another point of striking resemblance between the systems of the east and west, arising from the same causes—the unsettled state of society and the deficiency of paramount protection. It is here called *Rekwalee*,* or 'preservation; the *Salvamenta* of Europe.† To a certain degree, it always existed in these states; but the interminable predatory warfare of the last half century increased it to so frightful an extent, that superior authority was required to redeem the abuses it had occasioned. It originated in the necessity of protection; and the modes of obtaining it, as well as the compensation when obtained, were various. It often consisted of money or kind on the reaping of each harvest; sometimes in a multiplicity of petty privileges and advantages, but the chief object was to obtain *bhoom*: and here we have one solution of the constituted *bhoomia*,‡ assimilating, as observed, to the allodial proprietor. Bhoom thus obtained is irrevocable; and in the eager anxiety for its acquisition, we have another decided proof of every other kind of tenure being deemed resumble by the crown.

It was not unfrequent that application for protection was made to the nearest chief by the tenants of the fisc; a course eventually sanctioned by the government, which could not refuse assent where it could not protect. Here then, we revert to first principles; and 'seignorial rights' may be forfeited when they cease to yield that which ought to have originated them, *viz.* benefit to the community. Personal service at stated periods, to aid in the agricultural § economy of the protector, was sometimes stipulated, when the husbandmen were to find

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* See Appendix, Nos. VII, and IX.

† This is the '*sauvement* ou *vingtain*' of the French system; there it ceased with the cause. "Les guerres (feudal) cesserent avec le regime feodal, et les paysans n'eurent plus besoin de la protection du Seigneur; on ne les forca pas moins de repare son *chateau*, et de lui payer le droit quise nommait de *sauvement* ou *vingtain*.' "Art. '*Chateau*, Dict. de l' Anc. Regime.

‡ The chief might lose his *putta* lands, and he would then dwindle down into the *bhoomia* proprietor, which title only lawless force could take from him. See Appendix, No. IX.

§ See Appendix, No. X, Art. 2d.

impliments and cattle, * and to attend whenever ordered. The protected calls the chief 'patron ;' and the condition may not unaptly be compared to that of personal commendation, † like *salvamenta*, founded on the distributed state of society. But what originated thus, was often continued and multiplied by avarice and the spirit of repine, which disgraced the Rajpoot of the last half century, though he had abundance of apologies for 'scouring the country.' But all *salvamenta* and other marks of vassalage, obtained during these times of desolation, were annulled in the settlement which took place between the Rana and his chiefs, in A.D. 1818. ‡

But the crown itself, by some singular proceeding, possesses, or did possess, according to the *Putta Bŭhae* or Book of Grants, considerable *salvamenta* right, especially in the districts between the new and ancient capitals, in sums of from twenty to one hundred rupees in separate villages.

To such an extent has this *rekwalee* § been carried when protection was desired, that whole communities have ventured

* This species would come under the distinct term of Hydages due by soccage vassals, who in return for protection supplied carriages and work. Hume, vol. ii. p. 308.

† Hallam, vol. i. p. 169.

‡ In indulging my curiosity on this subject, I collected some hundred engagements, and many of a most singular nature. We see the chieftain stipulating for fees on marriages ; for a dish of the good fare at the wedding feast, which he transfers to a relation of his district if unable to attend himself ; portions of fuel and provender ; and even wherewithal to fill the wassail cup in his days of merriment. The Rajpoot's religious notions are not of so strict a character as to prevent his even exacting his *rekwalee* dues from the church lands, and the threat of slaughtering the sacred flock of our Indian Apollo has been resorted to, to compel payment when withheld. Nay, by the chiefs it was imposed on things locomotive : on caravans, or Tandas of merchandize ; wherever they halted for the day, *rekwalee* was demanded. Each petty chief through whose district or patch of territory they travelled, made a demand, till commerce was dreadfully shackled ; but it was the only way in which it could be secured. It was astonishing how commerce was carried on at all ; yet did the cloths of Dacca and the shawls of Cashmere pass through all such restraints, and were never more in request. Where there is demand no danger will deter enterprize ; and commerce flourished more when these predatory armies were rolling like waves over the land, than during the succeeding halycon days of pacification.

§ The method by which the country is brought under this tax is as follows :—"When the people are almost ruined by continual robberies "and plunders, the leader of the band of thieves, or some friend of his, "proposes that, for a sum of money annually paid, he will keep a number "of men in arms to protect such a tract of ground, or as many parishes "as submit to the contribution. When the terms are agreed upon he "ceases to steal, and thereby the contributors are safe : if any one refuse "to pay, he is immediately plundered. To colour all this villainy, those "concerned in the robberies pay the tax with the rest ; and all the "neighbourhood must comply or be undone. This is the case (among

their liberty, and become, if not slaves, yet nearly approaching the condition of slaves, to the protector. But no common visitation ever leads to an evil of this magnitude. I mention the fact merely to show that it does exist; and we may infer that the chief, who has become the arbiter of the lives and fortunes of his followers, must have obtained this power by devoting all to their protection. The term thus originated and probably now (with many others) written for the first time in English letters in this sense, is *Bussee*.

BUSSEE.—Slavery is to be found in successive stages of society in Europe; but we have no parallel in Rajwarra (at least in name) to the agricultural serfs and *villains* of Europe; nor is there any intermediate term denoting a species of slavery between the *Gola** of the Hindu chief's household and the free Rajpoot, but the singular one of *bussee*, which must be explained, since it cannot be translated. This class approximates closely to the *tributarii* and *coloni*, perhaps to the *servi*, of the Salic Franks, "who were cultivators of the earth, and subject to residence upon their master's estate, though not destitute of property or civil rights"†—precisely the condition of the cultivator in Haravati, who now tills for a tax-master the fields he formerly owned, degraded to the name of *hallee*,‡ a ploughman.

"When small proprietors," says Hallam, "lost their lands by mere rapine, we may believe their liberty was hardly less endangered." The *hallee* of Haravati knows the bitter truth of this inference, which applies to the subject immediately before us, the *bussee*. The portion of liberty the latter has parted with, was not originally lost through compulsion on the part of the protector, but from external violence, which made this desperate remedy necessary. Very different from the *hallee* of Kotah who is servile though without the title—a serf in condition but without the patrimony, compelled to labour for subsistence on the land he once owned, chained to it by the double tie of debt and strict police; and if flight were practicable, the impossibility of bettering his condition from the anarchy around would render it unavailing. This is not the practice under the patriarchal native government, which, with all its

others) with the whole low country of the shire of Ross."—Extract from Lord Lovat's Memorial to George I. on the State of the Highlands of Scotland, in A.D. 1724.

* In Persian *golam*, literally 'slave;' evidently a word of the same origin with the Hindu *gola*.

† Hallam, vol. i. p. 217.

‡ From *hal* 'a plough.' *Syl* is 'a plough' in Saxon. (Turner's Anglo-Saxons.) The *h* and *s* are permutable throughout Rajwarra. In Marwar, *Salim Sing* is pronounced *Halim Hing*.

faults, retains the old links of society, with its redeeming sympathies: but springs from a *mare du palais*, who pursued an unfeeling and mistaken policy towards this class of society till of late years. Mistaken ambition was the origin of the evil. He saw his error, and remedied it in time to prevent further mischief to the estate. This octogenarian ruler, Zalim Sing of Kotah, is too much of a philosopher and politician to let passion overcome his interests and reputation; and we owe to the greatest despot a state ever had, the only regular charter which at present exists in Rajasthan, investing a corporate body with the election of their own magistrates and the making of their own laws, subject only to confirmation; with all the privileges which marked at the outset the foundation of the free cities of Europe and that of boroughs in England.

It is true that, in detached documents, we see the spirit of these institutions existing in Mewar, and it is a matter of speculation, whether this wise ruler promulgated this novelty as a trap for good opinion, or from policy and foresight alone: being aware that when all around him was improving from the shackles of restraint being cast aside, his retention of them must be hurtful to himself. Liberality in this exigency answered the previous purpose of extortion. His system, even then, was good by comparison. All around was rapine, save in the little oasis kept verdant by his skill, where he permitted no other oppression than his own.

This charter is appended* as a curiosity in legislation, being given thirty years ago. Another, for the agriculturalist's protection was set up in A. D. 1821. No human being prompted either; though the latter is modelled from the proceedings in Mewar, and may have been intended, as before observed, to entrap applause.

In every district of Haravati the stone was raised to record this ordinance.

GOLA—DAS—(*Slaves*).—Famine in these regions is the great cause of loss of liberty. Thousands were sold in the last great famine. The predatory system of the Pindaries and mountain tribes aided to keep it up. Here, as amongst the Franks, freedom is derived through the mother. The offspring of a *golee*† or *dasi* must be a slave. Hence the great number of *golas* in Rajpoot families, whose illegitimate offspring are still adorned in Mewar, as our Saxon slaves were of old, with a silver ring round the left ankle, instead of the neck. They ar well treated, and are often amongst the best of the military

* See Appendix, No. XI.
† Female slave.

retainers;* but are generally esteemed in proportion to the quality of the mother, whether Rajpootnee, Moslem, or of the degraded tribes. They hold confidential places about the chiefs of whose blood they are. The great-grandfather of the late chief of Deogurh used to appear at court with three hundred golas† on horseback in his train, the sons of Rajpoots, each with a gold ring round his ankle: men whose lives were his own. This chief could then head two thousand retainers, his own vassals.‡

Tacitus describes the baneful effects of gambling amongst the German tribes, as involving personal liberty; their becoming slaves, and being subsequently sold by the winner. The Rajpoot's passion for gaming, as remarked in the history of the tribes, is strong; and we can revert to periods long anterior to Tacitus, and perhaps before the woods of Germany were peopled with the worshippers of Tuisto, for the antiquity of this vice amongst the Rajpoot warriors, presenting a highly interesting picture of its pernicious effects. Yudhisthira having staked and lost the throne of India to Duryodhana, to recover it hazarded the beautiful and virtuous Droupadi. By the loaded dice of his foe she became the *golee* of the Cooru, who, triumphing in his pride, would have unveiled her in public. But the deity presiding over female modesty preserved her from the rude gaze of the assembled host. The miraculous scarf lengthened as he withdrew it, till tired, he desisted at the instance of superior interposition. Yudhisthira, not satisfied with this, staked twelve years of his personal liberty, and became an exile from the haunts of Kalindi, a wanderer in the wilds skirting the distant ocean.

The illegitimate sons of the Rana are called *das*, literally 'slave.' They have no rank, though they are liberally provided for. Bussee signifies 'acquired slavery;' in contradistinction to gola, 'an hereditary slave.' The gola can only marry a golee: the lowest Rajpoot would refuse his daughter to a son of the Rana of this kind. The bussee can redeem§ his liberty: the gola has

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* See Appendix, No. XIX.

† The reader of Dow's translation of Ferishta may recollect that when Kootub Udin was left the viceroy of the conqueror, he is made to say, "he placed one *Gola* upon the throne of Ajmeer;" mistaking this appellation of the natural brother of the last Hindu sovereign for a proper name. He is mentioned by the bard Chund in his exploits of Prithwiraja.

‡ I have often received the most confidential messages, from chiefs of the highest rank, through these channels.

§ The *das* or 'slave' holds a fief in Rajasthan, but he never can rise above the condition in which this defect of birth has placed him. "L'affranchissement consistait a sortir de la classe des serfs, parl' aquisition d'un fief, ou seulement d'un fonds. La necessite ou s'etaient trouves les

no wish to do so, because he could not improve his condition nor overcome his natural defects. To the bussee nothing dishonourable attaches: the class retain their employments and caste, and are confined to no occupation, but it must be exercised with the chief's sanction. Individuals reclaimed from captivity, in gratitude have given up their liberty: communities, when this or greater evils threatened, have done the same for protection of their lives, religion, and honour. Instances exist of the population of towns being in this situation. The greater part of the inhabitants of the estate of Bijolli are the bussee of its chief, who is of the Pramara tribe: they are his subjects; the Rana, the paramount lord, has no sort of authority over them. Twelve generations have elapsed since his ancestor conducted this little colony into Mewar, and received the highest honours and a large estate on the plateau of its border, in a most interesting country.*

The only badge denoting the busse is a small tuft of hair on the crown of the head. The term interpreted has nothing harsh in it, meaning 'occupant, dweller, or settler.' The numerous towns in India called *Bussee* have this origin: chiefs abandoning their ancient haunts, and settling† with all their retainers and chattels in new abodes. From this, the town of Bussee near Tonk (Rampura), derived its name. When the Solanki prince was compelled to abandon his patrimonial lands in Guzerat, his subjects of all classes accompanied him voluntarily, in preference to submitting to foreign rule. Probably the foundation of Bijolli was similar; though only the name of Bussee now attaches to the inhabitants. It is not uncommon, in the overflowing of gratitude, to be told, "you may sell me, I am your bussee." ‡

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seigneurs feodaux de vendre une partie de leurs terres, pour faire leurs equipages des croisades, avait rendu ces aquisitions communes; mais le fief n'anoblissait qu'a la troisieme generation." Serfs, who had twice or thrice been champions or saved the lives of their masters, were also liberated. "Un eveque d'Auxerre declara qu'il n'affranchirait gratuitement, qui que ce soit, s'il n'avait recu quinze blessures a son service."—See article '*Affranchissement*,' Dict, de l'ancien Regime.

* I could but indistinctly learn whether this migration, and the species of paternity here existing, arose from rescuing them from Tatar invaders or from the calamity of famine.

† *Bussna*, 'to settle.'

‡ I had the happiness to be the means of releasing from captivity some young chiefs, who had been languishing in Mahratta fetters as hostages for the payment of a war contribution. One of them, a younger brother of the Poorawut division, had a mother dying to see him; but though he might have taken her house in the way, a strong feeling of honour and gratitude made him forego this anxious visit: "I am your Rajpoot, your gola, your bussee." He was soon sent off to his mother. Such little acts, mingling with public duty, are a compensation for the many drawbacks

PRIVATE FEUDS.—COMPOSITION.—In a state of society such as these sketches delineate, where all depends on the personal character of the sovereign, the field for the indulgence of the passions, and especially of that most incident to the uncontrollable habits of such races—revenge—must necessarily be great. Private feuds have tended, with the general distraction of the times, to desolate this country. Some account of their mode of prosecution, and the incidents thence arising, cannot fail to throw additional light on the manners of society, which during the last half century were fast receding to a worse than semi-barbarous condition, and, aided by other powerful causes, might have ended in entire annihilation. The period was rapidly advancing, when this fair region of Mewar, the garden of Rajasthan, would have reverted to its primitive sterility. The tiger and the wild boar had already become inmates of the capital, and the bats flitted undisturbed in the palaces of her princes. The ante-courts, where the chieftains and their followers assembled to grace their prince's cavalcade, were over-grown with dank shrubs and grass, through which a mere footpath conducted the 'descendant of a hundred kings' to the ruins of his capital.

In these principalities the influence of revenge is universal. Not to prosecute a feud is tantamount to an acknowledgment of self-degradation; and, as in all countries where the laws are insufficient to control individual actions or redress injuries, they have few scruples as to the mode of its gratification. Hence feuds are entailed with the estates from generation to generation. To sheath the sword till 'a feud is balanced' (their own idiomatic expression,) would be a blot never to be effaced from the escutcheon.

In the Hindu word which designates a feud we have another of those striking coincidences in terms to which allusion has already been made: *wer* is 'a feud,' *weree*, 'a foe.' The Saxon term for the composition of a feud, *wergeldt*, is familiar to every man. In some of these states the initial vowel is hard, and pronounced *ber*. In Rajasthan *ber* is more common than *wer*, but throughout the south-west *wer* only is used. In these we have the original Saxon word *war*,* the French *guer*. The Rajpoot *wergeldt* is land or a daughter to wife. In points of honour the Rajpoot is centuries in advance of our Saxon forefathers, who had a legislative remedy for every bodily injury

of solitude, gloom, and vexation, attending such situations. They are no sinecures or beds of roses—ease, comfort, and health, being all subordinate considerations.

* Gilbert on Tenures, Art. 'Warranty,' p. 169.

when each finger and toe had its price.* This might do very well when the injury was committed on a hind, but the Rajpoot must have blood for blood. The monarch must be powerful who can compel acceptance of the compensation, or *moonul-kuttie.* †

The prosecution of a feud is only to be stopped by a process which is next to impracticable; namely, by the party injured volunteering for forgiveness, or the aggressor throwing himself as a suppliant unawares on the clemency of his foe within his own domains: a most trying situation for each to be placed in, yet not unexampled, and revenge in such a case would entail infamy. It was reserved for these degenerate days to produce such an instance.

The Raja of Shahpura, one of the most powerful of the chiefs of Mewar, and of the Rana's blood, had a feud with the Ranawut chief, the Bhoomia proprietor of Amargurh. Omeda,‡ the chief of Shahpura, held two estates: one was the grant of the kings of Delhi, the other of his own sovereign, and each amounting to £10,000 § of annual rent, besides the duties on commerce. His estate of Mewar was in the district of Mandalgurh, where also lay his antagonist's. Their bounds were in common and some of the lands were intermixed. This led to disputes, threats, and blows, even in the towns of their fathers, between their husbandmen. The Bhoomia Dellil was much less powerful; he was lord of only ten villages, not yielding above £1,200 a year; but they were compact and well managed, and he was popular amongst his brethren, whose swords he could always command. His cattle was perched on a rock, and on the towers facing the west (the direction of Shahpura) were mounted some swivels. Moreover, a belt of forest surrounded it,

* "The great toe took rank as it should be, and held to double the sum of the others, for which ten scyllinga was the value, without the nail, which was thirty secalta to boot."—Turner's Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. p. 133.

† Appendix, No. XVIII. The laws of composition were carried to a much greater extent amongst the Hindu nations than even amongst those of the Anglo-Saxons, who might have found in Manu all that was ever written on the subject, from the killing of a Brahmin by design to the accidental murder of a dog. The Brahmin is four times the value of the soldier, eight of the merchant, and sixteen times of the Sudra. "If a Brahmin kill one of the soldier caste (without malice), a bull and one thousand cows is the fine of expiation. If he slays a merchant, a bull and one hundred cows is the fine. If a Sudra or lowest class, ten white cows and a bull to the priest is the expiation." Manu legislated also for the protection of the brute creation, and if the priest by chance kills a cat, a frog, a dog, a lizard, an owl, or a crow, he must drink nothing but milk for three days and nights, or walk four miles in the night—*Vide* Institutes of Manu, edited by that able orientalist, Professor Haughton.

‡ *Omeda*, 'hope.'

§ Together £20,000, equal to £100,000, of England, if the respective value of the necessaries of life be considered.

through which only two or three roads were cut, so that surprise was impossible. Dellil had therefore little to fear, though his antagonist could bring two thousand of his own followers against him. The feud burned and cooled alternately; but the Raja's exposed villages enabled Dellil to revenge himself with much inferior means. He carried off the cattle, and sometimes the opulent subjects of his foe, to his donjon-keep in Amargurh for ransom. Meanwhile the husbandmen of both suffered, and agriculture was neglected, till half the villages held by Omeda in Mandalgurh became deserted. The Raja had merited this by his arrogance and attempts to humble Dellil, who had deserved more of the sympathies of his neighbours than his rival, whose tenants were tired of the payments of *birchee-dohae*.*

Omeda was eccentric, if the term be not too weak to characterize acts which, in more civilized regions, would have subjected him to coercion. He has taken his son and suspended him by the cincture to the pinnacle of his little chapel at Shapura, and then called on the mother to come and witness the sight. He would make excursions alone on horseback or on a swift camel, and be missing for days. In one of these moods he and his foe Dellil encountered face to face within the bounds of Amargurh. Dellil only saw a chief high in rank at his mercy. With courtesy he saluted him, invited him to his cattle, entertained him, and pledged his health and forgiveness in the *munwar piala*. † They made merry, and in the cup agreed to extinguish the remembrance of the feud.

Both had been summoned to the court of the sovereign. The Raja proposed that they should go together, and invited him to go by Shahpura. Dellil accordingly saddled his twenty steeds, moved out his equipage, and providing himself with fitting raiment, and funds to maintain him at the capital, accompanied the Raja to receive the return of his hospitality. They ate from the same platter, ‡ drank of the same cup and enjoyed the song and dance. They even went together to their devotions, to swear before their deity what they had pledged in the cup—oblivion of the past.

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* *Birchee* is 'a lance.' In these marauding days, when there was a reiter in every village, they sallied out to 'run the country,' either to stop the passenger on the highway or the inhabitant of the city. The lance at his breast, he would call out *dohae*,' an invocation of aid. During harvest time *birchee dohae* used to be exacted.

† 'Cup of invitation.'

‡ This is a favourite expression, and a mode of indicating great friendship: "to eat of the same platter (*thali*), and drink of the same cup (*piala*).

But scarcely had they crossed the threshold of the chapel, when the head of the chief of Amargurh was rolling on the pavement, and the deity and the altar were sprinkled with his blood! To this atrocious and unheard-of breach of the laws of hospitality, the Raja added the baseness of the pilferer, seizing on the effects of his now lifeless foe. He is said, also with all the barbarity and malignity of long-treasured revenge, to have kicked the head with his foot, apostrophizing it in the pitiful language of resentment. The son of Dellil, armed for revenge, collected all his adherents, and confusion was again commencing its reign. To prevent this, the Rana compelled restitution of the horses and effect; and five villages from the the estate of the Raja were the *moondkuttie* (wergeldt) or compensation to the son of Dellil. The rest of the state of the murderer was eventually sequestrated by the crown.

The feuds of Arjah and Seogurh are elsewhere detailed and such statements could be multiplied. Avowal of error and demand of forgiveness, with the offer of a daughter in marriage, often stop the progress of a feud, and might answer better than appearing as a suppliant, which requires great delicacy of contrivance.*

Border† disputes are most prolific in the production of feuds, and the Rajpoot lord-marchers have them entailed on them as regularly as their estates.

The border chiefs of Jessulmeer and Bikaneer carry this to such extent, that it often involves both states in hostilities. The *wer* and its composition in Mandalgurh will, however, suffice for the present to exemplify these things.

RAJPOOT PRADHANS or PREMIERS.—It would not be difficult, amongst the *Majores Domus Regiæ* of these principalities, to find parallels to the *Maires du Palias* of France. Imbecility in the chief, whether in the east or west, must have the same consequence; and more than one state in India will present us with the joint appearance of the phantom and the

* The Boondi feud with the Rana is still unappeased, since the predecessor of the former slew the Rana's father. It was an indefensible act, and the Boondi prince was most desirous to terminate it. He had no daughter to offer, and hinted a desire to accompany me *incog.* And thus gain admission to the presence of the Rana. The benevolence and generosity of this prince would have insured him success; but it was a delicate matter, and I feared some exposure from any arrogant hot-headed Rajpoot ere the scene could have been got up. The Raja Bishen Sing of Boondi is since dead; a brave and frank Rajpoot. He has left few worthier behind. His son, yet a minor, promises well. The protective alliance, which is to turn their swords into ploughshares, will prevent their becoming foes; but they will remain sulky border-neighbours, to the fostering of disputes and the disquiet of the merchant and cultivator.

† Seem—Kankur.

substance of royalty. The details of personal attendance at court will be found elsewhere. When not absent on frontier duties, or by permission at their estates, the chiefs resided with their families at the capital. But a succession of attendants was always secured, to keep up its splendour and perform personal service at the palace. In Mewar, the privileges and exemptions of the higher class are such as to exhibit few of the marks of vassalage observable at other courts. Here it is only on occassion of particular festivals and solemnities that they ever join the prince's cavalcade, or attend at court. If full attendance is required, on the reception of ambassadors, or in discussing matters of general policy when they have a right to hear and advise as the hereditary council (*punchaet*) of the state, they are summoned by an officer, with the prince's *johar*,* and his request. On grand festivals the great *najaras*, or kettle-drums, beat at three stated times; the third is the signal for the chief to quit his abode and mount his steed. Amidst all these privileges, when it is almost difficult to distinguish between the prince and his great chiefs, there are occassions well understood by both, which render the superiority of the former apparent. One occurs in the formalities observed on lapse; another, when at court in personal service, the chief once a week mounts guard at the palace with his clan. On these occasions, the vast distance between them is seen. When the chief arrives in the grand court of the palace with his retainers, he halts under the balcony till intimation is given to the prince, who from thence receives his obeisance and duty. This over, he retires to the great *durrikhana*, or hall of audience, appropriated for these ceremonies, where carpets are spread for him and his retainers. At meals, the prince sends his compliments, requesting the chief's attendance at the *rasorah* † or feasting hall, where with other favoured chiefs he partakes of dinner with the prince. He sleeps in the hall of audience, and next morning with the same formalities takes his leave. Again, in the summons to the presence from their estates, instant obedience is requisite. But in this, attention to their rank is studiously shewn by *roppua*, written by the private secretary, with the sign-manual of the prince attached, and sealed with the private finger-ring. For the inferior grades, the usual seal of state entrusted to the minister is used.

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* A salutation only sent by a superior to an inferior.

† The kitchen is large enough for a fortress, and contains large eating-halls. Food for seven hundred of the prince's court is daily dressed. This is not for any of the personal servants of the prince, or female establishments; all these are separate.

But these are general duties. In all these states some great court favourite, from his talents, character, or intrigue, holds the office of premier. His duties are proportioned to his wishes, or the extent of his talents and ambition; but he does not interfere with the civil administration, which has its proper minister. They, however, act together. The Rajpoot Premier is the military minister, with the political government of the fiefs; the civil minister is never of this caste. Local customs have given various appellations to this officer. At Oodipur he is called *bhanjgurh*; at Jodhpur, *pradhan*; at Jeypur (where they have engrafted the term used at the court of Delhi) *moosahib*; at Kotah, *kelladar*, and *dewan* or agent. He becomes a most important personage, as dispenser of the favours of the sovereign. Through him chiefly all requests are preferred: this being the surest channel of success. His influence, necessarily gives him unbounded authority over the military classes, with unlimited power over the inferior officers of the state. With a powerful body of retainers always at his command, it is surprising that we have not more frequently our 'mayors of Burgundy and Dagoberts,'* our 'Martels and Pepins,' in Rajasthan.

We have our hereditary Rajpoot premiers in several of these states. But in all, the laws of succession are so regulated, that they could not usurp the throne of their prince, though they might his functions.

When the treaty was formed between Mewar and the British Government, the ambassadors wished to introduce an article of guarantee of the office of pradhan to the family of the chief noble of the country, the Ranawut of Saloombra. The fact was, as stated, that the dignity was hereditary in this family; but though the acquisition was the result of an act of virtue, it had tended much towards the ruin of the country, and to the same cause are to be traced all its rebellions.

The ambassador was one of the elders of the same clan, being the grand uncle of the hereditary pradhan. He had taken a most active share in the political events of the last

* Dagobert commended his wife and son Clovis to the trust of Æga, with whom she jointly held the care of the palace. On his death, with the aid of more powerful lords, she chose another mayor. He confirmed their grants for life. They made his situation hereditary: but which could only have good from the crowd of imbeciles who succeeded Clovis, until the descendant of this mayor thrust out his children and seized the crown. This change is a natural consequence of unfitness; and if we go back to the genealogies (called sacred) of the Hindus, we see there a succession of dynasties forced from their thrones by their ministers. Seven examples are given in the various dynasties of the race of Chandra. *(See Genealogical Tables, No. II.)*

thirty years, and had often controlled the councils of his prince during this period, and actually held the post of premier himself when stipulating for his minor relative. With the ascendancy he exercised over the prince, it may be inferred that he had no intention of renouncing it during his life-time; and as he was educating his adopted heir to all his notions of authority, and initiating him in the intrigues of office, the guaranteed dignity in the head of his family would have become a nonentity,* and the Ranas would have been governed by the deputies of their mayors. From both those evils the times have relieved the prince. The crimes of Ajeet had made his dismissal from office a point of justice, but imbecility and folly will never be without 'mayors.'

When a Rana of Oodipur leaves the capital, the Saloombra chief is invested with the Government of the city and charge of the palace during his absence. By his hands the sovereign is girt with the sword, and from him he receives the mark of inauguration on his accession to the throne. He leads, by right, the van in battle; and in case of the siege of the capital, his post is the *soorajpol*;† and the fortress which crowns it, in which this family had a handsome palace, is now going fast to decay.

It was the predecessor of the present chief of Saloombra who set up a pretender and the standard of rebellion. But when foreign aid was brought in, he returned to his allegiance and the defence of the capital. Similar sentiments have often been awakened in patriotic breasts, when roused by the interference of foreigners in their internal disputes. The evil entailed on the state by these hereditary offices will appear in its annals.

In Mewar the dignity is hereditary in the house of Ahwa. But the last brave chief who held it became the victim of a

* So many sudden deaths had occurred in this family, that the branch in question (Ajeet Sing's) were strongly suspected of 'heaping these mortal murders on their crown,' to push their elders from their seats. The father of Padma, the present chief, is said to have been taken off by poison; and Pahar Sing, one generation anterior, returning grievously wounded from the battle of Oojein, in which the southerns first swept Mewar, was not permitted to recover. The mother of the present young chief of the Thala tribe of the house of Gogoonda, in the west, was afraid to trust him from her sight. She is a woman of great strength of mind and excellent character, but too indulgent to an only son. He is a fine bold youth, and, though impatient of control, may be managed. On horseback with his lance, in chase of the wild boar, a more resolute cavalier could not be seen. His mother, when he left the estate alone for court, which he seldom did without her accompanying him, never failed to send me a long letter, beseeching me to guard the welfare of her son. My house was his great resort; he delighted to pull over my books, or go fishing or riding with me.

† *Surya*, 'sun;' and *pol*, 'gate.' *Polia*, a porter.

revengeful and capricious sovereign,* who was jealous of his exploits; and dying, he bequeathed a curse to his posterity who should again accept the office. It was accordingly transferred to the next in dignity, the house of Ausope. The present chief, wisely distrusting the prince whose reign has been a series of turmoils, has kept aloof from court. When the office was jointly held by the chiefs of Nimaj and Pokurna, the tragic end of the former afforded a fine specimen of the prowess and heroism of the Rahtore Rajpoot. In truth, these pradhans of Marwar have always been mill-stones round the necks of their princes; an evil interwoven in their system when the partition of estates took place amidst the sons of Joda in the infancy of this state. It was, no doubt, then deemed politic to unite, to the interests of the crown, so powerful a branch which, when combined, could always control the rest. But this gave too much equality.

Deo Sing, the great-grand-father of Pokurna chief alluded to, used to sleep in the great hall of the palace with five hundred of his clan around him. "The throne of Mewar is in the sheath of my dagger," was the repeated boast of this arrogant chieftain. It may be anticipated that either he or his sovereign would die a violent death. The lord of Pokurna was entrapped, and instant death commanded. Yet with the sword suspended over his head, his undaunted spirit was the same as when seated in the hall, and surrounded by his vassals. "Where, traitor, is now the sheath that holds the fortunes of Marwar?" said the prince. The taunt recoiled with bitterness when he loftily replied, "with my son at Pokurna I have left it." No time was given for further insult. His head rolled at the steps of the palace; but the dagger of Pokurna still haunts the imagination of these princes, and many attempts have been made to get possessed of their strong-hold on the edge of the desert.† The narrow escape of the present chief will be related hereafter, with the sacrifice of his friend and co-adjutor, the chief of Nimaj.

In Kotah and Jessulmeer the power of the minister is supreme. We might describe their situation in the word of Montesquieu—"The Pepins kept their princes in a state of imprisonment in the palace, shewing them once a year, to the people. On this occassion, they made such ordinances as were

* "The *cur* can bite," the reply of this chief, either personally, or to the person who reported that his sovereign so designated him, was never forgiven.

† His son, Subbul Sing, followed in his footsteps, till an accidental cannon-shot relieved the terrors of the prince.

CHAPTER V.

Adoption.—Reflections upon the subject treated.

ADOPTION.—The hereditary principle, which perpetuates in these estates their virtues and their vices, is also the grand preservative of their political existence and national manners. It is an imperishable principle, which resists time and innovation. It is this which made the laws of the Medes and Persians, as well as those of the Rajpoots, unalterable. A chief of Mewar, like his sovereign, never dies: he disappears to be regenerated. "*Le roi est mort, vive le roi!*" is a phrase, the great virtue of which is there well understood. Neither the [illegible] nor the greater fiefs are ever without heirs. Adoption is the preservative of honours and titles: the great fiefs of [illegible] can never become extinct. But, however valuable [illegible] privilege, which the law of custom has made a right, it is [illegible] carried to the most hurtful and foolish extent. They have [illegible] the limit which defined it to be effaced, and each family, [illegible] course, maintains a custom so soothing to vanity, as the [illegible] of having their names revived in their descendants. [illegible] has resulted from the weakness of the prince and the [illegible] of the times. Lands were bestowed liberally which [illegible] nothing to their master, who, in securing a nominal [illegible] and servitude, had as much as the times made them [illegible] when given. But with returning prosperity and old [illegible] these great errors have become too visible. Adoptions [illegible] made during the life of the incumbent when without [illegible] of issue. The chief and his wife first agitate the [illegible] in private. It is then confided to the little council of [illegible] and when propinquity and merit unite, they at once [illegible] the prince to confirm their wishes, which are generally [illegible]. So many interests are to be consulted on this [illegible] that the blind partiality of the chief to any particular [illegible] is always counterpoised by the elders of the clan, who [illegible] have a pride in seeing a proper Thacoor* at their head, [illegible] who prefer the nearest of kin, to prevent the disputes which [illegible] be attendant on neglect in this point.

On sudden lapses, the wife is allowed the privilege, in conjunction with those interested in the fief of nomination, though the case is seldom left unprovided for. There is always [illegible] preemptive heir to the smallest sub-infeudation of these

* As in Deogurh.

estates. The wife of the deceased is the guardian of the minority of the adopted.

The chief of Deogurh, one of the sixteen Omras of Mewar, died without issue. On his death-bed he recommended to his wife and chiefs, Nahar Sing for their adoption. This was the son of the independent chieftain of Singramgurh, already mentioned. There were nearer kin, some of the seventh and eighth degrees, and young Nahar was the eleventh. It was never contemplated that the three last gigantic* chieftains of Deogurh would die without issue, or the branches, now claimants from propinquity, would have been educated to suit the dignity. But being brought up remote from court, they had been compelled to seek employment where obtainable, or to live on the few acres to which their distant claim of birth restricted them. Two of these, who had but the latter resource to fly to, had become mere boors; and of two who had sought service abroad by arms, one was a cavalier in the retinue of the prince, and the other a hanger-on about court. Both dissipated and unfitted, as the frerage asserted, "to be the chieftains of two thousand Rajpoots, the sons of one father."† Much interest and intrigue were carried on for one of these, and he was supported by the young prince and a faction. Some of the senior Puttawuts of Deogurh are men of the highest character, and often lamented the sombre qualities of their chief, which prevented the clan having that interest in the state to which its extent and rank entitled it. While these intrigues were in their infancy, they adopted a decided measure. They brought home young Nahar from his father's residence, and "bound round his head the turban of the deceased." In his name the death of the late chief was announced. It was added, that he hoped to see his friends after the stated days of '*matim*' or mourning; and he performed all the duties of the son of Deogurh, and lighted the funeral pyer.

When these proceedings were reported, the Rana was highly and justly incensed. The late chief had been one of the rebels of 1848;‡ and though pardon had been granted, yet this revived all the recollection of the past, and he felt inclined to extinguish the name of Sangawut.§

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* Gokul Das, the last chief, was one of the finest men I ever beheld in feature and person. He was about six feet perfectly erect, and a Hercules in bulk. His father at twenty was much larger, and must have been nearly seven feet high. It is surprising how few of the chiefs of this family died a natural death. It has produced some noble Rajpoots.

† *Ek bap ca beta.*

‡ A. D. 1792.

§ That of the clan of Deogurh.

In addition to the common sequestration, he sent an especial one with commands to collect the produce of the harvest then reaping, charging the sub-vassals with the design of overturning his lawful authority. They replied very submissively, and artfully asserted that they had only given a son to Gokul Das, not an heir to Deogurh; that the sovereign alone could do this, and that they trusted to his nominating one who would be an efficient leader of so many Rajpoots in the service of the Rana. They urged the pretentions of young Nahar, at the same time leaving the decision to the sovereign. Their judicious reply was well supported by their ambassador at court, who was the bard of Deogurh, and had recently become, though *ex-officio*, physician to the prince.* The point was finally adjusted, and Nahar was brought to court, and invested with the sword by the hand of the sovereign, and he is now lord of Deogurh Madaria, one of the richest and most powerful fiefs† of Mewar. Madaria was the ancient name of the estate; and Singramgurh, of which Nahar was the heir, was severed from it, but by some means had reverted to the crown, which it now holds. The adoption of Nahar by Gokul Das leaves the paternal estate without an immediate heir; and his actual father being mad, if more distant claims are not admitted, it is probable that Singramgurh will eventually revert to the fisc.

REFLECTIONS.—The system of feuds must have attained considerable maturity amongst the Rajpoots, to have left such traces, notwithstanding the desolation that has swept the land. But without circumspection, these few remaining customs will become a dead letter. Unless we abstain from all internal interference, we must destroy the links which connect the prince and his vassals; and in lieu of a system decidedly imperfect, we should leave them 'none at all,' or at least not a system of feuds, the only one they can comprehend. Our friendship has rescued them from exterior foes, and time will restore the rest. With the dignity and establishments of the chiefs, ancient usages will revive; and *nuzzerana* (relief), *khurg bundai* (investiture), *dussoond* (aids or benevolence, literally 'the tenth'), and other incidents, will cease to be mere ceremonies. The desire of

*Apollo is the patron both of physicians and poets; and though my friend Umra does not disgrace him in either calling, it was his wit, rather than his medical degree, that maintained him at court. He said it was not fitting that the sovereign of the world should be served by clowns or opium-eaters; and that young Nahar, when educated at court under the Rana's example, would do credit to the country: and what had full as much weight as any of the bard's arguments was, that the fine of relief on the *Talwar bundai* (or girding on of the sword) of a lack of rupees, should be immediately forthcoming.

† Pattā.

every liberal mind, as well as the professed wish of the British Government, is to aid in their renovation, and this will be best effected by not meddling with what we but imperfectly understand.*

We have nothing to apprehend from the Rajpoot states if raised to their ancient prosperity. The closest attention to their history proves beyond contradiction, that they were never capable of uniting, even for their own preservation: a breath, a scurrilous stanza of a bard, has severed their closest confederacies. No national head exists amongst them as amongst the Mahrattas; and each chief being master of his own house and followers, they are individually too weak to cause us any alarm.

No feudal government can be dangerous as a neighbour. For defence, it has in all countries been found defective; and for aggression, totally inefficient. Let there exist between us the most perfect understanding and identity of interests; the foundation-step to which is to lessen or remit the galling, and to us contemptible tribute, now exacted, enfranchise them from our espionage and agency, and either unlock them altogether from our dangerous embrace, or let the ties between us be such only as would ensure grand results: such as general commercial freedom and protection, with treaties of friendly alliance. Then, if a Tatar or a Russian invasion threatened our eastern empire, fifty thousand Rajpoots would be no despicable allies.

Let us call to mind what they did when they fought for Aurungzebe. They are still unchanged, if we give them the proper stimulus. Gratitude, honour, and fidelity are terms which at one time were the foundation of all the virtues of a Rajpoot. Of the theory of these sentiments he is still enamoure; but, unfortunately for his happiness, the times have left him but little scope for the practice of them. Ask a Rajpoot which is the greatest of crimes?; he will reply, '*goonchor*' 'forgetfulness of favours.' This is his most powerful term for ingratitude. Gratitude with him embraces every obligation of life, and is inseparable from *swamdharma*, 'fidelity

* Such interference, when inconsistent with past usage and the genius of the people, will defeat the very best intentions. On the grounds of policy and justice, it is alike incumbent on the British Government to secure the maintenance of their present form of government, and not to repair, but to advise the repairs of the fabric, and to let their own artists alone be consulted. To employ ours would be like adding a Corinthian capital to a column of Ellora, or replacing the mutilated statue of Buldeva with a limb from the Hercules Farnese.

To have a chain of prosperous independent states on our only exposed frontier, the north-west, attached to us from benefits, and the moral conviction that we do not seek their overthrow, must be a desirable policy.

to his lord.' He who is wanting in these is not deemed fit to live, and is doomed to eternal pains in Pluto's * realm hereafter.†

"It was a powerful feeling," says an historian ‡ who always identifies his own emotions with his subject, "which could make the bravest of men put with slights and ill-treatment at the hand of their sovereign, or call forth all the energies of discontented exertion for one whom they never saw, and in whose character there was nothing to esteem. Loyalty has scarcely less tendency to refine and elevate the heart than patriotism itself." That these sentiments were combined, the past history of the Rajpoots will shew;§ and to the strength of these ties do they owe their political existence, which has outlived ages of strife. But for these, they would have been converts and vassals to the Tatars, who would still have been enthroned in Delhi. Neglect, oppression and religious interference sunk one of the greatest monarchies of the world;‖ made Sevaji a hero, and converted the peaceful husbandman of the Kistna and Godavery into a brave but rapacious soldier.

We have abundant examples, and I trust I need not exclaim with the wise minister of Akber, "who so happy as to profit by them?"¶

The Rajpoot, with all his turbulence, possesses in an eminent degree both loyalty and patriotism; and though he occasionally

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* *Yamaloca.*

† The *goonchor* (ungrateful) and *satchor* (violator of his faith) are consigned, by the authority of the bard, to sixty thousand years' residence in hell. Europeans, in all the pride of mastery, accuse the natives of want of gratitude, and say their language has no word for it. They can only know the *nimmuck-haram* of the Ganges. *Goonchor* is a compound of powerful import, as ingratitude and infidelity are the highest crimes. It means, literally, "abandoner (from *chorna*) 'to quit' of virtue (*goon*)."

‡ Hallam, vol. i. 323.

§ Of the effects of loyalty and patriotism combined, we have splendid examples in Hindu history and tradition. A more striking instance could scarcely be given than in the recent civil distractions at Kotah, where a mercenary army raised and maintained by the Regent, either openly or covertly declared against him, as did the whole feudal body to a man, the moment their young Prince asserted his subverted claims, and in the cause of their rightful lord abandoned all consideration of self, their families and lands, and with their followers offered their lives to redeem his rights or perish in the attempt. No empty boast, as the conclusion testified. God forbid that we should have more such examples of Rajpoot devotion to their sense of fidelity to their lord!

‖ See statement of its revenues during the reign of the last emperor, who had preserved the empire of Delhi united.

¶ Abul Fuzil uses this expression when moralizing on the fall of Shabudin, king of Ghizni and first established monarch of India, slain by Prithwiraja, the Hindu sovereign of Delhi.

exhibits his refactory spirit to his father and sovereign,* we shall see of what he is capable when his country is threatened with dismemberment, from the history of Mewar and the reign of Ajeet Sing of Marwar. In this last, we have one of the noblest examples history can afford of unbounded devotion. A prince, whom not a dozen of his subjects had ever seen, who had been concealed from the period of his brith throughout a tedious minority to avoid the snares of a tyrant,† by the mere magic of a name kept the discordant materials of a great feudal association, in subjection, till, able to bear arms, he issued from his concealment to head these devoted adherents, and reconquer what they had so long struggled to maintain. So glorious a contest, of twenty years' duration, requires but an historian to immortalize it. Unfortunately we have only the relation of isolated encounters, which, though exhibiting a prodigality of blood and acts of high devotion, are deficient in those minor details which give unity and interest to the whole.

Let us take the Rajpoot character from the royal historians themselves, from Akber, Jehangir, Aurungzebe. The most brilliant conquest of these monarchs were by their Rajpoot allies; though the little regard the latter had for opinion alienated the sympathies of a race, who, when rightly managed, encountered at command the Afghan amidst the snows of Caucasus, or made the furthest Chersonese tributary to the empire. Assam, where the British arms were recently engaged, and for the issue of which such anxiety was manifested in the metropolis of Britain, was conquered by a Rajpoot prince,‡ whose descendant is now an ally of the Britsh Government.

But Englishmen in the east, as elsewhere, undervalue every thing not national. They have been accustomed to conquest, not reverses: though it is only by studying the character of those around them, that the latter can be avoided and this superiority maintained. Superficial observers imagine, that from lengthened predatory spoliation the energy of the Rajpoot has fled: an idea which is at once erroneous and dangerous. The vices now manifest from oppression will disappear with the cause, and with reviving prosperity new feelings will be genera-

* The Rajpoot, who possesses but an acre of land, has the proud feeling of common origin with his sovereign, and in styling him *bappjee* (sire), he thinks of him as the common father or reprsentative of race. What a powerful incentive to action!

† Aurungzebe.

‡ Raja Maun of Jeypur, who took Aracan, Orissa, and Assam. Raja Jeswunt Sing of Marwar retook Caubul for Aurunzebe, and was rewarded by poison. Raja Ram Sing Hara, of Kotah, made several important conquests; and his gradson, Raja Essurree Sing, and his five brothers, were left on one field of battle.

ted, and each national tie and custom be strengthened. The Rajpoot would glory in putting on his saffron robes* to fight for such a land, and for those who disinterestedly laboured to benefit it.

Let us, then, apply history to its proper use. We need not turn to ancient Rome for illustration of the dangers inseparable from wide dominion and extensive alliances. The twenty-two Satrapies of India, the greater part of which are now the appanage of Britain, exhibited, even a century ago, one of the most splendid monarchies history has made known, too extensive for the genius of any single individual effectually to control. Yet was it held together, till encroachment on their rights, and disregard to their habits and religious opinions, alienated the Rajpoots, and excited the inhabitants of the south to rise against their Mogul oppressors. Then was the throne of Aurunzebe at the mercy of a Brahmin; and the grandson† of a cultivator in the province of Candeish held the descendants of Timoor pensioners on his bounty!

* When a Rajpoot is determined to hold out to the last in fighting, he always puts on a robe dyed in saffron.

† Sindia.

APPENDIX.

PAPERS REFERRED TO IN THE SKETCH OF A FEUDAL SYSTEM IN RAJASTHAN,

BEING

LITERAL TRANSLATION *from* INSCRIPTIONS *and* ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS, *most of which are in the* AUTHOR'S POSSESSION.

NO. I.

Translation of a Letter from the expatriated Chiefs of Marwar to the Political Agent of the British Government, Western Rajpoot States.*

After compliments.

We have sent to you a confidential person, who will relate what regards us. The Sirkar company are sovereigns of Hindusthan, and you know well all that regards our condition. Although there is nothing which respects either ourselves or our country hid from you, yet is there matter immediately concerning us which it is necessary to make known.

Sri Maharajah and ourselves are of one stock, all Rahtores. He is our head, we his servants: but now anger has seized him, and we are dispossessed of our country. Of the estates, our patrimony and our dwelling, some have been made *khalisa*,† and those who endeavour to keep aloof, expect the same fate. Some under the most solemn pledge of security have been inveigled and suffered death, and others imprisoned. Moot-suddies,‡ officers of state, men of the soil and those foreign to it, have been seized, and most unheard of deeds and cruelties inflicted, which we cannot even write. Such a spirit has possessed his mind as never was known to any former prince of Jodhpur. His forefathers have reigned for generation; our forefathers were their ministers and advisers, and whatever

* The names are omitted to prevent any of them falling a sacrifice to the blind fury of their prince. The brave chief of Nimaj has sold his life, but dearly. In vain do we look in the annals of Europe for such devotion and generous despair as marked his end, and that of his brave clan. He was a perfect gentleman in deportment, modest and mild and head of a powerful clan.

† Fiscal, that is, sequestrated.

‡ Clerks, and inferior officers of government.

was performed was by the collective wisdom of the council of our chiefs. Before the face of his ancestors, our own ancestors have slain and been slain; and in performing services to the kings,* they made the state of Jodhpur what it is. Wherever Marwar was concerned, there our fathers were to be found, and with their lives preserved the land. Sometimes our head was a minor; even then, by the wisdom of our fathers and their services, the land was kept firm under our feet, and thus has it descended from generation to generation. Before his eyes (Raja Maun's) we have performed good service: when at that perilous time the host of Jeypur † surrounded Jodhpur, on the field we attacked it; our lives and fortunes were at stake, and God granted us success. The witness is God Almighty. Now, men of no consideration are in our prince's presence: hence this reverse. *When our services are acceptable, then he is our lord; when not, we are again his brothers and kindred, claimants and laying claim to the land.*

He desires to dispossess us; but can we let ourselves be dispossessed? The English are masters of all India. The chief of ..... sent his agent to Ajmeer; he was told to go to Delhi. Accordingly Thacoor.....went there, but no path was pointed out. If the English chiefs will not hear us, who will? The English allow no one's land to be usurped, and our birth-place is Marwar—from Marwar we must have bread. A hundred thousand Rahtores,—where are they to go to? From respect to the English alone have we been so long patient, and without acquainting your government of our intentions, you might afterwards find fault; therefore we make it known, and we thereby acquit ourselves to you. What we brought with us from Marwar we have consumed, and even what we could get on credit; and now, when want must make us perish, we are ready and can do any thing. ‡

The English are our rulers, our masters. Sri Maun Sing has seized our lands: by your government interposing these troubles may be settled, but without its guarantee and intervention we can have no confidence whatever. Let us have a reply to our petition. We will wait it in patience; but if we get none, the fault will not be ours, having given everywhere

* Alluding to the sovereigns of Delhi. In the magnificent feudal assemblage at this gorgeous court, where seventy-six prince stood in the Divan (*Dewan Khas*) each by a pillar covered with plates of silver, the Marwar prince had the right hand of all. I have an original letter from the great-grandfather of Raja Maun to the Rana, elate with this honour.

† In 1806.

‡ The historian of the Middle Ages justly remarks, that "the most deadly hatred is that which men, exasperated by prescription and forfeitures, bear their country."

notice. Hunger will compel man to find a remedy. For such a length of time we have been silent from respect to your government alone: our own Sirkar is deaf to complaint. But to what extreme shall we wait? Let our hopes be attended to. Sumbut 1878, Sawun sood dooj. (August 1821.)

True Translation
(Signed) JAMES TOD.

No. II.

Remontsrance of the Sub-Vassals of Deogurh against their chief, Rawut Gokul Das.

1. He respects not the privileges or customs established of old.

2. To each Rajpoot's house a chursa * or hide of land was attached: this he has resumed.

3. Whoever bribes him is a true man: who does not, is a thief.

4. Ten or twelve villages established by his puttaets † he has resumed, and left their families to starve.

5. From time immemorial sanctuary (*sirnah*) has been esteemed sacred: this he has abolished.

6. On emergencies he would pledge his oath to his subjects (*ryots*), and afterwards plunder them.

7. In old times, it was customary when the presence of his chiefs and kindred was required, to invite them by letter: a fine is now the warrant of summons; thus lessening their dignity.

8. Such messengers, in former times, had a tacka ‡ for their ration (*bhattu*); now he imposes two rupees.

9. Formerly, when robberies occurred in the mountains within the limits of Deogurh, the loss was made good: now all complaint is useless, for his foujdar § receives a fourth of all such plunder. The Mers ‖ range at liberty; but before they never committed murder: now they slay as well as rob our kin; nor is there any redress, and such plunder is even sold within the town of Deogurh.

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* Hide or skin, from the vessel used in irrigation being made of leather.

† The vassals, or those holding fiefs (putta) of Deogurh.

‡ A copper coin, equal to two pence.

§ Military commander; a kind of inferior *maire du palais*, on every Rajpoot chieftain's estate, and who has the military command of the vassals. He is seldom of the same family, but generally of another tribe.

‖ Mountaineers.

10. Without crime, he resumes the lands of his vassals for the sake of imposition of fines; and after such are paid, he cuts down the green crops, with which he feeds his horses.

11. The cultivators* on the lands of the vassals he seizes by force, extorts fines, or sells their cattle to pay them. Thus cultivation is ruined and the inhabitants leave the country.

12. From oppression the town magistrates † of Deogurh have fled to Raepur. He lays in watch to seize and extort money from them.

13. When he summonses his vassals for purposes of extortion and they escape his clutches, he seizes on their wives and families. Females, from a sense of honour, have on such occasions thrown themselves into wells.

14. He interferes to recover old debts, distraining the debtor of all he has in the world; half he receives.

15. If any one have a good horse, by fair means or foul he contrives to get it.

16. *When Deogurh was established, at the same time were our allotments: as is his patrimony, so is our patrimony.* ‡ Thousands have been expended in establishing and improving them, yet our rank, privileges, and rights, he equally disregards.

17. From these villages, founded by our forefathers, he at will takes four or five skins of land and bestows them on foreigners; and thus the ancient proprietors are reduced to poverty and ruin.

18. From of old, all his Rajpoot kin had daily rations, or portions of grain: for four years these rights have been abolished.

19. From ancient times the puttaets formed his council: now he consults only foreigners. What has been the consequence? the whole annual revenue derived from the mountains is lost.

20. From the ancient Bhoom§ of the Frerage ‖ the mountaineers carry off the cattle, and instead of redeeming them, the foujdar sets the plunderers up to the trick of demanding rekwalee. ¶

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* Of the Jit and other labouring tribes.

†Chohutias, from *chohut*, 'civil jurisdiction.' In every town there is an unpaid magistracy, of which the head is the Nuggur Seth, or chief citizen, and the four Chotias, tantamount to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who hold their courts and decide in all civil cases.

‡ Here are the precise sentiments embodied in the remonstrances of the great feudal chiefs of Marwar to their prince; see Appendix No. 1.

§ The old allodial allotments.

‖ Bhyad.

¶ The *salvamenta* of our feudal writers; the *black-mail* of the north.

21. Money is justice, and there is none other: whoever has money may be heard. The bankers and merchants have gone abroad for protection, but he asks not where they are.

22. When cattle are driven off to the hills, and we do ourselves justice and recover them, we are fined, and told that the mountaineers have his pledge. Thus our dignity is lessened. Or if we seize one of these marauders, a party is sent to liberate him, for which the foujdar receives a bribe. Then a feud ensues at the instigation of the liberated Mer, and the unsupported Rajoot is obliged to abandon his patrimony.* There is neither protection nor support. The chief is supine, and so regardless of honour, that he tells us to take money to the hills and redeem our property. Since this foujdar had power, 'poison has been our fate.' Foreigners are all in all, and the home-bred are set aside. Dekhanis and plunderers enjoy the lands of his brethren. Without fault, the chiefs are deprived of their lands, to bring which into order time and money have been lavished. Justice there is none.

Our rights and privileges in his family are the same as his in the family of the Presence.† Since you‡ entered Mewar lands long lost have been recovered. What crimes have we committed, that at this day we should lose ours?

We are in great trouble.§

No. III.

Maharaja Sri Gokul Das to the four ranks (*char misal*) of Puttaets of Deogurh, commanding. Peruse.

Without crime no vassal shall have his estate or chursas disseized. Should any individual commit an offence, it shall be judged by the *four ranks* (char misal) my brethren, and then punished. Without consulting them on all occasions I shall

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* 'Wutton.'

† The Rana.

‡ The Author.

§ With the articles of complaint of the vassals of Deogurh and the short extorted character, to avoid future cause for such, we may contrast the following:—"Pour avoir une idee du brigandage que les nobles exercaient a l'epoque ou les premieres *chartes* furent accordees, il suffit d'en lire quelques-unes, et l'on verra que le seigneury disait:—'Je promets de ne point *voler, extorquer* les biens et les meubles des habitants, de les deliverer des *totes* ou *rapines*, et autres *mauvaises coutumes*, et de ne plus commettre envers eux d'exac 'tions.'—En effet, dans ces tems malheureux, vivres, meubles, chevaux, poitures, dit le savant Abbe de Mably, tout etait enleve par l'insatiable et aveugle avidite des seigneurs."—Art. '*Chartes*,' Dict. de l'anc. Regime.

never inflict punishment.* To this I swear by Sri Nathjee. No departure from this agreement shall ever occur. S. 1874; the 6th Paush.

No. IV.

Grant from Maharana Ur Sing, Prince of Mewar, to the Sindie Chief, Abdool Ruhim Beg.

Ramji! †

Gunesji! † Eklingji! †

Sri Maharaja Dheraj Maharana Ur Sing to Mirza Abdool Ruhim Beg Adilbegote, commanding.

Now some of our chiefs having rebelled and set up the impostor Rutna Sing, brought the Dekhany army and erected batteries against Oodipur, in which circumstances your services have been great and tended to the preservation of our sovereignty. Therefore, in favour towards you, I have made this grant, which your children and children's children shall continue to enjoy. You will continue to serve faithfully; and whoever of my race shall dispossess you or yours, on him be Eklingji and the sin of the slaughter of Cheetore.

Particulars.

1st. In estates, 2,00,000 rupees.
2nd. In cash annually, 25,000.
3rd, Lands outside the Debarri gate, 10,000.
4th. As a residence, the dwelling-house called Bhart Sing's.
5th. A hundred beegas of land outside the city for a garden.
6th. The town of Mittoon in the vally, to supply wood and forage.
7th. To keep up the tomb of Ajmeri Beg, who fell in action, one hundred beegas of land.

Privileges and honours.

8th. A seat in Durbar and rank in all respects equal to the chieftain of Sadree. ‡

* This reply to the remonstrance of his vassals is perfectly similar in point to the 43d article of *Magna Charta*.

† Invocations to Ram, Gunes (god of wisdom), and Ek-linga, the patron divinity of the Sesodia Gehlotes.

‡ The first of the foreign vassals of the Rana's house.

9th. Four kettle-drums (Nagarra) to beat at the ga[illegible] gate, but with one stick only.

10th. Umr Bulaona* and a dress of honour o[illegible] Dusrewa† festival.

11th. Drums to beat to Ahar. All other privilege[illegible] rank like the house of Saloombra.‡ Like that house, [illegible] shall be from generation to generation; therefore accord[illegible] the valuation of your grant you will serve.

12th. Your brothers or servants, whom you may dis[illegible] I shall not entertain or suffer my chiefs to entertain.

10. The Chaours§ and Kirnia‖ you may use at all [illegible] when alone, but never in the presence.

14th. Munowur Beg, Unwur Beg, Chumun Beg an[illegible] mitted seats in front of the throne; Umr Bulaona, and [illegible] rary dresses on Dusrewa, and seats for two or three [illegible] relatives who may be found worthy the honour.

15th. Your agent (*Vakeel*) shall remain at court wi[illegible] privileges due to his rank.

By command:

SAH MOOTIE RAM BOLIA.

S. 1826 (A. D. 1770) Bhadoon (August) sood 11 Sun[illegible] (Monday).

No. V.

Grant of the Putta of Bhynsrore to Rawut Lal Si[illegible] one of the sixteen great vassals of Mewar.

Maharaja Juggut Sing to Rawut Lal Sing Kesurising[illegible] commanding.

Now to you the whole Pergunna of Bhynsrore** is gr[illegible] as *Gras viz.*

---

* A horse furnished by the prince, always replaced when h[illegible] therefore called *Umr*, or immortal.

† The grand military festival, when a muster is made of [illegible] Rajpoot q[illegible].

‡ The first of house-chieftains.

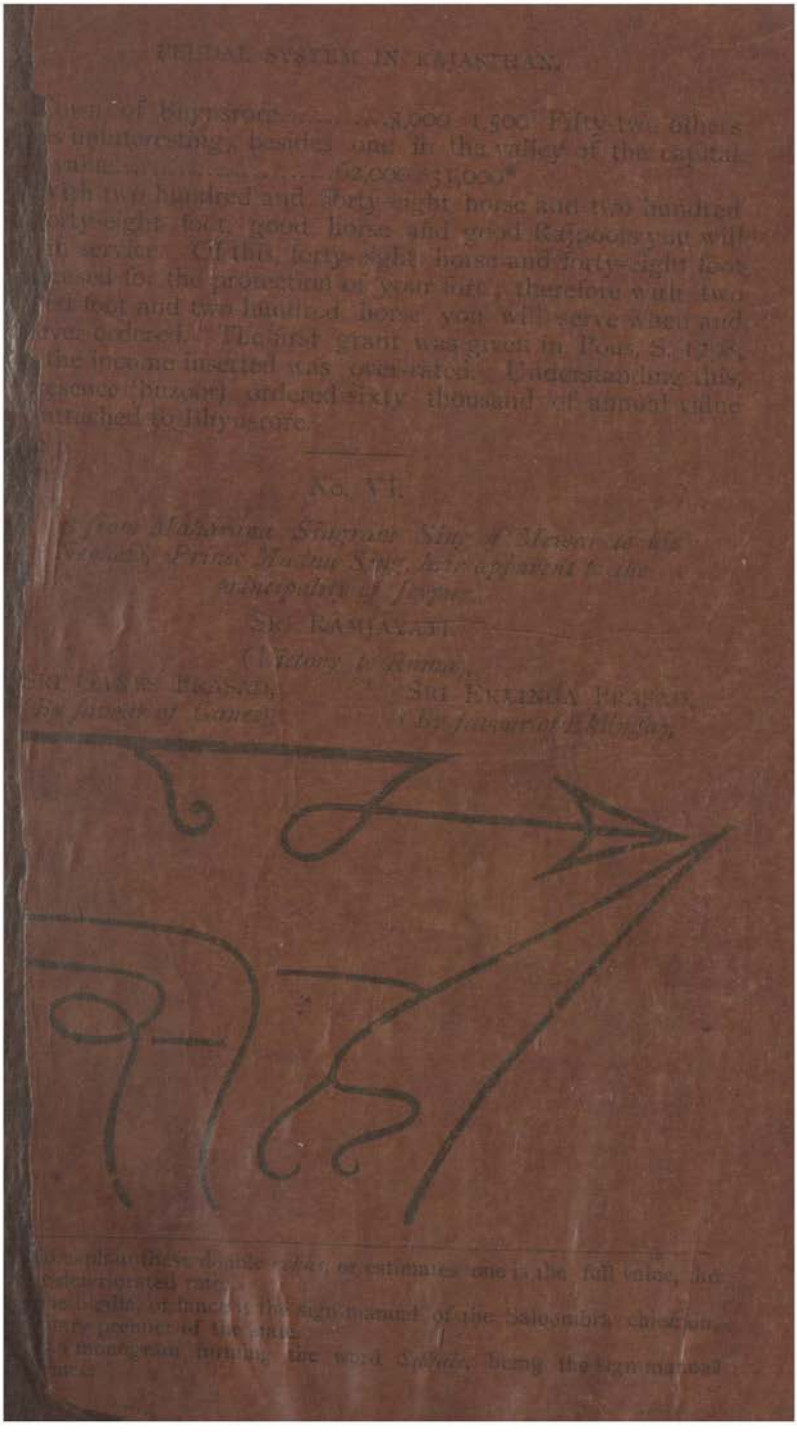
§ The tail of the wild ox, worn across the saddle-bow.

‖ An umbrella or shade against the sun; from *kira*, [illegible]

* Clan (gote) of Kesuri Sing, one of the great branches [illegible] Chundawuts.

** On the left bank of the Chumbul.

FEUDAL SYSTEM IN RAJASTHAN



Dues and Privileges.

Pieces of money.....17.
Grain.....24 maunds.
On the festivals of Rakhi, Dewalee, and Hooli, one copper [illegible]n from each house.
Seeranoh..... at harvest.
Sookrie from the Brahmins.
Transit duties for protection of merchandize, viz. a pice [illegible] every cart-load, and half a pice for each bullock.
Two Platters on every marriage feast.

No. VIII.

Burning of Bhoom by the Inhabitants of Amlee to Rawut Futteh Sing of Amwit.—S. 1814 (A.D. 1758).

The Ranawuts Sawunt Sing and Sobagh Sing had Amlee [illegible] but they were oppressive to the inhabitants, slew the [illegible] and Bhaggi, and so ill-treated the Brahmins, that [illegible] Nathan sacrificed themselves on the [illegible]. The

In all, three wells, being forty-four beegas of irrigated *(Peewal)*, and one hundred and ninety-one beegas of unirrigated *(mal)* land. Also a field for jooar.

Customs or Dignities (Murjad) attached to the Bhoom.

1st. A dish *(khansa)* on every marriage.

2nd. Six hundred rupees ready cash annually.

3rd. All bhoomias, grasias, the high roads, passes from raids and "runners," and all disturbances whatsoever, the Maharaja must settle.

When the Maharaja is pleased to let the inhabitants of Dongla re-inhabit their dwellings, then only can they return to them.*

Written by the accountant Kutchia, on the full moon of Jeit, S. 1858, and signed by all the traders, brahmins, and towns-people.

No. X.

Grant of Bhoom by the Prince of Mewar to an inferior Vassal.

Maharana Bheem Sing to Baba Ram Sing, commanding.

Now a field of two hundred twenty-five beegas in the city of Jehajpur, with the black orchard *(sham bagh)* and a farm-house *(nohara)* for cattle, has been granted you in bhoom.

Your forefathers recovered for me Jehajpur and served with fidelity; on which account this bhoom is renewed. Rest assured no molestation shall be offered, nor shall any puttaet interfere with you.

Privileges.

One seeranoh. †

Two hulmohs. ‡

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* This shews how *bhoom* was extorted in these periods of turbulence, and that this individual gift was as much to save them from the effects of the Maharaja's violence, as to gain protection from that of others.

† A seer on each maund of produce.

‡ The labour of two ploughs *(hul)*. *Hulmoh* is the personal service of the husbandman with his plough for such time as is specified. *Hulmoh* precisely is the detested *corvee* of the French regime. "Les *corvees* sont "tout ouvrage ou service, soit de corps ou de charrois et betes, pendant le "jour, qui est du a un seigneur. Il y avait deux sortes de *corvees*: les "reeles et les personelles, &c. Quelquefois le nombre des *corvees* etait fixe: "mais, le plus souvent, elles etaient, a volonte du seigneur, et c'est ce "qu'on appelait *corvees a merai*."—Art. '*Corvee*,' Dict. de l'anc. Regime. Almost all the exactions for the last century in Mewar may come under this latter denomination.

Offerings of cocoanuts on the Holi and Dusrewa festivals.
From every hundred bullock-loads * or merchandize, twelve annas.

From every hundred and twenty-five ass-loads, six annas.
From each horse sold within Jehajpur, two annas.
From each camel sold, one anna.
From each oil-mill, one puloh.
From each iron mine (*Madri*), a quarter rupee.
From each distillation of spirits, a quarter rupee.
From each goat slain, one pice.
On births and marriages,† five platters (*khansa*).
The handful (*eech*) from every basket of greens.
With every other privilege attached to bhoom.

Irrigated land (*peewul*)...	...	...	...51	beegas.
Unirrigated do. (*mal*) ...	...	...	...110	do.
Mountain do. (*mugro*)...	...	...	...40	do.
Meadow do. (*beera*) ...	...	...	...25	do.
			226	beegas.

Asar (June) S. 1853 (A. D. 1797).

No. XI.

Charter of Privileges and Immunities granted to the town of Jhalra Patun, engraved on a Pillar in that City.

S. 1853 (A. D. 1797), corresponding with the Saka 1718, the sun being in the south, the season of cold, and the happy

* A great variety of oppressive imposts were levied by the chiefs during these times of trouble, to the destruction of commerce and all facility of travelling. Every thing was subject to tax, and a long train of vexatious dues exacted for "repairs of forts, boats at ferries, night-guards, "guards of passes," and other appellations, all having much in common with the "Droit de *Peage*" in France. "Il n'y avait pas de points, de "chaussees, d'ecluses, de defiles, de portes, &c. où les feodaux ne fissent "payer un droit a ceux que leurs affairs ou leur commerce forcaient de voyager,"—Dict. de l'anc. Regime.

† The privileges of our Rajpoot chieftains on the marraiges of their vassals and cultivating subjects are confined to the best dishes of the marriage feast or a pecuniary commutation. This is, however, though in a minor degree, one of the vexatious claims of feudality of the French system, known under the term *nocages*, where the seigneur or his deputy presided, and had the right to be placed in front of the birde, "et dey chanter a la fin du repas, une chanson guillerette." But they even carried their insolence further, and "pousserent leur mepris pour les vilains (the agricultural classes of the Rajpoot system) jusqu'a exiger que leurs chiens eussent *leur convert* aupres de la mariee, et qu'on les laissat manger sur la table,"—Art "*nocages*" Dict, de L'anc, Regime.

month of Kartika,* the enlightened half of the month, being Monday the full moon.

Maharaja Dheraj Sri Omeid Sing Deo,† the Foujdar‡ Raj Zalim Sing and Komar Madhu Sing, commanding. To all the inhabitants of Jhalra Patun, Patels,§ Putwarries,‖ Mahajans,¶ and to all the thirty-six castes, it is written.

At this period entertain entire confidence, build and dwell.

Within this abode all forced contributions and confiscations are for ever abolished. The taxes called Bulmunsie,** Annie,†† and Rek Burrar,‡‡ and likewise all Bhet-Begar,§§ shall cease.

To this intent is this stone erected, to hold good from year to year, now and evermore. There shall be no violence in this territory. This is sworn by the cow to the Hindu and the hog to the Mussulman: in the presence of Captain Dellil Khan, Choudree Saroop Chund, Patel Lallo, the Mahesri Patwarri Balkishen, the architect Kalu Ram, and the stone-mason Balkishen.

Purmoh‖‖ is for ever abolished. Whoever dwells and traffics within the town of patun, one half of the transit duties usually levied in Haravati are remitted; and all mauppa (meter's) duties are for ever abolished.

No. XII.

Abolitions, Immunities, Prohibition, &c. &c. Inscription in the Temple of Lutchmi Narayan at Akola.

In former times tobacco was sold in one market only. Rana Raj Sing commanded the monopoly, which is to be abolished. S. 1645.

Rana Juggut Sing prohibited the seizure of the cots and quilts by the officers of his Government from the printers of Akola.

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* December.
† The Raja of Kotah.
‡ Commander of the forces and regent of Kotah.
§ Officers of the land revenue.
‖ Land accountants.
¶ The mercantile class.
** Literally 'good behaviour.'
†† An agricultural tax.
‡‡ Tax for registering.
§§ This includes in one word the forced labour exacted from the working classes; the *corvee* of the French system.
‖‖ Grain thrown on the inhabitants at an arbitrary rate; often resorted to at Kotah, where the regent is farmer general.

No. XIII.

Privileges and Immunities granted to the Printers of Calico and Inhabitants of the Town of Great Akola in Mewar.

Maharana Bheem Sing, commanding, to the inhabitants of Great Akola.

Whereas the village has been abandoned from the assignments levied by the garrison of Mandalgurh, and it being demanded of its population how it could again be rendered prosperous, they unanimously replied: "not to exact beyond the dues and contributions (*dind dor*) established of yore; to erect the pillar promising never to exact above half the produce of the crops, or to molest the persons of those who thus paid their dues."

The Presence agreed, and this pillar has been erected. May Eklinga look to him who breaks this command. The hog to the Mussulman and the cow to the Hindu.

Whatever contributions (*dind*) purmoh,* poolee,† heretofore levied shall be paid.

All crimes committed within the jurisdiction of Akola to be tried by its inhabitants, who will sit in justice on the offender and fine him according to his faults.

On Amavus‡ no work shall be done at the well § or at the oil-mill, nor printer put his dye-pot on the fire.‖

Whoever breaks the foregoing, may the sin of the slaughter of Cheetore be upon him.

This pillar was erected in the presence of Mehta Sirdar Sing, Sawul Das, the Choudries Bhoput Ram and Doulut Ram, and the assembled Punch of Akola.

Written by the Choudrie Bhopji, and engraved by the stone-cutter Bheema.

S. 1856 (A. D. 1800.)

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* Grain, the property of the Government, thrown on the inhabitants for purchase at an arbitrary valuation.

† The handful from each sheaf at harvest.

‡ A day sacred to the Hindu, being that which divides the month.

§ Meaning, they shall not irrigate the fields.

‖ This part of the edict is evidently the instigation of the Jains, to prevent the destruction of life, though only that of insects.

No. XIV.

*Prohibition against Guests carrying away provisions from the public Feast.**

Sri Maharana Singram Sing to the inhabitants of Mirmi.

On all feasts of rejoicing, as well as those on the ceremonies for the dead, none shall carry away with them the remains of the feast. Whoever thus transgresses shall pay a fine to the crown of one hundred and one rupees. S. 1769 (A.D. 1713), Cheit Sood 7th.

No. XV.

Maharana Singram Sing to the merchants and bankers of Bakrole.

The custom of furnishing quilts (see-rak)† of which you complain, is of ancient date. Now when the collectors of duties, their officers, or those of the land revenue stop at Bakrole, the merchants will furnish them with beds and quilts. All other servants will be supplied by the other inhabitants.

Should the dam of the lake be in any way injured, whoever does not aid in its repair shall, as a punishment, feed one hundred and one Brahmins. Asar 1715, or June A.D, 1659.

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* The cause of this sumptuary edict was a benevolent motive, and to prevent the expenses on these occasions falling too heavily on the poorer classes. It was customary for the women to carry away under their petticoats (*ghagra*) sufficient sweetmeats for several days' consumption. The great Jey Sing of Ambar had an ordinance restricting the number of guests to fifty-one on these occasions, and prohibited to all but the four wealthy classes the use of sugar-candy; the others were confined to the use of molasses and brown sugar. To the lower vassals and the cultivators these feasts were limited to the coarser fare: to joar, flour greens and oil. A dyer who on the Hooli feasted his friends with sweetmeats of fine sugar and scattered about balls made of brown sugar, was fined five thousand rupees for setting so pernicious an example. The *sad*, or marriage-present, from the bridegroom to the bride's father, was limited to fifty one rupees. The great sums previously paid on the score, were preventives of matrimony. Many other wholesome regulations of a much more important kind, especially those for the suppression of infanticide, were instituted by this prince.

† 'Defence against the cold weather, (*see*). This in the ancient French *regime* came under the denomination of "*Albergie* ou Hebergement, "un droit royal. Par exemple, ce ne fut qu' apres le regne de Saint Louis, "et moyennant finances, que les habitaes de Paris et de Corbeil s' affran- "chirent, les premiers de fournir au roi et a sa suite de bons orillers et d' "excellens lits de plumes, tant qu' il sejournait dans leur ville, et les seconds "de le regaler quand it passait par leur bourg."

No. XVI.

Warrant of the Chief of Bijolli to his Vassal, Gopal Das Suktawut.

Maharaja Mandhata to Suktawut Gopal Das, be it known.

At this time a daily fine of four rupees is in force against you. Eighty are now due: Gunga Ram having petitioned in your favour, forty of this will be remitted. Give a written declaration to this effect—that with a specified quota you will take the field; if not, you will stand the consequences.

Viz: One good horse and one matchlock, with appurtenances complete, to serve at home and abroad (*des purdes*), and to run the country* with the Kher.

When the levy (*kher*) takes the field, Gopal Das must attend in person. Should he be from home, his retainers must attend, and they shall receive rations from the presence.

Sawun sood dos (August 10th) S. 1782.

No. XVII.

Maharaja Odykurn to the Suktawut Simboo Sing. Be it known.

I had annexed Gooroh to fisc, but now from favour, restore it to you. Make it flourish, and serve me at home and abroad, with one horse, and one foot soldier.

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* The '*douraets*' or runners, the term applied to the bands who swept the country with their forage in those periods of general confusion, are analogous to the armed bands of the middle ages, who in a similar manner desolated Europe under the term *routieos*, tantamount to our *raburs* (on the road), the *labours* of the Pinderries in India. The Rajput *donraet* has as many epithets as the French *routier*, who were called *escorcheurs*, *tard veneus*, (of which class Gopal Das appears to have been) *mille-diables*, *Guilleries*. &c.

From the Crusades to the sixteenth century, the nobles of Europe, of whom these bands were composed (like our Rajpoots), abandoned themselves to this sort of life; who, to use the words of the historian, "prefererent la vie vagabonde a laquelle ils s' etoient accoutumes dans le camp, "a retourner cultiver leurs champs. "C'est alors que se formerent ces bandes "qu'on vit parcourir le royaume et etendre sur toutes les provinces le fleau de "eurs inclinations destructives, repandre partout leffroi, la misere, le deuil et lle desespoir; mettre les villes a contribution, piller et incendire les villages, egerger les laboureurs, et se livrer a des acces de cruante qui font fremir."—Dict. de l'ancien regime et des abus feodaux, art. *Routier* p. 423.

We have this apology for the Rajpoot *Routiers* that the nobles of Europe had not; they were driven to it by perpetual aggressions of invaders I invariably found that the reformed *Routier* was one of the best subject: it secured him from indolence, the parent of all Rajpoot vices.

When abroad you shall receive rations (*bhatta*) as follow:
Flour.....3 lbs.
Pulse.....4 ounces.
Butter (*ghee*).....2 pice weight.
Horses' feed.....4 sheers at 22 seers each taka of daily allowance.

If for defence of the fort you are required, you will attend with all your dependants, and bring your wife, family, and chattels: for which, you will be exempted from two years of subsequent service.

Asar 14, S. 1834.

No. XVIII.

Bhoom in Moond-kati, or Compensation for Blood, to Jait Sing Chondawut.

The Patel's son went to bring home his wife with Jait's Rajpoots as a guard. The party was attacked, the guard killed, and there having been no redress for the murder, twenty-six beegas have been granted in moondkati* (compensation).

No. XIX.

Rawut Megh Sing to his natural brother, Jumna Das, a putta (*fief*) has been granted, *viz.*

The village of Rajpura, value · Rupees	401
A garden of mogra flower	11
Rupees	412

Serve at home and abroad with fidelity: contributions and aids pay accoding to custom, and do as the rest of the vassals.

Jait 14th, S. 1874.

No. XX.

Charter given by the Rana of Mewar, accepted and signed by all his Chiefs; defining the duties of the contracting Parties. A. D. 1818.

Sri Sri Maharaja Dheraj, Maharana Bheem Sing, to all the nobles, my brothers and kin, Rajas, Patels, Jhalas, Chohans, Chondawuts, Powars, Sarangdeots, Suktawuts, Rahtores, Ranawuts, &c. &c.

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* *Moond* 'the head,' *kati* 'cut.'

Now since S. 1822 (A.D. 1776), during the reign of Sri Ur Sing-ji,* when the troubles commenced, laying ancient usages aside, undue usurpations of the land have been made. Therefore on this day, Baysak badi 14th, S. 1874 (A.D, 1818), the Maharana assembling all his chiefs, lays down the path of duty in new ordinances.

1st. all land belonging to the crown obtained since the troubles, and all lands seized by one chief from another shall be restored.

2nd. All Rekwali,† Bhoom, Lagut,‡ established since the troubles, shall be renounced.

3rd, Dhan,§ Biswo,‖ the right of the crown alone, shall be renounced.

4th. No chiefs shall commit thefts or violence within the boundaries of their estates. They shall entertain no Thugs,¶ foreign thieves or thieves of the country, as Mogees,¶ Baories,¶ Thories:¶ but those who shall adopt peaceful habit may remain; but should any return to their old pursuits, their heads shall instantly be taken off. All property stolen shall be made good by the proprietor of the estate within the limits of which it is plundered,

5th. Home or foreign merchants, traders, Kaffilas,** Bunjarries,†† who enter the country, shall be protected. In no wise shall they be molested or injured, and whoever breaks this ordinance, his estate shall be confiscated.

6th. According to command, at home or abroad, service must be performed. Four division (*choukies*) shall be formed of the chiefs, and each division shall remain three months in attendance at court, when they shall be dissmissed to their estates. Once a year, on the festival of the Doserwa,‡‡ all the chiefs shall assemble with their quotas ten days previous thereto, and twenty days subsequent they shall be dismissed to their estates. On urgent occasions, and whenever their services are required, they shall repair to the Presence.

7th. Every Puttawut holding a separate putta from the Presence, shall perform separate service. They shall not unite or serve under the greater Puttawuts; and the sub-vassals of

* The rebellion broke out during the reign of this prince.
† Salvamenta.
‡ Dues.
§ Transit duty.
‖ Ibid.
¶ Different descriptions of thieves.
** Caravans of merchandize, whether on camels, bullocks or in carts
†† Caravans of bullocks, chiefly for the transport of grain and salt.
‡‡ On this festival the muster of all feudal retainers is taken by the Rana in person, and honorary dresses and dignities are bestowed.

all such chiefs shall remain with and serve their immediate Puttawut.*

8th. The Maharana shall maintain the dignities due to each chief according to his degree.

9th. The Ryots shall not be oppressed: there shall be no new exactions or arbitrary fines. This is ordained.

10th. What has been executed by Thacoor Ajeet sing and sanctioned by the Rana, to this all shall agree.†

11th. Whosoever shall depart from the foregoing, the Maharana shall punish. In doing so the fault will not be the Rana's. Whoever fails, on him be the oath (*an*) of Eklinga and the Maharana.

[Here follow the signatures of all the chieftains of rank in Mewar, which it is needless to insert.]

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* This article had become especially necessary, as the inferior chiefs, particularly those of the third class, had amalgamated themselves with the head of their clans, to whom they had become more accountable than [illegible]

† This alludes to the treaty which this chief had formed, as the ambassador of the Rana, with the British Government.

ANNALS OF MEWAR.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Gehlote Princes of Mewar.—Authorities.—Kanaksen the founder of the present dynasty.—His descent from Rama.—He emigrates to Saurashtra.—Ballabhipura.—Its sack and destruction by the Huns or Parthians.

WE now proceed to the history of the states of Rajpootana and shall commence with the annals of Mewar, and its princes.

These are styled *Ranas*, and are the elder branch of the Suryavansi, or 'children of the sun.' Another patronymic is Raghuvansi, derived from a predecessor of Rama, the focal point of each scion of the solar race. To him, the conqueror of Lanka,* the geneologists endeavour to trace the solar lines. The titles of many of these claimants are disputed; but the Hindu tribes yield unanimous suffrage to the prince of Mewar as the legitimate heir to the throne of Rama, and style him *Hindu Suraj*, or 'Sun of the Hindus.'† He is universally allowed to be the first of the 'thirty-six royal tribes; nor has a doubt ever been raised respecting his purity of descent. Many of these tribes‡ have been swept away by time; and the genealoglist, who abhors a vacuum in his mystic page, fills up their place with others, mere scions of some ancient but forgotten stem.

With the exception of Jessulmeer, Mewar is the only dynasty of these races§ which has outlived eight centuries of foreign domination, in the same lands where conquest placed them. The Rana still posseses nearly the same extent of territory which his ancestors held when the conqueror from Guzni first crossed the 'blue waters'‖ of the Indus to invade India.

* Said to be Ceylon; an idea scouted by the Hindus, who transfer Lanka to a very distant region.

† This descendant of one hundred kings shews himself in cloudy weather from the *surya-gokra*, on 'balcony of the sun'.

‡ See History of the Tribes.

§ See History of the Tribes.

‖ *Nilab*, from *nil* 'blue,' and *ab* 'water,' hence the name of the Nile in Egypt and in India. *Scind* or *Sindhu*, appears to be a Scythian word: *Sin* in the Tatar, *Tsin* in Chinese, 'river.' Hence the inhabitants of its higher course termed it *aba sin*, 'parent steam,' and thus, very probably, *Abyssinia* was formed by the Arabians; 'the country on the Nile,' or *aba sin*.

While the other families now ruling in the north-west of Rajasthan are the relics of ancient dynasties driven from their pristine seats of power, or their junior branches, who have erected their own fortunes. This circumstance adds to the dignity of the Ranas, and is the cause of the general homage which they receive, notwithstanding the diminution of their power. Though we cannot give the princes of Mewar an ancestor in the Persian Noshirwan, nor assert so confidently as Sir Thomas Roe his claims to descent from the celebrated Porus,* the opponent of Alexander, we can carry him into regions of antiquity more remote than the Persian, and which would satisfy the most fastidious in respect to ancestry.

In every age and clime we observe the same eager desire after distinguished pedigree, proceeding from a feeling which, though often derided, is extremely natural. The Rajpootras are, however, scarcely satisfied with discriminating their ancestors from the herd of mankind. Some plume themselves on a celestial origin, whilst others are content to be demi-celestial; and those who cannot advance such lofty claims, rather than acknowledging the race to have originated in the ordinary course of nature, make their primeval parent of demoniac extraction. Accordingly, several of the dynasties who cannot obtain a niche amongst the children of the sun, or moon, or trace their descent from some royal saint, are satisfied to be considered the offspring of some Titan *(dutya)*. These puerilities are of modern fabrication, in cases where family documents have been lost, or emigration has severed branches from the parent stock; who, increasing in power, but ignorant of their birth, have had recourse to fable to supply the void. Various authors, borrowing from the same source, have assigned the seat of Porus to the Rana's family; and coincidence of name has been the cause of the family being alternately elevated and depressed. Thus the incidental circumstance of the word *rhanœ* being found in Ptolemy's geography, in countries bordering on Mewar, furnishes our ablest geographers† with a reason for planting the family there in the second century; while the commentators‡ on the geography of the Arabian travellers of the ninth and tenth centuries§ discover sufficient evidence in "the kingdom of Rahmi, always at war with the Balhara sovereign," to consider him (notwithstanding Rahmi is expressly stated "not to "be much considered for his birth or the antiquity of his

* See p. 31.
† D'Anville and Rennell.
‡ Maurice and others.
§ Relations Anciennes des Voyageurs, par Renaudot.

"kingdom") as the prince of Cheetore, celebrated in both these points.

The translator of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, following D'Anville,* makes Ozene (Oojein) the capital of a Porus,† who sent an embassy to Augustus to regulate their commercial intercourse, and whom he asserts to be the ancestor of the Rana. But to shew how guarded we should be in admitting verbal resemblance to decide such points, the title of Rana is of modern adoption, even so late as the twelfth century; and as was assumed in consequence of the victorious issue of a contest with the Purihara prince of Mundore, who bore the title of Rana, and who surrendered it with his life and capital to the prince of Mewar; the latter substituted it for the more ancient appellation of *Rawul*.‡ But it was not till the thirteenth century that the novel distinction was generally recognized by neighbouring powers. Although we cannot for a moment admit the *Rahmi*, or even the *Rahmæ* of Ozene, to be connected with this family, yet Ptolemy appears to have given the real ancestor in his *Baleocuri*, the Balhara monarchs of the Arabian travellers, the Ballabhi-races of Saurashtra, who were the ancestors of the princes of Mewar.§

Before we proceed, it is necessary to specify the sources whence materials were obtained for the Annals of Mewar, and to give some idea of the character they merit as historical data.

For many years previous to sojourning at the court of Oodipur, sketches were obtained of the genealogy of the family from the rolls of the bards. To these was added a chronological sketch, drawn up under the eye of Raja Jey Sing of Ambar, with comments of some value by him, and which served as a ground work. Free access was also granted to the Rana's library, and permission obtained to make copies of

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* D'Anville (*Antiquities de l'Inde*) quotes Nicolas of Damascus as his authority, who says the letter written by Porus, prince of Ozene, was in the Greek character.

† This *Porus* is a corruption of *Puar*, once the most powerful and conspicuous tribe in India; classically written Pramara, the dynasty which ruled at Oojein for ages.

‡ *Rawul, or Raoul*, is yet borne as a princely title by the Aharya prince of Dongurpur, and the Yadu prince of Jessulmeer, whose ancestors long ruled in the heart of Scythia. *Raoul* seems to have been titular to the Scandinavian chiefs of Scythic origin. The invader of Normandy was *Raoul* corrupted to *Rollon* or *Rollo*.

§ The Balhara kings, and their capital Nehrwalla, or Anhulwarra Putun, have given rise to much conjecture amongst the learned. We shall, before this work is closed, endeavour to condense what has been said by ancient and modern authorities on the subject; and from manuscripts, ancient inscriptions, and the result of a personal visit to this ancient domain, to set the matter completely at rest.

such MSS. as related to his history. The most important of these was the *Khoman Rasa*,* which is evidently a modern work founded upon ancient materials, tracing the genealogy to Rama, and halting at conspicuous beacons in this long line of crowned heads, particularly about the period of the Mahomedan irruption in the tenth century, the sack of Cheetore by Alla-oo-din in the thirteenth centuary, and the wars of Rana Pratap with Akber, during whose reign the work appears to have been recast.

The next in importance were the *Raj Veelas*, in the Vrij Bhakha, by Man Kubeswara ; † and the *Raj Rutnakur*, ‡ by Sudasheo Bhut, both written in the reign of Rana Raj Sing, the opponent of Aurungzebe ; also the *Jey Veelas*, written in the reign of Jey Sing, son of Raj Sing. They all commence with the genealogies of the family, introductory to the military exploits of the princes whose names they bear.

The *Mumadeva Prasistha* is a copy of the inscriptions § in the temple of 'the mother of the Gods' at Komulmeer. Genealogical rolls of some antiquity were obtained from the widow of an ancient family bard, who had left neither children nor kindred to follow his profession. Another roll was procured from a priest of the Jains residing in Sanderai, in Marwar, whose ancestry had enjoyed from time immemorial the title of *Gooru*, which they held at the period of the sack of Ballabhipura in the fifth century, whence they emigrated simultaneously with the Rana's ancestors. Others were obtained from Jain priests at Jawud in Malwa. Historical documents possessed by several chiefs were readily furnished, and extracts were made from works, both Sanskrit and Persian, which incidentally mention the family. To these were added traditions or biographical anecdotes furnished in conversation by the Rana, or men of intellect amongst his chiefs, ministers, or bards, and inscriptions calculated to reconcile dates. In short, every corroborating circumstance was treasured up which could be obtained by incessant research during sixteen years. The commentaries of Baber and Jehangir, the Institutes of Akber, original grants, public and autograph letters of the emperors of Delhi and their ministers, were made to contribute more or less. Yet, numerous as are the authorities cited, the result may afford

* *Khoman* is an ancient title of the earlier princes, and still used. It was borne by the son of *Bappa*, the founder, who retired to transoxiana, and there ruled and died: the very country of the ancient Scythic *Khomani*.

† Lord of rhyme.

‡ Sea of gems.

§ These inscriptions will be described in the Personal Narrative.

but little gratification to the general reader, partly owing to the unpopularity of the subject, and partly to the inartificial mode of treating it.

At least ten genealogical lists, derived from the most oppsite sources, agree in making Kanaksen the founder of this dynasty; and assign his emigration from the most northern of the provinces of India to the peninsula of Saurashtra in S. 201, or A. D. 145. We shall, therefore, make this the point of outset; though it may be premised that Jey Sing, the royal historian and astronomer of Ambar, connects the line with Soomitra (the fifty-sixth descendant from the deified Rama), who appears to have been the contemporary of Vicramaditya, A. C. 56.

The country of which Ayodhya (now Oude) was the capital and Rama monarch, is termed, in the geographical writings of the Hindus, *Koshala*; doubtless from the mother of Rama, whose name was *Kaushalya*. The first royal emigrant from the north is styled, in the Rana's archives, *Kashala-pootra*, 'son of Koshala.,

Rama had two sons, Lob and Cush: from the former the Rana's family claim descent. He is stated to have built Lahore, the ancient Lob-kote; and the branch from which the princes of Mewar are descended resided there until Kanaksen emigrated to Dwarica. The difficulty of tracing these races through a long period of years is greatly increased by the custom of changing the appellation of the tribe, from conquest, locality, or personal celebrity. *Sen** seems to have been the martial termination for many generations: this was followed by *Dit*, or *Aditya*, a term for the 'sun'. The first change in the name of the tribe was on their expulsion from Saurashtra, when for the generic term of *Suryavansi* was substituted the particular appellation of *Gehlote*. This name was maintained till another event dispersed the family, and when they settled in Ahar,† *Aharya* became the appellative of the branch. This continued till loss of territory and new acquisitions once more transferred the dynasty to Seesoda,‡ a temporary capital in the western mounatins. The title of *Ranawut*, borne by all descendants of the blood royal since the eventful change which removed the seat of government from Cheetore to Oodipur, might in time have superseded that of *Seesodia*, in continued warfare

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* *Sen*, 'army': *kenk*, 'war.'

† *Ahar*, or *Ar*, is in the valley of the present capital, Oodipur.

‡ The origin of this name is from the trivial occurrence of the expelled prince of Cheetore having erected a town to commemorate the spot where after an extraordinarily hard chase he killed a hare (*sasa*).

had not checked the increase of population; but the Gehlote branch of the Suryavansi still retain the name of *Seesodia.*

Having premised thus much, we must retrograde to the darker ages, through which we shall endeavour to conduct this celebrated dynasty, though the clue sometimes nearly escapes from our hands in these labyrinths of antiquity.* When it is recollected to what violence this family has been subjected during the last eight centuries, often dispossessed of all but their native hills and compelled to live on their spontaneous produce, we could scarcely expect that historical records should be preserved. Cheetore was thrice sacked and destroyed, and the existing records are formed from fragments, registers of briths and marriages, or from the oral relations of the bards.

By what route Kanaksen, the first emigrant of the solar race, found his way into Saurashtra from Loh-kote, is uncertain. He, however, wrested dominion from a prince of the Pramara race, and founded Birnagara in the second century (A. D. 144). Four generations afterwads, Vijya Sen, whom the prince of Ambar calls *Noshirwan.* founded Vijyapur, supposed to be where Dholka now stands, at the head of Saurashtra peninsula. Vidarbha was also founded by him, the name of which was afterwards changed to Seehore. But the most celebrated was the capital, Ballabhipura, which for years baffled all search, till it was revealed in its now humbled, condition as Ballabhi, ten miles north-west of Bhownuggur. The existence of this city was confirmed by a celebrated Jain work, the *Satroonjya Mahatmya.*† The want of satisfactory proof of the Rana's emigration from thence was obviated by the most unexpected discovery of an inscription of the twelfth century, in a ruined temple on the table-land forming the eastern boundary of the Rana's present territory which appeals to the 'walls of Ballabhi' for the truth of the action it records. And a work written to commomorate the reign of Rana Raj Sing opens with these words, "In the west is Soorat-des,‡ a country well known:

* The wild fable which envelops or adorns the cradle of every illustrious family is not easily disentangled. The bards weave the web with skill and it clings like ivy round each modern branch, obscuring the aged stem in the time-worn branches of which monsters and demigods are perched whose claims of affinity are held in high estimation by these 'children of the sun,' who would deem it criminal to doubt the *loin-robe* (*dhoti*) of their great founder, Bappa Rawul, was less than five hundred cubits in circumference, that his two-edged sword (*khanda*), the gift of the Hindu Proserpine, weighed an ounce less than sixty-four pounds, or that he was an inch under twenty feet in height.

† Presented to the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

‡ Soorat or Saurashtra.

the *barbarians* invaded it, and conquered *Bhal-ca-nath*;* all fell in the sack of Ballabhipura, except the daughter of the Pramara." And the Sanderai roll thus commences: "When the city of Ballabhi was sacked, the inhabitants fled and founded Balli, Sanderai, and Nadole in Mordur des."† These are towns yet of consequence, and in all the Jain religion is still maintained, which was the chief worship of Ballabhipura when sacked by the *'barbarian.'* The records preserved by the Jains give S. B. 205 (A.D.524) as the date of this event.

The tract about Ballabhipura and northward is termed *bhal*, probably from the tribe of *Balla*, which might have been the designation of the Rana's tribe prior to that of Grahilote; and most probably Moolthan, and all these regions of the Catti, Balli, &c. were dependent on Lobkote, whence emigrated Kanaksen; thus strengthening the surmise of the Scythic descent of the Ranas, though now installed in the seat of Rama. The sun was the deity of this northern tribe, as of the Rana's ancestry, and the remains of numerous temples to this grand object of Scythic homage are still to be found scattered over the peninsula; whence its name, *Saurashtra*, the country of the *Sauras*, or *Sun-worshippers*; the *Surostrene* or *Syrastrene* of ancient geographers: its inhabitants, the *S u r o s* of Strabo.

Besides these cities, the MSS. give Gayni‡ as the last refuge of the family when expelled from Saurashtra. One of the poetic chronicles thus commences: "The *barbarians* had "captured Gajni. The house of Silladitya was left desolate. In its defence his heroes fell: of his seed but the name remained."

These invaders were Scythic, and in all probability a colony from the arthian kingdom, which was established in sovereignty on the Indus in the second century, having their capital at *Saminagara*, where the ancient Yadu ruled for ages; the *Minagara* § of Arrian, and the *Mankir* of the Arabian

* The 'lord of Bhal.' † Marwar.

‡ Gayni, or Gajni, is one of the ancient names of Cambay (the port of Ballabhipura), the ruins of which are about three miles from the modern city. Other sources indicate that these princes held possessions in the southern continent of India, as well as in the Saurashtra peninsula. Tilatilpur Puttun, on the Godavery, is mentioned which tradition asserts to be the city of Deogir. But which, after many years' research, I discovered in Saurashtra, it being one of the ancient names of Kundala. In after times, when succeeding dynasties held the title of Bhal-ca-rae, though the capital was removed inland to Anhulwarra Puttun, they still held possession of the western shore, and Cambay continued the chief port.

§ The position of Minagara has occupied the attention of geographers from D'Anville to Pottinger. Scinde being conquered by Omar, general of the Caliph Almansoor (Abbasi), the name of Minagara was changed to Mansoora, "une ville celebre sur le rivage droit du Sind ou Mehran."

geographers. It was by this route, through the eastern portion of the valley of the Indus, that the various hordes of Getes or Jits, Huns, Camari, Catti, Macwahana, Balla and Aswaria, had peopled this peninsula, leaving traces still visible. The period is also remarkable, when these and other Scythic hordes were simultaneously abandoning higher Asia for the cold regions of Europe and the warm plains of Hindusthan. From the first to the sixth century of the Christian era, various records exist of these irruptions from the north. Gibbon, quoting De Guignes, mentions one in the second century, which fixed permanently in the Saurashtra peninsula; and the latter, from original authorities, describes another of the Getes or Jits, styled by the Chinese *Yu-chi* in the north of India.* But the authority directly in point is that of Cosmas, surnamed Indopleustes, who was in India during the reign of Justinian, and that of the first monarch of the Chinese dynasty of Leam.† Cosmas had visited Callian, included in the Balhara kingdom; and he mentions the *Abtelites*, or white Huns, under their king Golas, as being established on the Indus at the very period of the invasion of Ballabhipura.

Ptolemee fait aussi mention de cette ville; mais en la deplacant," & D'Anville places it about 26°, but not so high as Ulug Beg, whose tables make it 26° 40'. I have said elsewhere that I had little doubt that Minagara handed down to us by the author of the *Periplus*, as the *Metropolis Skuthias*, was the *Saminagara* of the Yadu Jharejas, whose chronicles claim Sewisthan as their ancient possession, and in all probability was the strong-hold (*Nagara*) of Sambus, the opponent of Alexander. On every consideration, I am inclined to place it on the site of Sehwan. The learned Vincent, in his translation of the Periplus, enters fully and with great judgment upon this point, citing every authority, Arrian, Ptolemy, Al-Biruni, Edrisi, D'Anville, and De la Rochette. He has a note (26, p. 386, vol. i,) which is conclusive, could he have applied it, "Al-Birun [equi-distant] between Debeil and Mansura." D'Anville also says; "de Mansora a la ville nommee Birun, la distance est indipuce de quinze parasanges dans Abulfeda," who fixes it, on the authority of the Abu-Rehan (surnamed Al-Biruni from birthplace) at 26° 40'.

The ancient name of Hydrabad, the present capital of Scinde, was Neroon or Nirun, and is almost equidistant, as Abulfeda says, between Dabul (Dewul or Tatta) and Mansoora, Sehwan, or Minagara, the latitude of which according to many construction, is 26° 11'. Those who wish to pursue this may examine the Eclaircissemens sur la Carte de l'Inde p. 37 et seq., and Dr. Vincent's estimable translation, p. 386.

* See History of the Tribes, page 82, and translasion of Inscription No. I. Vide Appendix.

† Considerable intercourse was carried on between the princes of India and China from the earliest periods. But particularly during the dynasties of Sum, Leam, and Tam from the fourth to the seventh centuries, when the princes from Bengal and Malabar to the Punjab sent embassies to the Chinese monarchs. The dominions of these Hindu princes may yet be identified.

Arrian, who resided in the second century at Barugaza (Baroach), describes a Parthian sovereignty as extending from the Indus to the Nerbudda. Their capital has already been mentioned as Minagara. Whether these, the Abtelites * of Cosmas, were the Parthian dynasty of Arrian, or whether the Parthians were supplanted by the Huns, we must remain in ignorance, but to one or the other we must attribute the sack of Ballabhipura. The legend of this event affords scope for speculation, both as regards the conquerors and the conquered; and gives, at least, a colour of truth to the reputed Persian ancestry of the Rana: a subject which will be distinctly considered. The solar orb and its type and fire, were the chief objects of adoration of Silladitya of Ballabhipura. Whether to these was added that of the lingam, the symbol of Balnath (the sun), the primary object of worship with his descendants, may be doubted. It was certainly confined to these, and the adoption of 'strange gods' by the Suryavansi Gehlote is comparatively of modern invention. †

There was a fountain (*Suryacoonda*) 'sacred to the sun' at Ballabhipura, from which arose, at the summons of Silladitya (according to the legend), the seven-headed horse, Saptaswa, which draws the car of Surya, to bear him to battle. With such an auxiliary no foe could prevail. But a wicked minister revealed to the enemy the secret of annulling this aid, by polluting the sacred fountain with blood. This accomplished, in vain did the prince call on Saptaswa to save him from the strange and barbarous foe. The charm was broken, and with it sank the dynasty of Ballabhi. Who the 'barbarian' was that defiled with blood of kine the fountain of the sun, ‡

* D'Herbelot (vol. i. p. 179) calls them the *Haiathelah* or *Indoscythæ*, and says that they were apparently from Thibet, between India and China. De Guignes (tome i. p. 325) is offended with this explanation, and says: "cette conjecture ne peut avoir lieu, les Euthelites "n'ayant jamais demeuré dans le Thibet." A branch of the Huns, however, did most assuredly dwell in that quarter though we will not positively assert that they were the Abtelites. The Hya was a great branch of the lunar race of Yayati, and appears early to have left India for the northern regions, and would afford a more plausible etymology for the *Haiathelah* than the *Te-le* who dwelt on the waters (ab) of the Oxus. This branch of the Hunish race has also been termed Nephthalite, and fancied one of the lost tribes of Israel.

† Ferishta in the early part of his history, observes that, some centuries prior to Vicramaditya, the Hindus abandoned the simple religion of their ancestors, made idols, and worshipped the host of heaven, which faith they had from Cashmere, the foundry of magic superstition.

‡ Divested of allegory, it means simply that the supply of water was rendered impure, and consequently useless to the Hindus, which compelled them to abandon their defences and meet death in the open field. Alla-o-din practised the same *ruse* against the celebrated Achil, the Kheechie prince of Gagrown, which caused the surrender of this impregnable fortress. "It

whether Gete, Parthian, or Hun, we are left to conjecture. The Persian, though he venerated the bull, yet sacrificed him on the altar of Mithras.* Though the ancient Guebre purifies with the urine† of the cow, he will not refuse to eat beef; and the iniquity of Cambyses, who thrust his lance into the flank of the Egyptain Apis, is a proof that the bull was abstractedly no object of worship. It would be indulging a legitimate curiosity, could we by any means discover how these "strange' tribes obtained a footing amongst the Hindu races; for so late as seven centuries ago we find Getes, Huns, Catti, Ariaspas, Dahæ, definitively settled, and enumerated amongst the Chatees rajcula.‡ How much earlier the admission, no authority states; but mention is made of several of them aiding in the defence of Cheetore, on the first appearance of the Faith of Islam, upwards of eleven hundred years ago.

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matters not," observes an historian whose name I do not recollect, "whether such things are true. It is sufficient that they were believed. We may smile at the mention of a ghost, the evil genius of Brutus, appearing to him before the battle of Pharsalia; yet it never would have been stated, had it not assimilated with the opinions and prejudices of the age." And we may deduce a simple moral from 'the parent orb' refusing the aid of his steed to his terrestrial offspring, *viz.* that he was deserted by the deity. Fountains sacred to the sun and other deities were common to the Persians, Scythians, and Hindus, and both the last offered steeds to him in sacrifice. *Vide* History of the Tribes, article *Aswamedha*, page 58.

* The Bul-dan, or sacrifice of the bull of Bal-nath is on record, though now discontinued amongst the Hindus.

† Pinkerton, who is most happy to strengthen his aversion for the Celt, seizes on a passage in Strabo, who describes him as having recourse to the same mode of purification as the Guebre. Unconscious that it may have had a religious origin, he adduces it as a strong proof of the uncleanliness of their habits.

‡ See table, p. 63.

CHAPTER II.

Birth of Goha.—He acquises Edur.—Derivation of the term 'Gehlote.'—Birth of Bappa.—Early religion of the Gehlotes.—Bappa's history.—Oguna Panora.—Bappa's initiation into the worship of Siva.—He gains possession of Cheetore.—Remarkable end of Bappa.—Four epochs established, from the second to the eleventh century.

OF the prince's family, the queen Pushpavati alone escaped the sack of Ballabhi, as well as the funeral pyre, upon which, on the death of Silladitya, his other wives were sacrificed. She was a daughter of the Pramara prince of Chandravati, and had visited the shrine of the universal mother, Amba-Bhavani, in her native land, to deposit upon the altar of the goddess a votive offering consequent to her expectation of offspring. She was on her return, when the intelligence arrived which blasted all her future hopes, by depriving her of her lord, and robbing him, whom the goddess had just granted to her prayers, of a crown. Excessive grief closed her pilgrimage. Taking refuge in a cave in the mountains of Mallia, she was delivered of a son. Having confided the infant to a Brahminee of Birnuggur named Camalavati, enjoining her to educate the young prince as a Brahmin, but to marry him to a Rajpootnee, she mounted the funeral pile to join her lord. Camalavati, the daughter of the priest of the temple, was herself a mother, and she performed the tender offices of one to the orphan prince, whom she designated Goha, or 'cave-born. The child was a source of perpetual uneasiness to its protectors. He associated with Rajpoot children, killing birds, hunting wild animals, and at the age of eleven was totally unmanageable: to use the words of the legend, "how should they hide the ray of the sun."

At this period, Edur was governed by a chief of the savage race of Bhil; his name Mandalica. The young Goha frequented the forests in company with the Bhils, whose habits better assimilated with his daring nature than those of the Brahmins. He became a favourite with the Vana-pootras, or 'children of the forest,' who resigned to him Edur with its woods and mountains. The fact is mentioned by Abul Fuzil, and is still repeated by the bards, with a characteristic version of the incident, of which doubtless there were many. The Bhils having determined in sport to elect a king, the choice fell on Goha;

and one of the young savages, cutting his finger, applied the blood as the teeka of sovereignty to his forehead. What was done in sport was confirmed by the old forest chiefs. The sequal fixes on Goha the stain of ingratitude, for he slew his benefactor, and no motive is assigned in the legend for the deed. Goha's name became the patronymic of his descendants, who were styled *Gohilote*, classically *Grahilote*, in time softened to *Gehlote*.

We know very little concerning these early princes, but that they dwelt in this mountainous region for eight generations; when the Bhils, tired of a foreign rule, assailed Nagadit, the eighth prince while hunting, and deprived him of life and Edur. The descendants of Camalavati (the Birnuggur Brahmin), who retained the office of priest in the family, were again the preservers of the line of Ballabhi. The infant Bappa, son of Nagadit, then only three years old, was conveyed to the fortress of Bhandere,* where he was protected by a Bhil of Yadu descent. Thence he was removed for greater security to the wilds of Parassur. Within its impervious recesses rose the three-peaked (*tricuta*) mountain, at whose base was the town of Nagindra,† the abode of Brahmins, who performed the rites of the 'great god.' In this retreat passed the early years of Bappa, wandering through these alpine valleys, amidst the groves of Bal and the shrines of the brazen calf.

The most antique temples are to be seen in these spots—within the dark gorge of the mountain, or on its rugged summit,—in the depths of the forests, and at the sources of stream, were sites of seclusion, beauty, and sublimity alternately exalt the mind's devotion. In these regions the creative power appears to have been the earliest and at one time the sole object of adoration, whose symbols, the serpent-wreathed phallus (lingam), and its companion, the bull, were held sacred even by the 'children of the forest.' In these silent retreats Mahadeva continued to rule triumphant, and the most brilliant festivities of Odipur were those where his rites are celebrated in the nine days sacred to him, when the Jains and Vaishnabs mix with the most zealous of his votaries. But the strange gods of the Yumuna and Ganges have withdrawn a portion of the Gehlotes from their patron divinity Eklinga, whose dewan,‡ or vice-regent is the Rana. The temple of Eklinga, situated in

* Fifteen miles south-west of Jarrole, in the wildest region of India.

† Or Nagda, still a place of religious resort, about ten miles north of Oodipur. Here I found several very old inscriptions relative to the family, which preserve the ancient denomination *Gohil* instead of *Gehlote*. One of these is about nine centuries old.

‡ Ekling-ca-Dewan is the common title of the Rana.

one of the narrow defiles leading to the capital, is an immense structure, though more sumptuous than elegant. It is built entirely of white marble, most elaborately carved and embellished; but lying in the route of a bigotted foe, it has undergone many delapidations. The brazen bull, placed under his own dome, facing the sanctuary of the phallus, is nearly of the natural size, in a recumbent posture. It is cast (hollow) of good shape, highly polished and without flaw, except where the hammer of the Tatar had opened a passage in the hollow flank in search of treasure.*

Tradition has preserved numerous details of Bappa's † infancy, which resemble the adventures of every hero or founder of a race. The young prince attended the sacred kine, an occupation which was honourable even to the 'children of the sun,' and which they still pursue: possibly a remnat of their primitive habits. The pranks of the royal shepherd are the theme of many a Scythic tale. On the Jul Jhoolni, when swinging is the amusement of the youth of both sexes, the daughter of the Solanki chief of Nagda and the village maidens had gone to the groves to enjoy this festivity, but they were unprovided with ropes. Bappa happened to be at hand, and was called by the Rajpoot damsels to forward their sport. He promised to procure a rope if they would first have a game at marriage. One frolic was as good as another, and the scarf of the Solankini was united to the garment of Bappa, the whole of the village lasses joining hands with his as the connecting link; and thus they performed the mystical number of revolutions round an aged tree. This frolic caused his flight from Nagda, and originated his greatness, but at the same time burthened him with all these damsels; and hence a heterogeneous issue, whose descendants still ascribe their origin to the prank of Bappa round the old mango-tree of Nagda. A suitable offer being shortly after made for the young Solankini's hand, the family priest of the bridegroom, whose duty it was, by his knowledge of palmistry, to investigate the fortunes of the bride, discovered that she was already married: intelligence which threw the family into the greatest consternation. Though Bappa's power over his brother shepherds was too strong to create any dread

* Amongst the many temples where the brazen calf forms part of the establishment of Bal-Cesar, there is one sacred to Nanda alone at Naen in the valley. This lordly bull has his shrine attended as devoutly as was that of Apis at Memphis; nor will Eklinga yield to his brother Serapis. The changes of position of the Apis at Naen are received as indications of the fruitfulness of the seasons, though it is not apparent how such are contrived.

† *Bappa* is not a proper name, it signifies merely a 'child.' He is frequently styled *Syeel*, and in inscriptoins *Syeel Adhes*, 'the mountain lord.'

of disclosure as to his being the principal in this affair, yet was it too much to expect that a secret, in which no less than six hundred of the daughters of Eve were concerned, could long remain such. Bappa's mode of swearing his companions to secrecy is preserved. Digging a small pit, taking a pebble in his hand, "Swear,' cried he "secrecy and obedience to me in good and in evil; that you will reveal to me all that you hear; and failing, desire that the good deeds of your forefathers may, like this pebble (dropping it into the pit) fall into the Washerman's well."* They took the oath. The Solanki chief, however, heard that Bappa was the offender, who receiving from his faithful scouts intimation of his danger, sought refuge in one of the retreats which abound in these mountains, and which in after-times proved the preservation of his race. The companions of his flight were two Bhils: one of Oondree, in the valley of the present capital; the other of Solanki descent, from Oguna Panora, in the western wilds. Their names, Baleo and Dewa, have been handed down with Bappa's; and the former had the honour of drawing the teeka of sovereignty with his own blood on the forehead of the prince, on the occasion of his taking the crown from the Mori.

It is pleasing to trace, through a series of ages, the knowledge of a custom still 'honoured in the observance.' The descendants of Baleo of Oguna and the Oondree Bhil still claim the privilege of performing the teeka on the inauguration of the descendants of Bappa.

OGUNA PANORA is the sole spot in India which enjoys a state of natural freedom. Attached to no state, having no foreign communications, living under its own patriarchal head its chief, with the title of Rana, whom thousand hamlets scattered over the forest-crowned valleys obey, can, if requisite, appear at 'the head of five thousand bows.' He is a Bhoomia Bhil, of mixed blood, from the Solanki Rajpoot, on the old stock of pure (*oojlu*) Bhils, the autochthones (if such there be of any country) of Mewar. Besides making the teeka of blood from an incision in the thumb, the Oguna chief takes the prince by the arm and seats him on the throne, while the Oondree Bhil holds the salver of spices and sacred grains of rice† used in making the teeka.

* Deemed in the East, the most impure of all receptacles. These wells are dug at the sides of streams, and give a supply of pure water filtering through the sand.

† Hence, perhaps, the name *kushkeh* for teeka. Grains of gronnd rice in curds is the material to the primitive teeka, which the author has had applied to him by a lady in Goojargar, one of the most savage spots in India, amidst the *levy en masse*, assembled hostilely against him, but separated amicably.

But the solemnity of being seated on the throne of Mewar is so expensive, that many of these rites have fallen into disuse. Juggut Sing was the last prince whose coronation was conducted with the ancient magnificence of this princely house. It cost the sum of ninety lacks of rupees (£1,125,000), nearly one entire year's revenue of the state in the days of its prosperity, and which, taking into consideration the comparative value of money, would amount to upwards of *four millions sterling.**

To resume the narrative: though the flight of Bappa and its cause are perfectly natural, we have another episode; when the bard assuming a higher strain has recourse to celestial machinery for the *denouement* of this simple incident: but "an illustrious race must always be crowned with its proper mythology." Bappa, who was the founder of a line of a 'hundred kings,' feared as a monarch, adored as more than a mortal, and, according to the legend, 'still living (*chiranjiva,*)' deserves to have the source of his pre-eminent fortune disclosed, which, in Mewar, it were sacrilege to doubt. While he pastured the sacred kine in the valleys of Nagindra, the princely shepherd was suspected of appropriating the milk of a favourite cow to his own use. He was distrusted and watched, and although indignant, the youth admitted that they had reason to suspect him, from the habitual dryness of the brown cow when she entered the pens at eve.† He watched, and traced her to a narrow dell, when he beheld the udder spontaneously pouring its stores amidst the shrubs. Under a thicket of cane, a hermit was reposing in a state of abstraction, from which the impetuosity of the shepherd soon roused him. The mystery was revealed in the phallic symbol of the 'great God,' which daily received the lacteal shower, and raised such doubts of the veracity of Bappa.

No eye had hitherto penetrated into this natural sanctuary of the rites of the Hindu Creator, except the sages and hermits

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* Such was the pride of these small kingdoms in days of yore, and such their resources, till reduced by constant oppression! But their public works speak what they could do, and have done; witness the stupendous work of marble, and its adjacent causeway, which dams the lake of Rajsumund at Kankerowli, and which cost upwards of a million. When the spectator views this expanse of water, this 'royal sea' (*rajsumund*) on the borders of the plain; the pillar of victory towering over the plains of Malwa, erected on the summit of Cheetore by Rana Mokul; their palaces and temples in this ancient abode; the regal residence erected by these princes when ejected, must fill the observer with astonishment at the resources of the state. They are such as to explain the metaphor of my ancient friend Zalim Sing, who knew better than we the value of this country: 'every pinch of the soil of Mewar contains gold.'

† *Gaoda-luk*, the time when the cows come home.

of ancient days (of whom this was the celebrated Harita*), whom this bounteous cow also fed.

Bappa related to the sage all he knew of himself, received his blessing, and retired. But he went daily to visit him, to wash his feet, carry milk to him, and gather such wild flowers as were acceptable offerings to the deity. In return he received lessons of morality, and was initiated into the mysterious rites of Siva: and at length he was invested with the triple cordon of faith (*teen purwa zinar*) by the hands of the sage, who became his spritual guide, and bestowed on his pupil the title of 'Regent (Dewan) of Eklinga.' Bappa had proofs that his attentions to the saint and his devotions to Eklinga were acceptable, by a visit from his consort, 'the lion-born goddess.' From her hand he received the panoply of celestial fabrication, the work of Viswacarma (the Vulcan of Eastern mythology), which outvies all the arms ever forged for Greek or Trojan. The lance, bow, quiver, arrows, a shield and sword (more famed than Balisarda,) were what the goddess girded on him with her own hand: the oath of fidelity and devotion was the 'relief' of this celestial investiture. Thus initiated into the mysteries of 'the first' (*ad*), admitted under the banners of Bhavani, Harita resolved to leave his pupil to his fortunes, and to quit the worship of the symbol for the presence of deity in the mansions above. He informed Bappa of his design, and commanded him to be at the sacred spot early on the following morn. But Bappa shewed his materiality by oversleeping himself, and on reaching the spot the sage had already made some progress in his car, borne by the Apsaras, or celestial messengers. He checked his aerial ascent to give a last token of affection to his pupil; and desiring him to reach up to receive his blessing, Bappa's stature was extended to twenty cubits. But as he did not reach the car, he was commanded to open his mouth, when the sage did what was recorded as performed, about the same period, by Mahomed, who spat into the mouth of his favourite nephew, Hussein, the son of Ali. Bappa shewed his disgust and aversion by blinking, and the projected blessing fell on his foot, by which squeamishness he obtained only invulnerability by weapons instead of immortality. The saint was soon lost in the cerulean space. Thus marked as the favourite of heaven, and having learned from his mother that he was nephew to the Mori prince of Cheetore, he 'disdained a shepherd's slothful life,' and with some companions from these wilds quitted his retreat, and for the first

* On this spot the celebrated temple of Eklinga was erected, and the present high priest traces sixty-six descents from Harita to himself. To him (through the Rana) I was indebted for the copy of the Sheo (*Siva*) Puran presented to the Royal Asiatic Society.

time emerged into the plains. But as if the brand of Bhavani was insufficient, he met with another hermit in the forest of the Tiger Mount,* the famed Goruknath, who presented to him the double-edged sword,† which, with the proper incantation, could 'sever rocks.' With this he opened the road to fortune leading to the throne of Cheetore.

Cheetore was at this period held by the Mori prince of the Pramar race, the ancient lords of Hindusthan. But whether this city was then the chief seat of power is not known. Various public works, reservoirs, and bastions, yet retain the name of this race.

Bappa's connection with the Mori‡ obtained him a good reception. He was enrolled amongst the samunts or leaders, and a suitable estate conferred upon him. The inscription, of the Mori prince's reign, so often alluded to, affords a good idea of his power, and of the feudal manners of his court. He was surrounded by a numerous nobility, holding estates on the tenure of military service, but whom he had disgusted by his neglect, and whose jealousy he had provoked by the superior regard shown to Bappa. A foreign foe appearing at this time, instead of obeying the summons to attend, they threw up their grants, and tauntingly desired him to call on his favourite.§

Bappa undertook the conduct of the war, and the chiefs, though dispossessed of their estates, accompanied him from a feeling of shame. The foe was defeated and driven out of the country. But instead of returning to Cheetore, Bappa continued his course to the ancient seat of his family, Gajni, expelled the 'barbarian' called Selim, placed on the throne a chief of the Chawura tribe, and returned with the discontented nobles. Bappa, on this occasion, is said to have married the daughter

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* The *Nahra Mugra*, seven miles from the eastern pass leading to the capital, where the prince has a hunting seat surrounded by several others belonging to the nobles, but all going to decay. The tiger and wild boar now prowl unmolested, as none of the 'unlicensed' dare shoot in these royal preserves.

† They surmise that this is the individual blade which is yet annually worshipped by the sovereign and chiefs on its appropriate day, one of the nine sacred to the god of war; a rite completely Scythic. I had this relation from the chief genealogists of the family, who gravely repeated the incantation: "By the preceptor Goruknath, and the great god, Eklinga; by Takshac the serpent, and the sage Harita; by Bhabani (Pallas), strike!"

‡ Bappa's mother was a Pramar, probably from Aboo or Chandravati, near to Edur; and consequently Bappa was nephew to every Pramar in existence.

§ We are furnished with a catalogue of the tribes which served the Mori prince, which is extremely valuable, from its acquainting us with the names of tribes no longer existing.

of his enemy. The nobles quitted cheetore, leaving their defiance with their prince. In vain were the spiritual preceptor (*Gooru*) and foster-brother (*Dabhae*) sent as ambassadors; their only reply was, that as they had 'eaten his salt,' they would forbear their vengeance for twelve months. The noble deportment of Bappa won their esteem, and they transferred to him their service and homage. With the temptation of a crown, the gratitude of the Grahilote was given to the winds. On return they assaulted and carried Cheetore, and, in the words of the chronicle, "Bappa took cheetore from the Mori and became himself the mor (crown) of the land." He obtained by universal consent the title of sun of the Hindus (*Hindua suraj*), preceptor of princes (*Raj Gooru*), and universal lord (*Chukwa*).'

He had a numerous progeny, some of whom returned to their ancient seats in Saurashtra, whose descendants were powerful chieftains in that tract so late as Akber's reign.* Five sons went to Marwar, and the ancient Gohils† 'of the land of Kheir,' expelled and driven to Gohilwal, have lost sight of their ancestry, and by a singular fatality are in possession of the wreck of Ballabhipura, ignorant of its history and their connection with it, mixing with Arabs and following marine and mercantile persuits; and the office of the bard having fallen into disrepute, they cannot trace their forefathers beyond Kheirdhur.‡

The close of Bappa's career is the strangest part of the legend; and which, it might be expected, they would be solicitous to suppress. Advanced in years, he abandoned his children and his country, carried his arms west to Khorasan, and there established himself, and married new wives from among the 'barbarians,' by whom he had a numerous offspring.§

Bappa had reached the patriarchal age of one hundred when he died. An old volume of historical anecdotes belonging to the chiefs of Dailwara, states that he became an ascetic at the foot of Meru, where he was burried alive after having overcome all the kings of the west, as in Ispahan, Kandahar, Cashmere, Irak, Iran, Tooran and Cafferisthan; all of whose daughters he married, and by whom he had one hundred and thirty sons, called the Nosheyra Pathans. Each of these founded a tribe,

* See *Ayen Akberi*, who states fifty thousand Gehlotes in Sorat.

† Peparra Gohilotes.

‡ The 'land of Kheir,' on the south-west frontier of Marwar, near the Loony river.

§ The reigning prince told the author that there was no doubt of Bappa having ended his days among 'the Turks:' a term now applied to all Mahomedans by the Hindus, but at that time confined to the inhabitants of Turkishtan, the Turushka of the Purans, and the Takshac of early inscriptions.

bearing the name of the mother. His Hindu children were ninety-eight in number, and were called *Agniupasi Suryavansi*, or 'sunborn fire-worshippers.' The chronicles also record that (in like manner as did the subjects of the Bactrian king Menander, though from a different motive) the subjects of Bappa quarrelled for the disposal of his remains. The Hindu wished the fire to cousume them; the 'barbarian' to commit them to earth. But on raising the pall while the dispute was raging, innumerable flowers of the lotus were found in the place of the remains of mortality. These were conveyed and planted in the lake. This is precisely what is related of the end of the Persian Norshirwan.

Having thus briefly sketched the history of the founder of the Gehlote dynasty of Mewar, we must now endeavour to establish the epoch of this important event in its annals. Although Bappa Rawul was nine generations after the sack of Ballabhipura, the domestic annals give S. 191 (A. D. 135) for his birth; which, the bards implicitly following, have vitiated the whole chronology. An important inscription* in a character little known, establishes the fact of the Mori dynasty being in possession of Cheetore in S. 770 (A. D. 714.) Now the annals of the Rana's house expressly state Bappa Rawul to be the nephew of the Mori prince of Cheetore; that at the age of fifteen he was enrolled amongst the chieftains of his uncle, and that the vassals (before alluded to), in revenge for the resumption of their grants by the Mori, dethroned him and elevated as their sovereign the youthful Bappa. Notwithstanding this apparently irreconcilable anachronism, the family traditions accord with the inscription, except in date. Amidst such contradictions, the development of the truth seemed impossible. Another valuable inscription of S, 1024 (A. D. 968), though giving the genealogy from Bappa to Sacti Komar and corroborating that from Cheetore, and which furnished convincing evidence, was not sanctioned by the prince or his chroniclers, who would admit nothing as valid that militated against their established era 191 for the birth of their founder. After six years residence and unremitting search amid ruins, archives, inscriptions, traditions and whatever could throw light upon this point, the author quitted Oodipur with all these doubts in his mind, for Saurashtra, to prosecute his inquiries in the pristine abodes of the race. Then it was that he was rewarded, beyond his most sanguine expectations by the discovery of an inscription which reconciled these conflicting authorities and removed every

* Vide Appendix, Translation No. II.

difficulty. This marble, found in the celebrated temple of Somnath,* made mention of a distinct era *viz.* the *Ballabhi Samvat*, as being used in Saurashtra; which era was three hundred and seventy-five years subsequent to Vicramaditya.

On the sack of Ballabhi, thirty thousand families abandoned this 'city of a hundred temples;' and led by their priest found a retreat for themselves and their faith in Mordur-des (Marwar), where they erected the towns of Sanderai and Balhi, in which latter we recognize the name of the city whence they were expelled. The religion of Ballabhi and consequently of the colonists was the Jain. It was by a priest descended from the survivors of this catastrophe, and still with their descendants inhabiting those towns, that these most important documents were furnished to the author. The Sanderari roll assigns the years 305 (Ballabhi era) for the destruction of Ballabhi: another, also from Jain authority, gives 205; and as there were but nine princes from Vijya Sen, the founder, to its fall, we can readily believe the first a numerical error. Therefore, 205+375=580 S. Bicrama (A. D. 524) for the invasion of Saurashtra by 'the barbarians from the north,' and sack of Ballabhipura.

Now if from 770, the date of the Mori tablet, we deduct 580, there remains 190; justifying the pertinacity with which the chroniclers of Mewar adhered to the date given in their annals for the birth of Bappa, *viz.* 191: though they were ignorant that this period was dated from the flight from Ballabhipura.

Bappa, when he succeeded to the Mori prince, is said to have been fifteen years old; and his birth being one year anterior to the Mori inscription of 770+14=S. V. 784 (A. D. 728),† is the period for the foundation of the Gehlote dynasty in Mewar. Since which, during a space of eleven hundred years, fifty-nine princes lineally descended from Bappa have sat on the throne of Cheetore.

Though the bards and chroniclers will never forgive the temerity which thus curtails the antiquity of their founder, he is yet placed in the dawn of chivalry, when the Carlovingian dynasty was established in the west, and when Walid, whose bands planted 'the green standard' on the Ebro, was commander of the faithful.'

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* See Translation No. III.

† This will make Bappa's attainment of Cheetore fifteen years posterior to Kasim's invasion. I have observed generally a descrepancy of ten years between the Samvat and Hegira; the Hegira reckoned from the sixteenth year of Mohamed's mission, would, if employed, reconcile this difficulty.

From the deserted and now forgotten 'city of the sun,' Aitpur, the abode of wild beasts and savage Bhils, another memorial* of the princes of Mewar was obtained. It relates to the prince Sacti Kumar. Its date is S. 1024 (A. D. 968), and it contains the names of fourteen of his ancestors in regular succession. Amongst these is Bappa, or Syeel. When compared with the chronicles and family archives, it was highly gratifying to find that, with the exception of one superfluous name and the transposition of others they were in perfect accordance.

Hume says, "Poets, though they disfigure the most certain history by their fictions, and use strange liberties with truth, when they are the sole historians, as among the Britons, have commonly some foundation for the wildest exaggerations." The remark is applicable here; for their names which had been mouldering for nine centuries, far from the abode of man, are the same they had worked into their poetical legends. It was at this exact epoch that the arms of Islam, for the first time, crossed the Indus. In the ninety-fifth year of the Hegira,† Mahomed Bin Kasim, the general of the Kaliph Walid, conquered Sinde, and penetrated (according to early Arabian authors) to the Ganges; and although Elmacin mentions only Sinde, yet other Hindu states were at this period convulsed from the same cause: witness the overthrow of Manik-rae of Ajmeer, in the middle of the eighth century, by a foe 'coming in ships,' Anjar specified as the point where they landed. If any doubt existed that it was Kasim who advanced to Cheetore ‡ and was defeated by Bappa, it was set at rest by finding at this time in Cheetore 'Dahir,§ the Prince of Debeil.' Abull Fuzil records from Arabian authorities, that Dahir was lord of Sinde, and resided at his capital, Debeil, the first place captured by Kasim in 95. His miserable end, and the destruction of his house, are mentioned by the historian, and account for the son being found with the Mori prince of Cheetore.

Nine princes intervened between Bappa and Sacti Kumar, in two centuries, (twenty-two years to each reign): just the time which should elapse from the founder, who 'abandoned

* See Translation of Inscription No. IV.

† A. D. 713, or S. 769: the Inscription 770 of Maun Mori, against whom came the 'barbarian.'

‡ I was informed by a friend, who had seen the papers of Captain Macmurdo, that he had a notice of Kasim's having penetrated to Dongerpur. Had this gentleman lived, he would have thrown much light on these western antiquities.

§ By an orthographical error, the modern Hindu, ignorant of Debeil, has written Delhi. But there was one lord of Delhi at this time: he is styled Dahir, Desput (lord) of Debeil, from *des*, 'a country,' and *put*, 'the head.'

his country for Iran,' in S. 820, or A. D. 764. Having thus established four epochs in the earlier history of the family, *viz.* 1st. Kanaksen, A. D. 144; 2nd Silladitya, and sack of Ballabhi A. D. 524; 3rd establishment in Cheetore and Mewar, A. D. 720; 4th. Sacti Kumar, A. D. 1068. We may endeavour to relieve this narrative by the notices which regard their Persian descent.

CHAPTER III.

Alleged Persian extraction of the Ranas of Mewar.—Authorities for it.—Implied descent of the Ranas from a Christian Princess of Byzantium.—The author's reflections upon these points.

HISTORIC truth has, in all countries, been sacrificed to national vanity; to its gratification every obstacle is made to give way; fictions become facts, and even religious prejudices vanish in this *mirage* of the imagination. What but this spurious zeal could for a moment induce any genuine Hindu to believe that, only twelve centuries ago, 'an eater of beef' occupied the chair of Rama, and enjoyed by universal acclaim the title of 'Sun of the Hindus;' or that the most ancient dynasty in the world could owe its existence to the last of the Sassanian kings; * that a slip from such a tree could be surreptitiously grafted on that majestic stem, which has flourished from the golden to the iron age, covering the land with its branches? That there existed a marked affinity in religious rites between the Rana's family and the Guebres, or ancient Persians, is evident. With both, the chief object of adoration was the sun. Each bore the image of the orb on their banners. The chief day in the seven† was dedicated to the sun; to it is sacred the chief gate of the city, the principal bastion of every fortress. But though the faith of Islam has driven away the fairy inhabitants from the fountains of Mithras, that of Surya has still its devotees on the summit of Cheetore, as at Ballabhi; and could we trace with accuracy their creeds to a distant age, we might discover them to be of one family, worshipping the sun at the fountains of the Oxus and Jaxartes.

The darkest period of Indian history is during the six centuries following Vicramaditya, which are scarcely enlightened by a ray of knowledge. But India was undergoing great changes, and foreign tribes were pouring in from the north. To this period, the sixth century, that genealogies of the *Puranas* are brought down, which expressly declare (adopting the prophetic spirit to conceal the alterations and additions they then underwent) that at this time the genuine line of princes would be extinct, and that a mixed race would rule con-

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* Yezdegird died A. D. 651.

† *Suraj-war*, or *Adit-war*, Sun-day; and the other days of the week from the other planets, which western nations have taken from the East.

jointly with foreign barbarians; as the Turshka,* the Mauna,* the Yavan,† the Gor-ind, and Gardha-bin. There is much of truth in this; nor is it to be doubted that many of the Rajpoot tribes entered India from the northwest regions about this period. *Gór* and *Gardha* have the same signification; the first is Persian, the second in its version in Hindi, means the 'wild ass,' an appellation of the Persian monarch Bahram, surnamed *Gor* from his partiality to hunting that animal. Various authorities state Byramgor being in India in the fifth century, and his having there left progeny by a princess of Kanouj. A passage extracted by the author from an ancient Jain MSS., indicates that in "S. 523, Raja Gardha-bhela, "of Cacustha, or Suryavansa, ruled in "Ballabhipura." It has been surmised that Gardha-bhela was the son of Byramgor, a son of whom is stated to have obtained dominion at Puttun; which may be borne in mind when the authorities for the Persian extraction of the Rana's family are given.

The Hindus, when conquered by the Mahomedans, naturally wished to gild the chains they could not break. To trace a common, though distant, origin with the conquerors, was to remove some portion of the taint of dishonour which arose from giving their daughters in marriage to the Tatar emperors of Delhi; and a degree of satisfaction was derived

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* See History of the Tribes, pp. 79, 86, articles "Takshac," and "Jhala, or *Macwahana*, in all probability the *Mauna* of the *Purans*,

† The *Yavan*, or Greek princes, who apparently continued to rule within the Indus after the Christian era, were either the remains of the Bactrian dynasty, or the independent kingdom of Demetrius or Appollodotus, who ruled in the Punjab, having as their capital *Sagala*, changed by Demetrius to Euthymedia. Bayer says, in his Hist. Reg, Bact. p. 84: 'I find from Claudius Ptolemy, that there was a city within the Hydaspes yet nearer the Indus, called Sagala, also Euthymedia; but I scarcely doubt that Demetrius called it Euthy-*demia*, from his father, after his death and that of Menander. Demetrius was deprived of his patrimony A. U C. 562."

On this ancient city, Sagala, I have already said much; conjecturing it to be the *Salbhanpur* of the Yadus when driven from Zabulisthan, and that of the *Yuchi* or *Yuti*, who were fixed there from Central Asia in the fifth century, and if so early as the second century, when Ptolemy wrote, may have originated the change to *Yuti-media*, the 'Central Yuti.' The numerous medals which I possess, chiefly found within the probable limits of the Greek kingdom of Sagala, either belong to these princes or the Parthian kings of Minagara on the Indus. The legends are in Greek on one side, and in the Sassanian character on the reverse. Hitherto I have not deciphered the names of any but those of Appollodotus and Menander.' But the titles of 'Great King,' 'Saviour,' and other epithets adopted by the Arsacidæ, are perfectly legible. The devices, however, all incline me to pronounce them Parthian. It would be curious to ascertain how these Greeks and Parthians gradually merged into the Hindu population.

from assuming that the blood thus corrupted once flowed from a common fountain.*

Further to develope these claims of Persian descent, we shall commence with an extract from the *Oopdes Presad*, a collection of historic fragments in the Magadhi dialect. "In Goojur-des (Guzerat) there are eighty-four cities. In one of these, Kaira, resided the Brahmin Devadit, the expounder of the Vedas. He had an only child, Soobhaga (*'of good fortune'*) by name, at once a maiden and a widow. Having learned from her preceptor the solar incantation, incautiously repeating it, the sun appeared and embraced her, and she thence became pregnant. The affliction of her father was diminished when he discovered the parent. Nevertheless, [as others might be less charitable,] he sent her with a female attendant to Ballabhipura where she was delivered of twins, male and female. When grown up, the boy was sent to school. But being eternally plagued about his mysterious birth whence he received the nickname of *Gybie* ('concealed'), in a fit of irretation he one day threatened to kill his mother if she refused to disclose the author of his existence. At this moment the sun revealed himself. He gave the youth a pebble with which it was sufficient to touch his companions in order to overcome them. Being carried before the Balhara prince who menaced Gybie, the latter slew him with the pebble, an became himself sovereign of Saurashtra, taking the name of Silladitya† (from *silla*, 'a stone or pebble,' and *aditya*, the sun,) his sister was married to the "Rajah of Baroach."

Such is the literal translation of a fragment totally unconnected with the history of the Rana's family, though evidently bearing upon it. The father of Silladitya, according to

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* The Hindu genealogist, in ignorance of the existence of Oguz Khan, the Tatar patriarch, could not connect the chain of Chagitai with Chandra. The Brahmin, better read, supplied the defect, and with his doctrine of the metempsychosis animated the material frame of the beneficent Akber with the 'good genius' of a Hindu; and that of their mortal foe, Aurungzebe with one of evil destiny, being that of Kal-jumun, the foe of Crishna. They gravely assert that Akber visited his ancient hermitage at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, and excavated the implements of penance used by him in his former shape, as one of the sages of ancient times; while such is their aversion to Aurungzebe, that they declare the final avatar, Time (*Kal*), on his white steed, will appear in his person.

The Jessulmeer annals affirm that the whole Turkish (*Turshka*) race of Chagitai are of Yadu stock; while the Jam Jhareja of Kutch traces his descent from the Persian Jamshid, contemporary with Solomon. These are curious claims, but the Rana's family would consider such vanity criminal.

† This is probably the Silladitya of the Satrunjya Mahatmya, who paired to the temple on Satrunjya in S. 477 (A. D 421.)

the Sanderai roll and other authorities of that period, is Suraj (the sun) Rao, though to others make a Somaditya intervene.*

Let us see what Abul Fuzil says of the descent of the Ranas from Noshirwan: "the Rana's family consider themselves to be descendants of Noshirwan. They came to Berar (Berat), and became chiefs of Pernalla, which city being plundered eight hundred years prior to the writing of this book, † his mother fled to Mewar, and was protected by Mandalica Bhil, whom the infant Bappa slew, and seized his territory." ‡

The work which has furnished all the knowledge which exists on the Persian ancestry of the Mewar princes is the *Maaser-al-Omra*, or that (in the author's possession) founded on it, entitled *Bisat-al-Ganaem*, or 'Display of the Foe,' written in A.H, 1204.§ The writer of this work styles himself *Latchmi Narrain Shufeek Arungabadi*, or 'the rhymer of Arungabad.' He professes to give an account of Sevaji, the founder of the Mahratta empire; for which purpose he goes deep into the lineage of the Ranas of Mewar, from whom Sevaji was descended,‖ quoting at length the *Maaser-al-Omra*, from which

* In perusing this fragment, we are struck by the similarity of production of these Hindu Heliadæ and that of the celebrated Tatar dynasty from which Jungheez Khan was descended. The *Nuranyoz*, or 'children of light,' were from an amour of the sun with Elàncua, from which Jungheez was the ninth in descent. Authorities quoted by Petis de la Croix, in his life of this conqueror, and likewise by Marigny, in his History of the Saracens, affirm Jungheez Khan to be a descendant of Yezdegird, the last Sassanian prince. Jungheez was an idolator, and hated the very name of Mahomedan.

A courtier telling Aurungzebe of his celestial ancestry, gravely quoting the affair of the mother of the race of Timoor with the sun, the bigotted monarch coarsely replied, "Mama caba bood," which we will not translate.

† Akber commenced his reign A. D. 1555, and had been forty years on the throne when the 'Institutes' were composed by Abul Fuzil.

‡ Orme was acquainted with this passage, and shews his knowledge of the Hindu character by observing, that it was a strange pedigree to assign a Hindu prince, for Khusru, of the religion of Zoroaster, though compelled to many abstinences, was not restrained from eating beef. And Anquetil du Perron says of the Parsees, their descendants, that they have refrained since their emigration from slaying the cow merely to please the Hindu.

§ The cryptographic date is contained in the numerical value of the letters which compose the title:

B. S. A. T. a. l. G. N. A. E. M.
2. 60. 1. 9. 1. 9. 1000. 50. 1. 10. 40.

As the total is only 1183, either the date is wrong, or a deficient value given to the numerals.

‖ Wilford, who by his indefatigable research and knowledge of Sanscrit had accumulated extensive materials, unhappily deteriorated by a too credulous imagination, yet containing much valuable matter available to those sufficiently familier with the subject to select with safety, has touched on this, and almost on every other point in the circle of Hindu antiquities.

the following is a literal translation. "It is well known that the Rajahs of Oodipur are exalted over all the princes of Hind. Other Hindu princes, before they can succeed to the throne of their fathers, must receive the khushka, or tiluk of regality and investiture, from them. This type of sovereignty is received with humility and veneration. The khushka of these princes is made with human blood. Their title is Rana, and they deduce their origin from Noshirwan-i-Adil (*i.e.* the Just), who conquered the countries of————,* and many parts of Hindusthan. During his life-time his son Noshizad, whose mother was the doughter of Kesar of Room,† quitted the ancient worship and embraced the 'faith‡ of the Christians," and with numerous followers entered Hindusthan. Thence he marched a great army towards Iran, against his father Noshirwan; who despatched his general, Rambarzeen,§ with numerous forces to oppose him. An action ensued, in which Noshizad was slain; *but his issue remained in Hindusthan, from whom are descended the Ranas of Oodipur.* Noshirwan had a wife from the Khakhan‖ of China, by whom he had a son called Hormuz, declared heir to the throne shortly before his death.

Ali Ibrahim, a learned native of Benares, was Wilford's authority for asserting the Rana's Persian descent, who stated to him that he had seen the original history, which was entitled "Origin of the Peishwas from the Ranas of Mewar." (Ibrahim must have meant the Satara princes, whose ministers were the Peishwas.) From this authority three distinct emigrations of the Guebres, or ancient Persians are recorded, from Persia into Guzerat. The first in the time of Abu Beker, A.D. 631; the second on the defeat of Yazdegird, A.D. 651 and third when the descendants of Abbas began to prevail, A.D. 749. Also that a son of Noshirwan landed near Surat with eighteen thousand of his subjects, from Laristhan, and were well received by the prince of the country.

Abul Fuzil confirms this account by saying, "the followers of Zerdesht (Zoroaster), when they fled from Persia, settled in '*Surat*,' the contracted term for the peninsula of Saurashtra, as well as the city of this name."

* The names are obliterated in the original. Ferishta informs us that Ramdeo Rahtore, sovereign of Kanouj, was made tributary by Feroz 'Sassan;' and that Pertap Chund, who usurped the throne of Ramdeo, neglecting to pay this tribute, Noshirwan marched into India to recover it, and in his progress subdued Cabul and the Punjub. From the striking coincidence of these original and decisive authorities, we may rest assured that they had recourse to ancient records, both of the Guebres and the Hindus, for the basis of their histories, which research may yet discover.

† Maurice, emperor of Byzantium.

‡ *Deen-i-Tersar.* See Ebn Haukal, art. *Serir*, or Russia; whose king, a son of Byram Chassin, whom he styles a *Tersar* or Christian, first possessed it about the end of the sixth century.

§ The *Verames* of Western historians.

‖ *Khakhan* was the title of the kings of Chinese Tartary. It was held by the leader of the Huns, who at this period held power on the Caspian. It was also held by the Ooroos, Khozr, Bulgar, Serir, all terms for Russia, before its *Kesar* was cut down into *Czar*, for the original of

According to the faith of the fire-worshippers,* it is not customary either to bury or to burn the dead, but to leave the corpse exposed to the rays of the sun. So it is said that the body of Noshirwan has, to this day, suffered no decay, but is still fresh."

I now come to the account of Yezd, "the son of Shariar, the son of Khoosru, Purves the son of Hormuz, the son of Noshirwan.

"Yezd was the last king of Ajim. It is well known he fought many battles with the Mahomedans. In the fifteenth year of the Caliphat, Roostum, son of Ferock, a great chief, was slain in battle by Saidul-kas, who commanded for Omar, which was the death-blow to the fortunes of the house of Sassan: so that a remnant of it did not remain in A.H. 31, when Iran was seized by the Mahomedans. This battle had lasted four days when Roostum Ferock Zad was slain by the hand of Hillal, the son of Il Kumna, at Said's command; though Ferdusi asserts by Said himself. Thirty thousand moslems were slain, and the same number of the men of Ajim. To count the spoils was a torment. During this year (the thirty-first), the sixteenth of the prophet, † the era of the Hegira was introduced. In A.H. 17, Abu Musa of Ashur seized Hormuz, the son of the uncle of Yezdegird, whom he sent with Yezdegird's daughter to Imam Hosein, and another daughter to Abubeker.

"Thus far have I ‡ extracted from the history of the fire-worshippers. He who has a mind to examine these, let him do so. The people of the religion of Zardusht have a full knowledge of all these events, with their dates; for the pleasure of their lives is the obtaining accounts of antiquity and astronomical knowledge, and their books contain information of two and three thousand years. It is also told that when the fortunes of Yezdegird were on the wane, his family dispersed to different regions. The second daughter, Shehr Banoo, was married to Imam Hosein, who when he fell a martyr (*shuheed*), an angel carried her to heaven. The third daughter, Banoo, was seized by a plundering Arab and carried into the wilds of Chichik, thirty coss from Yezd. Praying to God for deliverance, she instantly disappeared; and the spot is still held sacred by the Parsees, and named 'the secret abode of perfect purity.' Hither, on the twenty-sixth of the month Bahman

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which, the kings of Rome, as of Russia, were indebted to the Sanscrit *Kesar*, a 'lion.'—*Vide* Ebn Haukal, art. *Khozr*.

* *Deen-i-Majoosa*; literally, 'faith of the Magi.'

† Mahomed, born A.D. 578: the Hegira, or flight, A.D. 622.

‡ It must be borne in mind that it is the author of the 'Maasser-al-Omra,' not the rhymer of Aurungabad, who is speaking.

the Parsees yet repair to pass a month in pilgrimage, living in huts under indigenous vines skriting the rock, out of whose fissures water falls into a fountain below. But if the unclean approach the spring, it ceases to flow.

"Of the eldest daughter of Yezdegird, Maha Banoo, the Parsees have no accounts; but the book of Hind give evidence to her arrival in that country, and that from her issue is the tribe Sesodia. *But, at all events, this race is either of the seed of Noshizad, the son of Noshirwan, or of that of the daughter of Yezdegird.*"*

Thus have we adduced, perhaps, all the points of evidence for the supposed Persian origin of the Rana's family. The period of the invasion of Saurashtra by Noshizad, who mounted the throne A. D. 531, corresponds well with the sack of Ballabhi, A. D. 524. The army he collected in Laristh, to depose his father might have been from the Parthians, Getes, Huns, and other Scythic races then on the Indus, though it is unlikely, with such an object in view as the throne of Persia, that he would waste his strength in Saurasthra. Khusru Purves, grand-son of Noshirwan the great, and who assumed this title according to Ferdusi, married Marian the daughter of Maurice, the Greek emperor of Byzantium. She bore him *Shirooeh* (the *Siroes* of the early Christian writers), who slew his father. It is difficult to separate the actions of the two Noshirwans, and still more to say which of them merited the epithet of *adil*, or 'just.'

According to the 'Tables' in Moreri,† Noshizad, son of Khusru the great, reigned from A. D. 531 to 591. This is opposed to the *Maaser-ul Omra*, which asserts that he was slain during his rebellion. Siroes, son of Khusru (the second Noshirwan) by his wife Marian, alternately called the friend and foe of the Christians, did raise the standard of revolt, and met the fate attributed to Noshizad; on which Yezdegird, his nephew, was proclaimed. The crown was intended for Shirooeh's younger brother, which caused the revolt, during which the elder sought refuge in India.

These revolutions in the Sassanian house were certainly simultaneous with those which occurred in the Rana's: and no barrier existed to the political intercourse at least between the

* For the extract from "the Annals of Princes (*Maaser-al Omra*)" let us laud the memory of the rhymer of Arungabad. An original copy, which I in vain attempted to procure in India, is stated by Sir William Ouseley to be in the British Museum. We owe that country a large debt, for we have robbed her of all her literary treasures, leaving them to sleep on the shelves of our public institutions.

† Vide 'Grand Dictionnaire Historique.

princely worshippers of Surya and Mithras. It is, therefore, curious to speculate even on the possiblity of such a pedigree to a family whose ancestry is lost in the mists of time. And it becomes interesting when, from so many authentic sources, we can raise testimonies which would furnish, to one even untinctured with the love of hypothesis, grounds for giving ancestors to the Ranas in Maurice of Byzantium, and Cyrus (Khusru) of Persia. We have a singular support to these historic relics in a geographical fact, that places on the site of the ancient Ballabhi a city called Byzantium, which almost affords conclusive proof that it must have been the son of Noshirwan who captured Ballabhi and Gajni, and destroyed the family of Silladitya; for it would be a legitimate occasion to name such conquest after the city where his Christian mother had birth.. Whichever of the proposition we adopt at the command of the author of 'the Annals of Princes,' namely, "that the Sesodia race is of the seed of Noshizad, son of Noshirwan, or of that of Maha-Banoo, daughter of Yezdegird," we arrive at a singular and startling conclusion, *viz.* that the Hindua Suraj, descendant of a hundred kings,' the undisputed possessor of the honours of Rama, the patriarch of the Solar race, is the issue of a Christian princess: that the chief prince amongst the nations of Hind can claim affinity with the emperors of 'the mistress of the world,' though at a time when her glory had waned, and her crown had been transferred from the Tiber to the Bosphorus.

But though I deem it morally impossible that the Ranas should have their lineage from any *male* branch of the Persian house, I would not equally assert that Maha-Banoo, the fugitive daughter of Yezdegird, may not have found a husband, as well as sanctuary, with the prince of Saurashtra; and she may be the Soobhaga (mother of Silladitya), whose mysterious amour with the 'sun'* compelled her to abandon her native city of Kaira. The *son* of Marian had been in Saurashtra, and it is therefore not unlikely that her grand child should there seek protection in the reverses of her family.—

* It will be recollected that the various authorities given, state Raja Suraj (*sun*), of Cacustha race, to be the father of Silladitya. *Cacustha* is a term used synonymously with *Suryavansa*, according to the Solar genealogists. Those who may be inclined to the Persian descent may trace it from *Kai-caous*, a well-known epithet in the Persian dynasties. I am unacquainted the etymology of Cacustha; but it may possibly be from *ca*, 'of or belonging to', *Cusa* (Cush), the second son of Rama. I have already hinted, that the Assyrian Medes might be descendants of Hyaspa, a branch of the Indu-Mede of the family of Yayati which bore the name of *Causika*.

The Salic law is here in full force; and honours, though never acquired by the female, may be stained by her. Yet a daughter of the noble house of Sassan might be permitted to perpetuate the line of Rama without the reproach of taint. *

We shall now abandon this point to the reader, and take leave of Yezdegird,† the last of the house of Sassan, in the words of the historian of Rome: "avec lui, on voit " perir pour jamais la gloire et l'empire des Perses. Les rochers du Mazendaran et les sables du Kerman, furent les seuls‡ asiles que les vaniqueurs laisserent aux sectateurs de Zoroastre."§

* "The moral consequence of pedigree," says Hume, "is differently marked by the influence of law and custom. "The male sex is deemed more noble than the female. "The association of our ideas pursues the regular descent of honours and estates from father to son, and their wives, however essential, are considered only in the light of foreign auxiliaries," (Essays, vol. ii. p. 192.) Not unlike the Rajpoot axiom, though more coarsely expressed: "It is, who planted the tree, not where did it grow," that marks his idea of the comparative value of the side whence honours originate; though purity of blood in both lines is essential.

† A new era had commenced, not of Yezdegird's accession, as is supposed, which would have been vain indeed, when the throne was tottering under him, but consequent to the completion of the grand cycle of 1440 years. He was slain at Murve in A. D. 651, the 31st of the Hegira; on the eleventh year of which or A. D. 632 (according to Moreri), he commenced his reign.

‡ Gibbon was wrong. India afforded them an asylum, and their issue constitutes the most wealthy, the most respected and the most enlightened part of the native community of Bombay and the chief towns of that presidency.

§ Gibbon, "Miscellaneous Works," *Sur la Monarchie des Medes*, vol, iii.

CHAPTER IV.

Intervening Sovereigns between Bappa and Samarsi.—Bappa's descendants.—Irruptions of the Arabians into India.—Catalogue of Hindu Princes who defended Cheetore.

HAVING established Bappa on the throne of Cheetore S. 784 (A. D. 728), we will proceed to glean from the annals, the period of his departure for Iran, S. 820 (A. D. 764) to another halting point—the reign of Samarsi, S. 1249 (A. D. 1193); an important epoch, not only in the history of Mewar, but to the whole Hindu race; when the diadem of sovereignty was torn from the brow of the Hindu to adorn that of the Tatar. We shall not, however, overleap the four intervening centuries, though we may not be able to fill up the reigns of the eighteen princes* whose "banner at this time was a golden sun on a crimsion field,"† and several of whose names yet live recorded "with an iron pen on the rock" of their native abodes.

An intermediate period, from Bappa to Samarsi, that of *Sacti Kumar*, is fixed by the Aitpur inscription in S. 1024 (A. D. 968); and from the more perishable yet excellent authority of an ancient Jain MS. the era of Ullut, the ancestor of Sacti Kumar, was S. 922 (A. D. 866), four generations anterior. From Bappa's departure for Iran in A. D. 764, to the subversion of Hindu dominion in the reign of Samarsi, in A. D. 1193, we find recorded an intermediate Islamite invasion. This was during the reign of Khoman, between A. D. 812 and 836, which event forms the chief subject of the *Khoman-Rasa*, the most ancient of the poetic chronicles of Mewar.

As the history of India at this period is totally dark, we gladly take advantage of the lights thus afforded. By combining these facts with what is received as authentic though scarcely less obscure or more exact than these native legends, we may furnish materials for the future historian. With this view, let us take a rapid sketch of the irruptions of the Arabians into India, from the rise of Islamism to the foundation of the Gaznivid empire, which sealed the fate of the Hindus. The materials are but scanty. El-Makin, in his history of the Caliphs, passes over such intercourse almost without notice. Abul Fuzil, though not diffuse, is minute in what he does say, and we can confide in his veracity. Ferishta has a chapter devoted to this subject, which merits a better translation than

* See Genealogical Table.

† This, according to the roll, was the standard of Bappa.

yet exists.* We shall, however, in the first place, touch on Bappa's descendants, till we arrive at the point proper for the introduction of the intended sketch.

Of the twenty-four tribes of Gehlote, several issued from the founder, Bappa. Shortly after the conquest of Cheetore, Bappa proceeded to Saurashtra and married the daughter of Esupgole, prince of the island of Bunderdhiva.† With his bride he conveyed to Cheetore the statue of Vyan-mata, the tutelary goddess of her race, who still divides with Eklinga the devotion of the Gehlote princes. The temple in which he enshrined this islandic goddess yet stands on the summit of Cheetore, with many other monuments assigned by tradition to Bappa. This princess bore him Aprajeet, who from being born in Cheetore was nominated successor to the throne, to the exclusion of his less fortunate elder brother, Asil (born of the daughter of the Kaba (Pramara) prince of Kalibao near Dwarica), who, however, obtained possessions in Saurashtra, and founded a race called the *Asila Gehlotes.*‡ His descendants were so numerous, even in Akber's reign, as to be supposed able to bring into the field fifty thousand men at arms. We have nothing important to record of the actions of Aprajeet, who had two sons, Khal-

* Amongst the passage which Dow has slurred over in his translation, is the interesting account of the origin of the Afghans; who, when they first came in contact with those of the new faith, in A. H. 62 dwelt around the Koh-i-Sooliman. Ferishta, quoting authority, says: "the Afghans were Copts, ruled by Pharaoon, many of whom were converted to the laws and religion of Moses. But others, who were stubborn in their worship to their gods, fled towards Hindusthan, and took possession of their country adjoining the Koh-i-Sooliman. They were visited by Kasim from Scind, and in the 143d year of the Hegira had possessed themselves of the provinces of Kirman, Peshawur, and all within their bounds, (*sinoran*)," which Dow has converted into a province. The whole geographical description of the Kohistan, the etymology of the term *Rohilla*, and other important matter, are omitted by him.

† Esupgole is stated to have held Chowal on the main land. He was most probably the father of *Venraj* Chawura, the founder of Putun Anhulwara, whose ancestors, on the authority of the *Komarpal Charitra* were princes of Bunderdhiva, held by the Portuguese since the time of Albuquerque, who changed its name to Deo.

‡ The ancient roll from which this is taken mentions Asil giving his name to a fortress, called Asilgurh. His son Beejoy Pal, was slain in attempting to wrest Khumbayet (Cambay) from Singram Dabi. One of his wives, from a violent death, was prematurely delivered of a boy, called Setoo, and as, in such cases, the Hindu supposes the deceased to become a discontented spirit (*choorail*), Chooraila became the name of the tribe. Beeja, the twelfth from Asil, obtained Sonul from his maternal uncle, Khengar Dabi, prince of Girnar, but was slain by Jey Sing Deo, prince of Surat. From these names compounded, *Dabi* and *Chooraila*, we may have the *Dabisalima* of Mahmood.

bhoj* and Nundkumar. Khalbhoj succeeded Aprajeet, and his warlike qualities are extolled in an inscription discovered by the author in the valley of Negda. Nundkumar slew Bhimsen Dor (*Doda*), and possessed himself of Deogurh in the Dekhan.

Khoman succeeded Khalbhoj. His name is remarkable in the history of Mewar. He came to the throne at the beginning of the ninth century, when Cheetore was assailed by another formidable invasion of Mahomedans. The chief object of the *Khoman Rasa* is to celebrate the defence made on this occasion, and the value of this *rasa* consists in the catalogue of the princes who aided in defending this bulwark of the Hindu faith. The bard, in an animated strain, makes his sovereign on this occasion successfully defend the 'crimson standard' of Mewar, treat with contempt the demand for tribute, and after a violent assault, in which the 'barbarians' are driven back follow and discomfit him in the plain, carrying back the hostile leader *Mahmood*, captive. With this event, which introduces the name of Mah-mood two centuries before the conqueror of Gazni, we will pause, and resume the promised sketch of the intercourse of Arabia and Hindusthan at this period.

The first intimation of the Moslems attempting the invasion of India is during the caliphat of Omar, who built the port of Bassorah at the mouth of the Tigris, chiefly to secure the trade of Guzerat and Scind; into which latter country a powerful army penetrated under Abul Aas, who was killed in battle at Arore. The Caliph Oosman, who succeeded Omar, sent to explore the state of India, while he prepared an army to invade it in person: a design which he never fulfilled. The generals of the Caliph Ali made conquests in Scind, which they abandoned at Ali's death. While Yezid was governor of Khorassan several attempts were made on India, as also during the caliphat of Abdool Melek, but without any lasting results. It

* Also called Kurna. He it was who excavated the Boraila lake, and erected the grand temple of Eklinga on the site of the hermitage of Harita, whose descendant, the present officiating priest, reckons sixty-six descents, while the princess of Mewar amount to seventytwo in the same period.

was not till the reign of Walid* that any successful invasion took place. He not only finally onquered Scind and the adjoining continent of India, but rendered tributary all that part of India on

* GEHLOTE AND CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Gehlote Princes.	Eras.		Caliphs of Bagdad and Kings of Gazni.	Eras.		Remarks.
	Samvat.	Christian.		A.H.	A.D.	
			Caliphs of Bagdad.			
Bappa, born.....	769	713	Walid (11th Caliph)	86 to 96	706 to 715	Conquered India to the Ganges.
—obtained Cheetore ...	784	728	Omar II. (13th do.)	99 to 102	718 to 721	Scind conquered. The Mori Prince of Cheetore attacked by Mahmud (son of Kasim) the General of Amar.
—governs Mewar.....	—	—	Hushan (15th do,)	104 to 125	723 to 742	Battle of Tours, A. D. 732, and defeat of the Caliph's army, under Abdulrahman, by Charles Martel.
—abandons Cheetore....	820	764	Al-Mansoor (21st do.)	136 to 158	754 to 775	Final conquest of Scind, and the name of its capital, Arore, changed to Mansoora. Bappa, founder of the Gehlote race in Mewar, retires to Iran.
Aprajeet.						

Khalbhoj	—	—	Haroon al Rashid (24th do.)	198 to 218	813 to 833	Partition of the caliphat amongst Haroon's sons. The second, Al-Mamoon, obtains Zabulisthan, Scind, and India, and ruled them till A. D. 813, when he became Caliph.
Khoman	868 to 892	812 to 836	Al-Mamoon (26th do.)	198 to 218	813 to 833	Invasion and attack on Cheetore from Zabulisthan.
Bhartribhat.						
Sing-ji.						
Ullut.						
Nurbahan.						
Salbahan.			Kings of Gazni.			
Sacti Kumar	1024	968	Aleptigin	350	957	Inscription of Sacti-kumar from ruins of Aitpur.
Umba Pussao,						
Narvarma	—	—	Soobektegin	567	977	Invasion of India.
Jussoovarma	—	—	Mahmood	367 to 418	997 to 1007	Invasions of India, destruction of Aitpur.

this side the Ganges.* What an exalted idea must we not form of the energy and rapidity of such conquests, when we find the arms of Islam at once on the Ganges and the Ebro, and two regal dynasties simultaneously cut off, that of Roderic, the last of the Goths of Andaloos, and Dahir Despati in the valley of the Indus. It was in A. H. 99 (A. D. 718, S. 777) that Mahomed bin Kasim vanquished and slew Dahir prince of Scind, after numerous conflicts. Amongst the spoils of victory sent to the Caliph on this occasion were the daughters of the subjugated monarch, who were the cause of Kasim's destruction,† when he was on the eve of carrying the war against Raja Harchund of Kanouj. Some authorities state that he actually prosecuted it; and as Scind remained a dependency of the caliphat during several successive reigns, the successor of Kasim may have executed his plans. Little is said of India from this period to the reign of Al-Mansoor, except in regard to the rebellion of Yezid in Khorassan, and the flight of his son to Scind. The eight sovereigns, who rapidly followed, were too much engaged with the Christians of the west and the Huns on the Caspian to think of India. Their armies were then in the heart of France, which was only saved from the Koran by their overthrow at Tours by Charles Martel.

Al-Mansoor, when only the lieutenant of the Caliph Abbas, held the government of Scind and of India, and made the island of Bekher on the Indus, and the adjacent Arore,† the ancient capital, his residence, naming it Mansoora; and it was during his government that Bappa Rawul abandoned Cheetore for Iran.

The celebrated Haroon al Rashid, contemporary of Charlemagne, in apportioning his immense empire amongst his sons, gave to the second, Al-Mamoon, Khorassan, Zabulisthan, Cabulishthan, Scind, and Hindusthan.§ Al-Mamoon, on the death of Haroon, deposed his brother, and became caliph in A. H. 198 or A. D. 813, and ruled to 833, the exact period of the reign of Khoman, prince of Cheetore. The domestic history

Marigny (quoting El-Makin) Hist. of the Arabians, vol. ii. p. 283 Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. ii. p. 47.

"The two young princesses, in order to revenge the death of their father, represented falsely to the Khalif that Mahommed Kasim had been connected with them. The Khalif, in a rage, gave order for Mahammed Kasim to be sewed up in a raw hide, and sent in that condition to court. When the mandate arrived at Tatta, Kasim was prepared to carry an expedition against Harchund, monarch of Kanouj. When he arrived at court, the Khalif shewed him to the daughters of Dahir, who expressed their joy upon beholding their father's murderer in such a condition." Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 119.

† Arore is seven miles east of Bekher.

§ Marigny, vol. iii. p. 83. Univ. Hist. vol. ii. p. 162.

brings the enemy assailant of Cheetore from Zabulisthan: and as the leader's name is given '*Mahmood Khorasun Put*,' there can be little doubt that it is an error arising from ignorance of the copyist, and should be *Mahmoon*.

Within twenty years after this event, the sword of conquest and conversion was withdrawn from India, and Scind was the only province left to Motawekel (A. D. 850), the grandson of Haroon. For a century after him the throne of Bagdad, like that of ancient Rome, was sold by her prætorians to the highest bidder. From this time we find no mention whatever of Hindusthan, or even of Scind, until Soobektegin,* governor of Khorassan, hoisted the standard of independent sovereignty at Gazni. In A. H. 365 (A. D. 975) he carried his arms across the Indus, forcing the inhabitants to abandon the religion of their ancestors, and to read the Koran from the altars of Bal and Crishna. Towards the close of this century he made his last invasion, accompanied by his son, the celebrated Mahmood, destined to be the scourge of the Hindu race, who early imbibed the paternal lesson inculcating the extirpation of infidels. Twelve several visitations did Mahmood make with his Tatar hordes, sweeping India of her riches, destroying her temples and architectural remains, and leaving the country plunged in poverty and ignorance. From the effect of these incursions she never recovered. For though she had a respite of a century between Mahmood and the final conquest, it was too short to repair what it had cost ages to rear. The temples of Somnath, of Cheetore, and Girnar are but types of the magnificence of past times. The memorial of Sacti Kumar proves him to have been the contemporary of Soobektegin, and to one of his son's visitations is attributed the destruction of the 'city of the sun' (Aitpur),† his capital.

Having thus condensed the little information afforded by Mahomedan historians of the connection between the caliphs of Bagdad and princes of Hind, from the first to the end of the fourth century of the Hegira, we shall revert to the first recorded attack on the Mori prince of Cheetore, which brought Bappa into notice. This was either by Yezid or Mahomed bin Kasim from Scind. Though in the histories of the caliphas we can only expect to find recorded those expeditions which were successful, or had some lasting results, there are inroads of their revolted lieutenants or their frontier deputies, which frequently, though indistinctly, alluded to in Hindu annals, have no place in Mahomedan records. Throughout the period mentioned,

* His father's name was Aleptegin, termed a slave by Ferishta and his authorities; though El-Makin gives him an ancestor in Yezdegird.

† *Ait*, Contracted from *Aditya*: hence *Ait-nar*, 'Sunday.'

there was a stir amongst the Hindu nations, in which we find confusion and dethronement from an unkown invader, who is described as coming sometimes by Scind, sometimes by sea, and not unfrequently as a demon and magician; but invariably as *mlectcha*, or 'barbarian.'* From S. 750 to S. 780 (A. D. 694 to 724), the annals of the Yadus, the Chohans, the Chawuras, and the Gehlotes, bear evidence to simultaneous convulsion in their respective houses at this period. In S. 750 (A. H. 75), the Yadu Bhatti was driven from his capital Salpura in the Punjab, across the Sutledge into the Indian desert; the invader name Ferid. At the same period, Manika Rae, the Chohan prince of Ajmeer, was assailed and slain.

The first of the Keechie princes who occupied the Do-abeh of Scind-sagur in the Punjab, as well as the ancestor of the Haras established in Golconda, was expelled at the same time. The invader is treated in the genuine Hindu style as a danoo, or demon, and is named 'Gyraram,' (*i. e.*, restless) from *Gujli-hund*,† a term geographically given to a portion of the Himalaya mountains about the glaciers of the Ganges. The ancestor of the founder of Putun was expelled from his petty islandic

* Even from the puerilities of Hindu legends something may be extracted. A mendicant derveish, called Roshun Ali (*i. e.* the '*light* of Ali)' had found his way to Gurh Beetli (the ancient name of the Ajmeer fortress), and having thrust his hand into a vessel of curds destined for the Rajah, had his finger cut off. The disjoined member flew to Mecca, and was recognized as belonging to the saint. An army was equipped in the disguise of horse-merchants, which invaded Ajmeer, whose prince was slain. May we not gather from this incident, that an insult to the first Islamite missionary in the person of Roshun Ali, brought upon the prince the arms of the Caliph? The same Chohan legends state that Ajipal was prince of Ajmeer at this time; that in this invasion by sea he hastened to Anjar (on the coast of Cutch), where he held the 'guard of the ocean' (*Samoodra ca Chouky*), where he fell in opposing the landing. An alter was erected on the spot, on which was sculptured the figure of the prince on horseback, with his lance at rest and which still annually attracts mulitudes at the 'fair (mela) of Ajipal.'

The subsequent invasion alluded to in the text, of S. 750 (A. D. 694), is marked by a curious anecdote. When the 'Assors' had blockaded Ajmeer, Lot, the infant son of Manika Rae, was playing on the battlements, when an arrow from the foe killed the heir of Ajmeer who has ever since been worshipped amongst the lares and penates of the Chohans; and as he had on a silver chain anklet at the time, this ornament is forbid to the children of the race. In all these Rajpoot families there is a pootra (*Adolescens*) amongst the penates, always one who has come to an untimely end, and chiefly worshipped by females; having a strong resemblance to the rites in honour of Adonis. We have traced several Roman and Grecian terms to Sanscrit origin; may we add that of *lares*, from *larla*, 'dear' or beloved?'

† Signifying 'Elephant forests,' and described in a Hindu map (stamped on cloth and painted) of India from Gujlibund to Lanka, and the provinces, west of the Indus to Calcutta, presented by me to the Royal Asiatic Society.

dominion on the coast of Saurashtra at the same time. This is the period when Yezid was the caliph's lieutenant in Khorassan, and when the arms of Walid conquered to the Ganges. Nor is there a doubt that Yezid or Kasim was the author of all these revolutions in the Hindu dynasties. We are supported in this by the names of the princes contained in the catalogue, who aided to defend Cheetore and the Mori prince on this occasion. It is evident that Cheetore was, alternately with Oojein, the seat of sovereignty of the Pramara at this period, and, as it became the rallying point of the Hindus, that this race was the first in consequence. We find the prince of Ajmeer, and the quotas of Saurashtra and Guzerat; Ungutsi, lord of the Huns; Boosa, the lord of the North; Seo, the prince of the Jharejas; the Johya, lord of Junguldes; the Aswuria, the Seput, the Koolhur, the Malun, the Ohir, the Hool, and many others having nothing of the Hindu in name, now extinct. But the most conspicuous is "Dahir Despati from Deweil." This is erroneously written Delhi, the seat of the Tuars: where

* The list of the vassal princes at the court of the Mori confirms the statement of the bard Chund, of the supremacy of Ram Pramara, and the partition of his dominion, as described (see p. 47, note) amongst the princes who founded separate dynasties at this period, hitherto in vassalage or subordinate to the Pramara. We can scarcely suppose the family to have suffered any decay since their ancestor Chandragupta, was connected by marriage with, as well as the ally of, the Grecian Seleucus, and who held Greeks in his pay. From such connection, the arts of sculpture and architecture may have derived a character hitherto unnoticed. Amidst the ruins of Barolli are seen sculptured the Grecian helmet; and the elegant ornament, the *Camcoomp*, or 'vassel of desire,' on the the temple of *Anna-purna* (*i. e.*, giver of food') the Hindu Ceres, has much affinity to the Grecian device.

From the inscription (see No. 2,) it is evident that Cheetore was an appanage of Oojein, the seat of Pramar empire. Its monarch, Chandragupta (Mori), degraded into the barber (maurya) tribe, was the descendant of Srenica, prince of Rajgraha, who, according to the Jain work *Calpoodrum Calka*, flourished in the year 477 before Vicramaditya, and from whom Chandragupta was the thirteenth in descent. The names are as follows: Konika, Oodsen, and nine in succession of the name of Nanda, thence called the *No-nanda*. These, at twenty-two years to a reign (see p. 59), would give 286 years, which—477—191 S. V.—56—247 A. C. Now it was in A. C. 260, according to Bayer, that the treaty was formed between Selucus and Chandragupta. So that this scrap of Jain history may be regarded as authentic and valuable. Asoca (a name of weight in Jain annals) succeeded Chandragupta, he by Koonal, whose son was Sumpriti, with whose name ends the line of Srenika, according to the authority from which I made the extract. The name of Sumpriti, is well known from Ajmeer to Saurashtra, and his era is given in a valuable chronogrammatic catalogue in an ancient Jain Mss. from the temple of Nadole, at 202 of the Virat Samvat. He is mentioned both traditionally and by books, as the great supporter of the Jain faith, and the remains of temples dedicated to Mohavira, erected by this prince, yet exist at Ajmeer, on Aboo, Komulmeer, and Girnar. See *Plates*.

as we recognize the name of the prince of Scind, slain by Kasim, whose expatriated son doubtless found refuge in Cheetore.

This attack on the Mori prince was defeated chiefly through the bravery of the youthful Gehlote. The foe from Gujlibund, though stated to have advanced by Mathura, retreated by Saurashtra and Scind, pursued by Bappa. He found the ancient seat of his ancestors, Gajni,* still in the possession of the 'Assoor:' a term as well as *mletcha*, or 'barbarian,' always given to the Islamite at this period. Selim, who held Gajni, was attacked and forced to surrender, and Bappa inducted into this stronghold of his ancestors a nephew of his own. It is no less singular than honourable to their veracity, that the annals should record the fact, so contrary to their religion, of Bappa having married the daughter of the conquered Selim. We have a right to infer that it was from the influence acquired by this union, that he ultimately abandoned the sovereignty of Mewar and the title of 'Hindua Sooraj,' to become the founder of the 'one hundred and thirty tribes of Nosheyra Pathans' of the west. It is fair to conclude from all these notices regarding the founder of the Gehlote race in Cheetore, that he must have abjured his faith for that of Islam; and it is probable (though the surmise must ever remain unproved), that, under some new title applicable to such change, we may have, in one of the early distinguished leaders of 'the Faith,' the ancestor of the Gehlotes.

Let us now proceed to the next irruption of the Islamite invaders in the reign of Khoman, from A.D. 812 to 836. Though the leader of this attack is styled 'Mahmood Khorasan Put,' it is evident from the catalogue of Hindu princes who came to defend Cheetore, that this 'lord of Khorasan' was at least two centuries before the son of Soobektegin; and as the period is in perfect accordance with the partition of the caliphat by Haroon amongst his sons, we can have no hesitation in assigning such invasion to Mahmoon, to whose share was allotted Khorasan, Scind, and the Indian dependencies. The records of this period are too scanty to admit of our passing

* It has already been stated that the ancient name of Cambay was Gayni or Gajni, whose ruins are three miles from the present city. There is also a Gajni on the estuary of the Myhie, and Abul Fuzil incidentally mentions a *Gujnagur* as one of the most important fortresses of Guzerat, belonging to Ahmed Shah; in attempting to obtain which by stratagem, his antagonist, Hoshung, king of Malwa, was made prisoner. I am unaware of the site of this place, though there are remains of an extensive fortress near the capital, founded by Ahmed, and which preserves no name. It may be the ancient Gujnagur.

over in silence even a barren catalogue of names, which, as texts, with the aid of collateral information, may prove of some benefit to the future antiquarian and historian.

"From Gajuni came the Gehlote; the Tak from Aser; from Nadolaye the Chohan; the Chalook from Rahirgurh; from Set-Bunder the Jirkera; from Mundore the Khairavi; from Mangrole the Macwahana; from Jeitgurh the Joria; from Taragurh the Rewur; the Catchwaha from Nirwur; from Sanchore the Kalum; from Joengurh the Dussanoh; from Ajmeer the Gor; from Lohadurgurh the Chundano; from Kasoondi the Dor; from Delhi the Tuar, from Patun the Chawura, preserver of royalty (*Rijdhur*); from Jhalore the Sonigurra; from Sirohi the Deora; from Gagrown the Keechie; the Jadoo from Joonagurh; the Jhala from Patri; from Kanouj the Rahtore; from Chotiala the Balla; from Perungurh the Gohil; from Jesulgurh the Bhatti; the Boosa from Lahore; the Sankla from Roneja; the Sehut from Kherligurh; from Mandelgurh the Nacoompa; the Birgoojur from Rajore; from Kurrungurh the Chundail; from Sikur the Sikurwal; from Omergurh the Jaitwa; from Palli the Birgota; from Khunturgurh the Jareja; from Jirgah the Kherwur; from Cashmere the Purihara."

Of the Gehlote from Gajuni we have said enough; nor shall we comment on the Tak, or his capital, Aser, which now belongs to the British government. The Chohan, who came from Nadolaye, was a celebrated branch of the Ajmeer house, and claims the honour of being the parent of the Sonigurras of Jhalore and the Deoras of Sirohi. Nadole * is mentioned by Ferishta as falling a prey to one of Mahmood's invasions, who destroyed its ancient temples; but from erroneous punctuation it is lost in the translation as Bazule. Of Rahirgurh and the Jirkhera from Setbunder (on the Malabar coast) nothing is known. Of the Kheiravi from Mundore, we can only say that it appears to be a branch of the Pramaras (who reckoned Mundore one of the nine strongholds, '*Nokote*,' under its dominion), established anterior to the Puriharas, who at this period had sovereignty in Cashmere. Both the Dor and his capital, Dussoondi, are described in ancient books as situated on the Ganges below Kanouj.

* I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society two inscriptions from Nadole, one dated S. 1024, the other 1039. They are of Prince Lakha, and state as instances of his power, that he collected the transit duties at the further barrier of Putun, and levied tribute from the prince of Cheetore. He was the contemporary of Mahmood, who devasted Nadole. I also discovered inscriptions of the twelfth century relative to this celebrated Chohan family, in passing from Oodipur to Jodhpur.

It is a subject of regret that the annals do not mention the name of the Tuar prince of Delhi, which city could not have been re-founded above a century, when this call was made upon its aid. Abul Fuzil, Ferishta, their translators and those who have followed them, have been corrected by the *Edinburgh Review*, whose critical judgment on this portion of ancient history is eminently good. I possess the original Hindu record used by Abul Fuzil, which gives S. 429 for the first Anungpal, instead of S. 429; and as there were but nineteen princes who intervened until his dynasty was set aside by the Chohan, it requires no argument to support the *four* instead of *eight* centuries. The former will give the just average of twenty-one years to a reign. The name of Anungpal was titular in the family, and the epithet was applied to the last as to the first of the race.

The name of the Chawura prince of Putun (Anhulwara) being recorded amongst the auxiliaries of Khoman, is another satisfactory proof of the antiquity of this invasion; for this dynasty was extinct, and succeeded by the Solankis, in S. 998 (A.D. 942), fifty years prior to Mahmood of Gazni, who captured Putun during the reign of Chaond, the second Solanki prince.

The Sonigurra, who came from Jhalore, is a celebrated branch of the Chohan race, but we are ignorant of the extent of time that it held this fortress: and as nothing can invalidate the testimonies afforded by the names of the Chawura of Putun, the Cutchwaha of Nirwur, the Tuar of Delhi, and the Rahtore from Kanouj, there can be no hesitation at pointing out the anachronisms of the chronicle, which states the Deora from Sirohi, the Keechie from Gagrown, or the Bhatti from Jessulgurh, amongst the levies on this occasion: and which we must affirm to be decided interpolations, the first two being at that period in possession of the Pramara, and the latter not erected for three centuries later. That the Deoras, the Keechies, and the Bhattis, came to the aid of Khoman, we cannot doubt. But the copyist, ignorant even of the names of the ancient capitals of these tribes, Chotun, Sind-Sagur, and Tannote, substituted those which they subsequently founded.

The Jadu (Yadu) from Joonagurn (Girnar), was of the race of Crishna, and appeared long to have held possession of this territoy; and the names of the Khengars, of this tribe, will remain as long as the stupendous monuments they reared on this sacred hill. Besides the Jadu, we find Paurashtra sending from the Jhalas, the Ballas and the Gohils to the aid of the descendant of the lord of Ballabhipura, whose paramount authority they once all acknowledged, and who appeared to have long maintained influence in that distant region.

Of the tribe of Boosa, who left their capital, Lahore, to succour Cheetore, we have no mention, further than the name being enumerated amongst the unassigned tribes of Rajpoots.* Ferishta frequently notices the prince of Lahore in the early progress of Islamism, though he does not tell us the name of the tribe. In the reign of the Caliph Al-Mansoor, A.H. 143 (A.D. 761), the Afghans of Kirman and Peshawur, who according to this authority were a Coptic colony expelled from Egypt, had increased in such numbers as to abandon their residence about the 'hill of Suliman,' and crossing the Indus, wrested possessions from the Hindu princes of Lahore. This frontier warfare with a tribe which, though it had certainly not then embraced the faith of Islam, brought to their succour the forces of the Caliph in Zabulisthan, so that in five months seventy battles were fought with varied success. But the last, in which the Lahore prince carried his arms to Peshawur,† produced a peace. Hence arose a union of interests between them and the hill tribe of Ghiker; and all the Kohistan west of the Indus was ceded to them, on the condition of guarding this barrier into Hindusthan against invasion. For this purpose the fortress of Khyber was erected in the chief pass of the Koh-i-Damaun. For two centuries after this event, Ferishta is silent on this frontier warfare, stating that henceforth Hindusthan was only accessible through Scind. When Aliptegin first crossed the Indus, the prince of Lahore and the Afghans still maintained this alliance and united to oppose him. Jeipal was then prince of Lahore; and it is on this event that Ferishta, for the first time, mentions the tribe of Bhatti,‡ "at the advice of whose prince he conferred the command of the united forces on an Afghan chief," to whom he assigned the provinces of Mooltan and Limgham. From this junction of interests the princes of Lahore enjoyed comparative security, until Soobektegin and Mahmood compelled the Afghans to serve them: then Lahore was captured. The territory dependent upon Lahore, at this period, extended from Sirhind to Limgham, and from Cashmere to Mooltan. Bhatinda divided with Lahore the residence of its princes. Their first encounter was at Limgham, on which occasion young Mahmood first distinguished himself, and as the historian says, "the eyes of the heavens were obscured at seeing his deeds."§ A tributary engagement was the result,

* See page 126.

† The scene of action was between Peshawur and Kirman, the latter lying ninety miles south-west of the former.

‡ Dow omits this in his translation.

§ The sense of this passage has been quite perverted by Dow.

which Jeipal soon broke; and being aided by levies from all the princes of Hindusthan, marched an army of one hundred thousand men against Soobektegin, and was again defeated on the banks of the Indus. He was at length invested and taken to Bhattinda by Mahmood, when he put himself to death. The successors of Jeipal are mentioned merely as fugitives, and always distinct from the princes of Delhi. It is most probable that they were of the tribe termed Boosa in the annals of Mewar, possibly a sub-division of another; though Ferishta calls the prince of Lahore a Brahmin.

The Sankla from Roneja, both tribe and abode, are well khown. It is a sub-divition of the Pramara. Hurba Sankla was the Paladin of Marwar, in which Roneja was situated.

The Sehat from Kherligurh was a northern tribe dwelling about the Indus, and though entirely unknown to the modern genealogists of India, is frequently mentioned in the early history of the Bhattis, when their possessions extended on both sides of the Hyphasis. As intermarriages between the Bhattis and Sehats are often spoken of, it must have been Rajpoot. It most probably occupied the province of Sewad, the *Suvat* of D' Anville, a division of the province of Ash-nagar, where dwelt the Asaseni of Alexander; concerning which this celebrated geographer says, "il est mention de Suvat comme d' un canton du pays d' Ash-nagar dans la meme geographie Turque." (Ecl. page 25.) The whole of this ground was sacred to the Jadu tribe from the most remote antiquity, from Mooltan, the hills of Joud, to Aswini-kote (the *Tshchin-kote* of D' Anville) which, being built on the point of confluence of the Choaspes of the Greeks with the Indus, marks the spot where dwelt the Asaseni, corroborated by the Puranas, which mention the partition of all these territories amongst the sons of Bajaswa, the lord of Kampilnagara, the grand sub-division of the Yadu race. In all likelihood, the Sehat, who came to the aid of Khoman of Cheetore, was a branch of these Asaseni, the opponents of Alexander. The modern town of Deenkote appears to occupy the site of Aswini-kote, though D' Anville feels inclined to carry it into the heart of Bijore and place it on the rock (*silla*) Aornus. Such is the Sehat; not improbably the *Soha*, one of the eight sub-divisions of the Yadu.* When, in S. 785, the Bhatti chief Rao Tannoo was driven across the Sutledge, the Sehats are mentioned with other tribes as forming the army of Hussein Shah, with the Barahas, the Joudis, and Johyas (the Juds and Jinjohyas of Baber,) the Bootas, and the 'men of Doode.'

* See page 91.

The Chundail, from Kurrungurh, occupied the tracts now termed Boondelkhund.

We shall pass over the other auxiliary tribe and conclude with the Purihar, who came from Cashmere on this occasion: a circumstance entirely overlooked in the dissertation on this tribe.* Nor does this isolated fact afford room form further discussion on a race which expelled the Pramaras from Mundore.

Such aids, who preserved Khoman when assailed by the 'Khorasan Put,' fully demonstrate the antiquity of the annals, which is further attested by inscriptions. Khoman fought twenty-four great battles, and his name, like that of Cæsar, became a family distinction. At Oodipur, if you make a false step, or even sneeze, you hear the ejaculation of 'Khoman aid you!' Khoman, by the advice of the Brahmins, resigned the Gadi to his younger son, Jograz. But again resumed it, slaying his advisers and execrating the name of Brahmin, which he almost exterminated in his own dominions. Khoman was at length slain by his own son, Mangul. But the chiefs expelled the parricide, who seized upon Lodurwa in the northern desert, and there established the Mangulia Gehlotes.

Bhartribhut (familiarly Bhatto) succeeded. In his reign, and in that of his successor, the territory dependent on Cheetore was greatly increased. All the forest tribes, from the banks of the Myhie to Aboe, were subjugated, and strongholds erected, of which Dhorungurh and Ujargurh still remain to maintain them. He established no less than thirteen † of his sons in independent possessions in Malwa and Guzerat, and these were distinguished as the Bhatewra Gehlotes.

We shall now leap over fifteen generations; which, though affording a few interesting facts to the antiquarian, would not amuse the general reader. We will rest satisfied with stating, that the Chohans of Ajmeer and the Gehlotes of Cheetore were alternately friends and foes; that Doorlub Chohan was slain by Bersi Raoul in a grand battle fought at Kowario, of which the Chohan annals state 'that their princes were now so powerful as to oppose the chief of Cheetore.' Again, in the next reign, we find the renowned Beesuldeo, son of Doorlub, combining with Raoul Tejsi of Cheetore to oppose the progress of Islamite invasion: facts recorded by inscriptions as well as by the annals. We may close these remarks on the fifteen princes, from Khoman to Samarsi, with the words of Gibbon on the

* See page 103.

† By name Koolanugger, Champanair, Choreta, Bhojpur, Loonara, Neemthore, Sodaru, Jodghur, Sandpur, Aetpur, and Gungabheva. The remaining two are not mentioned.

dark period of Guelphic annals: "It may be presumed that they were illiterate and valiant; that they plundered in their youth, and reared churches in their old age; that they were fond of arms, horses, and hunting;" and we may add, continued bickering with their vassals within, when left unemployed by the enemy from without.

CHAPTER V.

Historical facts furnished by the bard Chund.—Anungpal.—Prithwi Raj.—Samarsi.—Overthrow of the Cholan monarch by the Tatars.—Posterity of Samarsi.—Rahup—Changes in the title and the tribe of its princes.—Successors of Rahup.

ALTHOUGH the whole of this chain of ancestry, from Kanaksen in the second, Vijya the founder of Ballabhi in the fourth, to Samarsi in the thirteenth century cannot be discriminated with perfect accuracy, we may affirm, to borrow a metaphor, that "the two extremities of it are rivetted in truth": and some links have at intervals been recognized as equally valid. We will now extend the chain to the nineteenth century.

Samarsi was born in S. 1206. Though the domestic annals are not silent on his acts, we shall recur chiefly to the bard of Delhi* for his character and actions, and the history of the period. Before we proceed, however, a sketch of the political condition of Hindusthan during the last of the Tuar sovereigns of Delhi, derived from this authority and in the bard's own words, may not be unacceptable. "In Putun is Bhola Bheem the Chalook, of iron frame; on the mountain Aboo, Jeit Pramara, in battle immoveable as the star of the north. In Mewar is Samar Sing, who takes tribute from the mighty, a wave of iron in the path of Delhi's foe. In the

* The work of Chund is a universal history of the period in which he wrote. In the sixty-nine books, comprizing one hundred thousand stanzas, relating to the exploits of Prithwi Raj, every noble family of Rajasthan will find some record of their ancestors. It is accordingly treasured amongst the archieves of each race having any pretensions to the name of Rajpoot. From this he can trace his martial forefathers who 'drank of the wave of battle' in the passes of Kirman, when, the cloud of war rolled from Himachal to the plains of Hindusthan. The wars of Prithwi Raj, his alliances, his numerous and powerful tributaries, their abodes and pedigrees, make the works of Chund invaluable as historic and geographical memoranda, besides being treasures in mythology, manners, and the annals of the mind. To read this poet well is a sure road to honour, and my own *Gooru* was allowed, even by the professional bards, to excell therein. As he read, I rapidly translated about thirty thousand stanzas. Familiar with the dialects in which it is written, I have fancied that I seized occasionally the poet's spirit; but it were presumption to suppose that I embodied all his brilliancy, or fully comprehended the depth of his allusions. But I knew for whom he wrote. The most familiar of his images and sentiments I heard daily from the mouths of those around me, the descendants of the men whose deeds he rehearses. I was enabled thus to seize his meaning, where one more skilled in poetic lore might have failed, and to make my prosaic version of some value.

midst of all, strong in his own strength, Mundore's prince, the arrogant Nahar Rao, the might of Maroo, fearing none. In Delhi the chief of all Anunga, at whose summons attended the princes of Mundore, Nagore, Scind, Julwut * and others on its confines, Peshawur, Lahore, Kangra and its mountain chiefs, with Kasi, † Prayag, ‡ and Gurh Deogir. The lords of Seemar § were in constant danger of his power." The Bhatti, since their expulsion from Zabulisthan, had successively occupied as capitals, Salbahana in the Punjab, Tannote, Derawul, which last they founded, and the ancient Lodurwa, which they conquered in the desert; and at the period in question were constructing their present residence, Jessulmeer. In this nook they had been fighting for centuries with the Lieutenants of the Caliph at Arore, occasionally redeeming their ancient possessions as far as the city of the Tak on the Indus. Their situation gave them little political interest in the affairs of Hindusthan until the period of Prithwi Raj, one of whose principal leaders, Achiles, was the brother of the Bhatti prince. Anungapal, from this description, was justly entitled to be termed the paramount sovereign of Hindusthan. But he was the last of a dynasty of nineteen princes, who had occupied Delhi nearly four hundred years, from the time of the founder Beelun Deo, who, according to a manuscript in the author's possession, was only an opulent Thacoor when he assumed the ensigns of royalty in the then deserted Indraprastha, taking the name of Anungapal,‖ ever after titular in the family. The Chohans of Ajmeer owed at least homage to Delhi at this time, although Beesuldeo had rendered it almost nominal; and to Someswar, the fourth in descent, Anungapal was indebted for the preservation of this supremacy against the attempts of Kanouj, for which service he obtained the Tuar's daughter in marriage, the issue of which was Prithwi Raj, who when only eight years of age was proclaimed successor to the Delhi throne. Jeychund of Kanouj and Prithwi Raj bore the same relative situation to Anungapal; Beejipal, the father of the former, as well as Someswar, having had a daughter of the Tuar to wife. This originated the rivalry between the Chohans and Rahtores, which ended in the destruction of both. When Prithwi Raj mounted the throne of Delhi, Jeychund not only refused to

* Unknown, unless as the country on the 'waters' (jul) of Scind.
† Benares. ‡ Allahabad.
§ The cold regions (see, '*cold*').
‖ *Anunga* is a poetical epithet of the Hindu Cupid, literally 'incorporeal'; but, according to good authority, applicable to the founder of the desolate abode, *palna* being 'to support,' and *unga* with the primitive *an*, 'without body.'

acknowledge his supremacy, but set forth his own claims to this distinction. In these he was supported by the prince of Punut Anhulwara (the eternal foe of the Chohans), and likewise by the Purihars of Mundore. But the affront given by the latter, in refusing to fulfil the contract of bestowing his daughter on the young Chohan, brought on a warfare, in which this first essay was but the presage of his future fame. Kanouj and Putun had recourse to the dangerous expedient of entertaining bands of Tatars, through whom the sovereign of Gazni was enabled to take advantage of their internal broils.

Samarsi, prince of Cheetore, had married the sister of Prithwi Raj, and their personal characters, as well as this tie, bound them to each other throughout all these commotions, until the last fatal battle on the Caggar. From these feuds Hindusthan never was free. But unrelenting enmity was not a part of their character. Having displayed the valour of the tribe, the bard or Nestor of the day would step in, and a marriage would conciliate and maintain in friendship such foes for two generations. From time immemorial such has been the political state of India, as represented by their own epics, or in Arabian or Persian histories, thus always the prey of foreigners, and destined to remain so. Samarsi had to contend both with the princes of Putun and Kanouj; and although the bard says "he washed his blade in the Jumna," the domestic annals slur over the circumstance of Sid Rae Jey Sing having actually made a conquest of Cheetore. For it is not only included in the eighteen capitals enumerated as appertaining to this prince, but the author discovered a tablet* in Cheetore, placed there by his successor, Komarpal, bearing the date S. 1206, the period of Samarsi's birth. The first occasion of Samarsi's aid being called in by the Chohan emperor was on the discovery of treasure at Nagore, amounting to seven millions of gold, the deposit of ancient days. The princes of Kanouj and Putun, dreading the influence which such sinews of war would afford their antagonist, invited Shabudin to aid their designs of humiliating the Chohan, who in this emergency sent an embassy to Samarsi. The envoy was Chund Poondir, the vassal chief of Lahore, and guardian of that frontier. He is conspicuous from this time to the hour "when he planted his lance at the ford of the Ravee," and fell in opposing the passage of Shabudin. The presents he carries, the speech with which he greets the Cheetore prince, his reception, reply, and dismissal, are all preserved by Chund. The style of address and the apparel of Samarsi betoken that he had not laid aside the office and ensigns of 'Regent of

* See Inscription, No. 5.

Mahadeva.' A simple necklace of the seeds of the lotus adorned his neck; his hair was braided, and he is addressed as Jogindra, or chief of ascetics. Samarsi proceeded to Delhi; and it was arranged, as he was connected by marriage with the prince of Putun, that Prithwi Raj should march against this prince, while he should oppose the army from Gazni. He (Samarsi) accordingly fought several indecisive battles, which gave time to the Chohan to terminate the war in Guzerat and rejoin him. United, they completely discomfitted the invaders, making their leader prisoner. Samarsi declined any share of the discovered treasure, but permitted his chiefs to accept the gifts offered by the Chohan. Many years elapsed in such subordinate warfare, when the prince of Cheetore was again constrained to use his buckler in defence of Delhi and its prince, whose arrogance, and successful ambition, followed by disgraceful inactivity, invited invasion with every presage of success. Jealousy and revenge rendered the princes of Putun, Kanouj, Dhar and other minor courts, indifferent spectators of a contest destined to overthrow them all.

The bard gives a good description of the preparations for his departure from Cheetore, which he was destined never to see again. The charge of the city was entrusted to a favourite and younger son, Kurna. This disgusted the elder brother, who went to the Dekhan to Biedur, where he was well received by an Abyssinian chief,* who had there established himself in sovereignty. Another son, either on this occasion or on the subsequent fall of Cheetore, fled to the mountains of Nepal, and there spread the Gehlote line. It is in this, the last of the books of Chund, termed "the Great Fight," that we have the character of Samarsi fully delineated. His arrival to Delhi is hailed with songs of joy as a day of deliverance. Prithwi Raj and his court advance seven miles to meet him, and the description of the king of Delhi and his sisters, and the chiefs on either side who recognise ancient friendships, is most animated. Samarsi reads his brother-in-law an indignant lecture on his unprincely inactivity, and throughout the book divides attention with him.

In the planning of the campaign, and march towards the Caggar to meet the foe, Samarsi is consulted, and his opinions are recorded. The bard represents him as the Ulysses of the host: brave, cool, and skilful in the fight; wise, and eloquent in council; pious and decorous on all occasions; beloved by his own chiefs, and reverenced by the vassals of the Chohan. In the lines of march no augur or bard could better explain

* Styled Hubshee Padsha.

the omens, none in the field better dress the squadrons for battle, none guides his steed or use his lance with more address. His tent is the principal resort of the leaders after the march or in the intervals of battle, who were delighted by his eloquence and instructed by his knowledge. The bard confesses that his precepts of government are chiefly from the lips of Khoman;* and of his best episodes and allegories, whether on morals, rules for the guidance of ambassadors, choice of Ministers religious or social duties (but especially those of the Rajpoot to the sovereign), the wise prince of Cheetore is the general organ.

On the last of three days' desperate fighting, Samarsi was slain, together with his son Calian, and thirteen thousand of his household troops and most renowned chieftains. His beloved Pritha, on hearing the fatal issue, her husband slain, her brother captive, heroes of Delhi and Cheetore "asleep on the banks of the Caggar, in the wave of the steel," joined her lord through flame, nor waited the advance of the Tatar king, when Delhi was carried by storm, and the last stay of the Chohans, prince Rainsi, met death in the assult. The capture of Delhi and its monarch, the death of his ally of Cheetore, with the bravest and best of their troops, speedily ensured the further and final success of the Tatar arms; and when Kanouj fell, and the traitor to his nation met his fate in the waves of the Ganges, none were left to contend with Shabudin the possession of the regal seat of the Chohan. Scenes of devastations, plunder, and massacre commenced, which lasted though ages; during which nearly all that was sacred in religion or celebrated in art was destroyed by these ruthless and barbarous invaders. The noble Rajpoot with a spirit of conastancy and enduring courage, seized every opportunity to turn upon his oppressor. By his perseverance and valour he wore out entire dynasties of foes, alternately yielding 'to his fate,' or restricting the circle of conquest. Every road in Rajasthan was moistened with torrents of blood of the spoiled and the spoiler. But all was of no avail; fresh supplies were ever pourning in, and dynasty succeeded dynasty, heir to the same remorseless feeling which sanctified murder, legalized spoliation, and deified destruction. In these desperate conflicts, entire tribes were swept away, whose names are the only memento of their former existence and celebrity.

What nation on earth would have maintained the semblance

* I have already mentioned, that Khoman became a patronymic and title amongst the prices of Cheetore.

of civilization, the spirit or the customs of their forefathers, during so many centuries of overwhelming depression, but one of such singular character as the Rajpoot? Though ardent and reckless, he can, when required, subside into forbearance and apparent apathy, and reserve himself for the opportunity of revenge. Rajasthan exhibits the sole example in the history of mankind of a people withstanding every outrage barbarity can inflict, or human nature sustain, from a foe whose religion commands annihilation. Bent to the earth, he rises buoyant from the pressure, and makes calamity a whetstone to courage. How did the Britons at once sink under the Romans, and in vain strive to save their groves, their druids, or the altars of Bal from destruction! To the Saxons they alike succumbed; again, to the Danes: and this heterogeneous breed to the Normans. Empire was lost and gained by a single battle, and the laws and religion of the conquered merged in those of the conquerors. Contrast with these the Rajpoots. Not an iota of their religion or customs have they lost, though many a foot of land. Some of their states have been expunged from the map of dominion; and, as a punishment of national infidelity, the pride of the Rahtore, and the glory of the Chalook, the overgrown Kanouj and gorgeous Anhulwarra are forgotten names. Mewar alone, the sacred bulwork of religion, never compromised her honour for her safety, and still survives her ancient limits. Since the brave Samarsi gave up his life, the blood of her princes has flowed in copious streams for the maintenance of his honour, religion, and independence.

Samarsi had several sons.* But Kurna was his heir, and during his minority his mother, Karmadevi, a princess of Putun, nobly maintained what his father left. She headed her Rajpoots and gave battle† in person to Kootub-o-din, near Ambar, when the vicerory was defeated and wounded. Nine Rajas, and eleven chiefs of inferior dignity with the title of Rawut, followed the mother of their prince.

Kurna (the radiant) succeded in S. 1249 (A. D. 1193). But he was not destined to be the founder of a line in Mewar.‡ The annals are at variance with each other on an event which gave the sovereignty of Cheetore to a younger branch, and sent the elder into the inhospitable wilds of the west, to found a

* Calianrae, slain with his father; Koomkurna, who went to Biedur; a third, the founder of the Gorkas.

† This must be the battle mentioned by Ferishta. See Dow, p. 169, vol. ii.

‡ He had a son Sirwan, who took to commerce; hence the mercantile Sesodia caste, Sirwanea.

city* and perpetuate a line. It is stated generally that Kurna had two sons Mahup and Rahup. But this is an error. Samarsi and Soorajmul were brothers. Kurna was the son of the former and *Mahup* was his son, whose mother was a Chohan of Bhagur. Soorajmul had a son named Bharut, who was driven from Cheetore by a conspiracy. He proceeded to Scind, obtained Arore from its prince, a Moosulman, and married the daughter of the Bhatti chief of Poogul, by whom he had a son named *Rahup*. Kurna died of grief for the loss of Bharut and the unworthiness of Mahup, who abandoned him to live entirely with his maternal relations, the Chohans.

The Sonigurra chief of Jhalore had married the daughter of Kurna, by whom he had a child named Rindhole,† whom by treachery he placed on the throne of Cheetore, slaying the chief Gehlotes. Mahup being unable to recover his rights, and unwilling to make any exertion, the chair of Bappa Rawul would have passed to the Chohans but for an ancient bard of the house. He pursued his way to Arore, held by old Bharut as a fief of Cabul. With the levies of Scind, he marched to claim the right abandoned by Mahup, and at Pally encountered and defeated the Sonigurras. The retainers of Mewar flocked to his standard, and by their aid he enthroned himself in Cheetore. He sent for his father and mother, Rangadevi, whose dwelling on the Indus was made over to a younger brother, who bartered his faith for Arore, and held it as a vassal of Cabul.

Rahup obtained Cheetore in S. 1257 (A. D. 1201), and shortly after sustained the attack of Shemsudin, whom he met and overcame in a battle at Nagore. Two great changes were introduced by this prince: the first in the title of the tribe to Sesodia; the other in that of its prince, from Rawul to Rana. The puerile reason for the former has already been noticed;‡ the cause of the latter is deserving of more attention. Amongst the foes of Rahup was the Purihar prince of Mundore: his name Mokul, with the title of Rana. Rahup seized him in his Capital and brought him to Sesodia, making him renounce the rich district of Godwar, and his title of Rana, which he assumed himself, to denote the completion of his feud. He ruled thirty-eight years in a period of great distraction, and appears to have been well calculated, not only to uphold the fallen fortunes of the state, but to rescue them from utter ruin. His reign is the

* Dongurpoor, so named from *dongra*, 'a mountain.'

† So pronounced, but properly written Rin-dhaval, 'the standard of the field.'

‡ See note, page 224.

more remarkable by contrast with his successors, nine of whom are "pushed from their stools" in the same or even a shorter period than that during which he upheld the dignity.

From Rahup to Lakumsi, in the short space of half a century, nine princes of Cheetore were crowned, and at nearly equal intervals of time followed each other to 'the mansions of the sun.' Of these nine, six fell in battle. Nor did they meet their fate at home, but in a chivalrous enterprize to redeem the sacred Gya from the pollution of the barbarian. For this object these princes successively fell, but such devotion inspired fear, if not pity or conviction, and the bigot renounced the impiety which Pirthimull purchased with this blood, and until Alla-o-din's reign, this outrage to their prejudices was renounced. But in this interval they had lost their capital, for it is stated as the only occurrence in Bhonsi's* reign, that he "recovered Cheetore" and made the name of Rana to be acknowledged by all. Two memorials are preserved of the nine princes from

* His second son, Chandra, obtained an appanage on the Chumbul, and his issue, well known as Chanderawuts, constituted one of the most powerful vassal clans of Mewar. Rampura (Bhanpura) was their residence, yielding a revenue of nine lacks (£110,000), held on the tenure of service, which from an original grant in my possession from Rana Juggut Sing to his nephew Madhu Sing, afterwards prince of Ambar, was two thousand horse and foot (see p. 208), and the fine of investiture was seventy-five thousand rupees. Madhu Sing, when prince of Ambar, did what was invalid as well as ungrateful. He made over this domain, granted during his misfortunes, to Holkar, the first limb lopped off Mewar. The Chanderawut proprietor continued, however, to possess a portion of the original estate with the fortress of Amud, which it maintained throughout all the troubles of Rajwarra till A. D, 1821, 1821. It shews the attachment to custom, that the young Rao applied and received 'the sword' of investiture from his old lord paramount, the Rana, though dependent on Holkar's forbearance. But a minority is proverbially dangerous in India. Disorder from party plots made Amud troublesome to Holkar's government, which as his ally and preserver of tranquillity we suppressed by blowing up the walls of the fortress. This is one of many instances of the harsh, uncompromising nature of our power, and the anomalous description of our alliances with the Rajpoots. However necessary to repress the disorder arising from the claims of ancient proprietors and the recent rights of Holkar, or the new proprietor, Guffoor Khan, yet surrounding princes, and the general population, who know the history of past times, lament, to see a name of five hundred year's duration thus summarily extinguished, which chiefly benefits an upstart Pathan. Such is the vortex of the ambiguous, irregular, and unsystematic policy, which marks many of our alliances, which protect too often but to injure, and gives to our office of general arbitrator and high constable of Rajasthan a harsh and unfeeling character.

Much of this arises from ignorance of the past history; much from disregard of the peculiar usages of the people; or from that expediency which too often comes in contact with moral fitness, which will go on until the day predicted by the Nestor of India, when "*one scica* (seal) alone wil be used in Hindusthan."

Rahup to Lakumsi, and of the same character: confusion and strife within and without. We will, therefore, pass over these to another grand event in the vicissitudes of this house, which possesses more of romance than of history, though the facts are undoubted.

CHAPATER VI.

Rana Lakumsi.—Attack of Cheetore by Alla-o-din. Treachery of Alla. —Rise of the Cheetore chiefs to recover Bheemsi.—Devotion of the Rana and his sons.—Sack of Cheetore by the Tatars.—Its destruction.—Rana Ajeysi.—Hamir.—He gains possession of Cheetore.—Renown and prosperity of Mewar.—Khaitsi.—Lakha.

LAKUMSI succeeded his father in S, 1331 (A. D. 1275), a memorable era in the annals, when Cheetore, the repository of all that was precious yet untouched of the arts of India, was stormed, sacked and treated with remorseless barbarity, by the Pathan emperor, Alla-o-din. Twice it was attacked by this subjugator of India. In the first siege it escaped spoliation, though at the price of its best defenders ; that which followed is the first successful assault and capture of which we have any detailed account.

Bheemsi was the uncle of the young prince, and Protector during his minority. He had espoused the daughter of Hamir Sank (Chohan) of Ceylon, the cause of woes unnumbered to the Sesodias. Her name was Pudmini, a title bestowed only on the superlatively fair, and transmitted with renown to posterity by tradition and the song of the bard. Her beauty, accomplishments, exaltation, and destruction, with other incidental circumstances, constitute the subject of one of the most popular traditions of Rajwarra. The Hindu bard recognizes the fair, in preference to fame and love of conquest, as the motive for the attack of Alla-o-din, who limited his demand to the possession of Pudmini ; though this was after a long and fruitless siege. At length, he restricted his desire to a mere sight of this extraordinary beauty, and acceded to the proposal of beholding her through the medium of mirrors. Relying on the faith of the Rajpoot, he entered Cheetore slightly guarded, and having gratified his wish, returned. The Rajpoot, unwilling to be outdone in confidence, accompanied the king to the foot of the fortress, amidst many complimentary excuses from his guest at the trouble he thus occasioned. It was for this that Alla risked his own safety, relying on the superior faith of the Hindu. Here he had an ambush. Bheemsi was made prisoner, hurried away to the Tatar camp, and his liberty made dependent on the surrender of Pudmini.

Despair reigned in Cheetore when this fatal event was known, it was debated whether Pudmini should be resigned as

a ransom for their defender. Of this she was informed, and expressed her acquiescence. Having provided wherewithal to secure her from dishonour, she communed with two chiefs of her own kin and clan of Ceylon, her uncle Gorah and his nephew Badul, who devised a scheme for the liberation of their prince without hazarding her life or fame. Intimation was despatched to Alla, that on the day he withdrew from his trenches, the fair Pudmini would be sent; but in a manner befitting her own and his high station, surrounded by her females and handmaids; not only those who would accompany her to Delhi, but many others who desired to pay her this last mark of reverence. Strict commands were to be issued to prevent curiosity from violating the sanctity of female decorum and privacy. No less then seven hundred covered litters proceeded to the royal camp. In each was placed one of the bravest of the defenders of Cheetore, borne by six armed soldiers disguised as litter-porters. They reached the camp. The royal tents were enclosed with *kanats* (walls of cloth); the litters were deposited, and half an hour was granted for a parting interview between the Hindu prince and his bride. They then placed their prince in a litter and returned with him, while the greater number (the supposed damsels) remained to accompany the fair to Delhi. But Alla had no intention to permit Bheemsi's return, and was becoming jealous of the long interview he enjoyed, when, instead of the prince and Pudmini, the devoted band issued from their litters. But Alla was two well guarded. Pursuit ordered, while these covered the retreat till they perished to a man. A fleet horse was in reserve for Bheemsi, on which he was placed, and in safety ascended the fort, at whose outer gate the host of Alla was encountered. The choicest of the heroes of Cheetore met the assault. With Gorah and Badul at their head, animated by the noblest sentiments, the deliverance of their chief and and the honour of their queen, they devoted themselves to destruction, and few were the survivors of this slaughter of the flower of Mewar. For a time Alla was defeated in his object, and the havoc they had made in his ranks, joined to the dread of their determined resistance, obliged him to desist from the enterprize.

Mention has already been made of the adjura[illegible]hey enumerate sin of the sack of Cheetore." Of these sacks [illegible]gh the city [illegible]s *three and a half*. This is the 'half'; for thou[illegible] off (*saka*). It [illegible] not stromed, the best and bravest were cu[illegible] *in rasa*. Badul was described with great animation in the *Khom*[illegible]t expects wonders but a stripling of twelve, but the Rajpogh wounded, and a from this early age. He escaped, thou[illegible]'s wife, who desires dialogue ensues between him and his un[illegible]

him to relate how her lord conducted himself ere she joins him. The stripling replies: "He was the reaper of the harvest of "battle; I followed his steps as the humble gleaner of his sword. "On the gory bed of honour he spread a carpet of the slain; a "barbarian prince his pillow, he laid him down, and sleeps "surrounded by the foe." Again she said: "tell me, Badul, how "did my love (*peeur*) behave?"—"Oh! mother, how further des-"cribe his deeds when he left no foe to dread or admire him?" She smiled farewell to the boy, and adding, "my lord will chide my delay," sprung into the flame.

Alla-o-din, having recruited his strengh, returned to his object, Cheetore. The annals state this to have been in S.1346 (A.D. 1290), but Ferishta gives a date thirteen years later. They had not yet recovered the loss of so many valient men who had sacrificed themselves for their prince's safety, and Alla carried on his attacks more closely, and at length obtained the hill at the southern point, where he entrenched himself. They still pretend to point out his trenches. But so many have been formed by subsequent attacks that we cannot credit the asser-tion. The poet has found in the disastrous issue of the siege admirable materials for his song. He represents the Rana, after an arduous day, stretched on his pallet, and during a night of watchful anxiety, pondering on the means by which he might preserve from the general destruction one at least of his twelve sons: when a voice broke on his solitude, exclaiming "*Myan bhooka hoon*;"* and raising his eyes, he saw by the dim glare of the cheragh,† advancing between the granite columns, the majestic form of the guardian goddess of Cheetore. "Exclai-med the Rana, "though eight thousand of my kin were late an offering to thee?"—"I must have regal victims; and if twelve 'who wear the diadem bleed not for Chectore, the land will 'pass from the line." This said, she vanished.

On the morn, he convened a council of his chiefs, to whom he revealed the vision of the night, which they treated as the dream of a disorderd fancy. He commanded their attendance at midnight, when again the form appeared, and reappeared, and 'repeated the terms on which alone she would remain amongst 'them. "Though thousands of barbarians strew the earth, what 'are they to me? On each day enthrone a prince. Let the 'kania,* the chhatra,† and the chamara‡ proclain his soverignty

*I am hungry.'

† Lamp.

‡ These are the *keran*, 'a ray:' the *chhatra* is the umbrella, always red: the *chamara*, the insignia of royalty. The *kirnia* is a parasol, from flowing tail of the wild ox, set in a gold handle, and used to drive away the flies.

'and for three days let his decrees be supreme: on the fourth, 'let him meet the foe and his fate. Then only may I remain."

Whether we have merely the fiction of the poet, or whether the scene was got up to animate the spirit of resistance, matters but little. It is consistent with the belief of the tribe; and that the goddess should openly manifest her wish to retain as her tiara the battlements of Cheetore on conditions so congenial to the warlike and superstitious Rajpoot, was a gage readily taken up and fully answered the end. A generous contention arose amongst the brave brothers, who should be the first victim to avert the denunciation. Ursi urged his priority of birth. He was proclaimed, the umbrella waved over his head, and on the fourth day he surrendered his short-lived honours and his life. Ajeysi, the next in birth, demanded to follow. But he was the favourite son of his father; and at his request he consented to let his brothers precede him. Eleven had fallen in turn, and but one victim remained to the salvation of the city, when the Rana, calling his chiefs around him, said, "now I devote myself for Cheetore." But another awful sacrifice was to precede this act of self-devotion, in that horrible rite, the *Johur*, where the females are immolated to preserve them from pollution or captivity. The funeral pyre was lighted within the 'great subterranean retreat,' in chambers impervious to the light of day, and the defenders of Cheetore beheld in procession the queen, their wives and daughters, to the number of several thousands. The fair Pudmini closed the throng, which was augmented by whatever of female beauty or youth could be tainted by Tatar lust. They were conveyed to the cavern, and the opening closed upon them, leaving them to find security from the dishonour in the devouring element.

A contest now arose between the Rana and his surviving son. But the father prevailed, and Ajeysi, in obedience to his commands, with a small band passed through the enemy's lines, and reached Kailwarra in safety. The Rana, satisfied that his line was not extinct, now prepared to follow his brave sons. Calling around him his devoted clans for whom life had no longer any charms, they drew open the portals and descended to the plain. With a reckless despair they carried death, or met it, in the crowded ranks of Alla. The Tatar conqueror took possession of an inaminate capital strewed with brave defenders, the smoke yet issuing from the recesses where lay consumed the once fair object of his desire. Since this devoted day the cavern has been sacred. No eye has penetrated its gloom, and superstition has placed as its guardian a huge serpent, whose "venomous breath" extinguishes

the light which might guide intruders* to "the place of sacrifice."

Thus fell, in A. D. 1303, this celebrated capital, in the round of conquest of Alla-o-din, one of the most vigorous and warlike sovereigns who have occupied the throne of India. In success, and in one of the means of attainment, a bigotted hypocrisy, he bore a striking resemblance to Aurungzebe; and the title of 'Secunder Sani,' or the second Alexander, which he assumed and impressed on his coins, was no idle vaunt. The proud Anhulwara, the ancient Dhar and Avanti, Mundore and Deogir, the seats of the Solankis, the Pramaras, the Puriharas and Taks, the entire Agnicula race, were overturned for ever by Alla. Jessulmeer, Gagrown, Boondi, the abodes of the Bhatti, the Keechee, and the Hara, with many of minor importance, suffered all the horrors of assault from this foe of the race, though destined again to raise their heads. The Rahtores of Marwar and the Cutchwahas of Ambar were yet in a state of insignificance. The former were slowly creeping into notice as the vassals of the Puriharas, while the latter could scarcely withstand the attacks of the original Meena population. Alla remained in Cheetore some days, admiring the grandeur of his conquest; and having committed every act of barbarity and wanton dilapidation which a bigotted zeal could suggest, overthrowing the temples and other monuments of art, he delivered the city in charge to Maldeo, the chief of Jhalore, whom he had conquered and enrolled amongst his vassals. The palace of Bheem and the fair Pudmini alone appears to have escaped the wrath of Alla. It would be pleasing could we suppose any kinder sentiment suggested the exception, which enables the author of these annals to exhibit the abode of the fair of Ceylon.

The survivor of Cheetore, Rana Ajeysi, was now in security at Kailwarra, a town situated in the heart of the Aravali mountains, the western boundary of Mewar, to which its princes had been indebted for twelve centuries of dominion. Kailwarra is at the highest part of one of its most extensive valleys termed the Shero Nalla, the richest district of this alpine region. Guarded by faithful adherents, Ajeysi cherished for future occasion the wrecks of Mewar. It was the last behest of his father, that when he attained 'one hundred years' (a figurative expression for dying), the son of Ursi, the elder

* The author has been at this entrance of the retreat, which, according to the *Khoman Rasa*, conducts to a subterranean palace, but the mephytic vapours and venomous reptiles did not invite to adventure, even had official situation permitted such slight to these prejudices. The author is the only Englishman admitted to Cheetore since the days of Herbert, who appears to have described what he saw.

brother, should succeed him. This injunction, from the deficiency of the qualities requisite at such a juncture in his own sons, met a ready compliance. Hamir was this son, destined to redeem the promise of the genius of Cheetore and the lost honours of his race, and whose birth and early history fill many a page of their annals. His father, Ursi, being out on a hunting excursion in the forest of Ondwa with some young chiefs of the court in pursuit of the boar, entered a field of maize, when a female offered to drive out the game. Pulling one of the stalks of maize, which grows to the height of ten or twelve feet, she pointed it, and mounting the platform made to watch the corn, impaled the hog, dragged him before the hunters, and departed. Though accustomed to feats of strength and heroism from the nervous arms of their country-women, the act surprised them. They descended to the stream at hand, and prepared the repast, as is usual, on the spot. The feast was held, and comments were passing on the fair arm which had transfixed the boar, when a ball of clay from a sling fractured a limb of the prince's steed. Looking in the direction whence it came, they observed the same damsel, from her elevated stand,* preserving her fields from aerial depredators. But seeing the mischief she had occasioned, she descended to express her regret, and then returned to her pursuit. As they were proceeding homewards after the sports of the day, they again encountered the damsel, with a vessel of milk on her head, and leading in either hand a young buffalo. It was proposed, in forlic, to overturn her milk, and one of the companions of the prince dashed rudely by her. Without being disconcerted, she entangled one of her charges with the horse's limbs, and brought the rider to the ground. On inquiry the prince discovered that she was the daughter of a poor Rajpoot of the Chundaon tribe.† He returned the next day to the same quarter and sent for her father. He came and took his seat with perfect independence close to the prince, to the merriment of his companions, which was checked by Ursi asking his daughter to wife. They were yet more surprised by the demand being refused. The Rajpoot, on going home, told the more prudent mother, who scolded him heartily, made him recall the refusal, and seek the prince. They were married, and Hamir was the son of the Chundano Rajpootnee. He remained little noticed at the maternal abode

* A stand is fixed upon four poles in the middle of a field, on which a guard is placed armed with a sling and clay balls, to drive away the ravens, peacocks, and other birds that destroy the corn.

† One of the branches of the Chohan.

till the catastrophe of Cheetore. At this period he was twelve years of age, and had led a rustic life, from which the necessity of the times recalled him.

Mewar was now occupied by the garrisons of Delhi, and Ajeysi had besides to contend with the mountain chiefs, amongst whom Moonja Balaitcha was the most formidable. He had, on a recent occasion, invaded the Shero Nalla, and personally encountered the Rana, whom he wounded on the head with a lance. The Rana's sons, Sujunsi and Ajimsi, though fourteen and fifteen, an age at which a Rajpoot ought to indicate his future character, proved of little aid in the emergency. Hamir was summoned, and accepted the feud against Moonja, promising to return successful or not at all. In a few days he was seen entering the pass of Kailwarra with Moonja's head at his saddle-bow. Modestly placing the trophy at his uncle's feet, he exclaimed: "recognize the head of your foe!" Ajeysi "kissed his beard,"* and observing that fate had stamped empire on his forehead, impressed it with a teeka of blood from the head of the Balaitcha. This decided the fate of the sons of Ajeysi; one of whom died at Kailwarra, and the other, Sujunsi, who might have excited a civil war, was sent from the country.† He departed for the Dekhan, where his issue was destined to avenge some of the wrongs the parent country had sustained, and eventually to overturn the monarchy of Hindusthan; for Sujunsi was the ancestor of Sevaji, the founder of the Satara throne, whose lineage ‡ is given in the chronicles of Mewar.

Hamir succeeded in S. 1357 (A.D. 1301), and had sixty-four years granted to him to redeem his country from the ruins of the past century, which period had elapsed since India ceased to own the paramount sway of her native princes. The day on which he assumed the ensigns of rule he gave, in the *teeka dowr*, an earnest of his future energy, which he signalized by a rapid inroad in the heart of the country of the predatory Balaitcha, and captured their stronghold Possalio. We may here explain the nature of this custom of a barbaric chivalry. The teeka dower signifies the foray of inauguration, which

* This is an idiomatic phrase: Hamir could have had on beard.

† *Des desa*

‡ Ajeysi, Sujunsi, Duleepji, Seoji, Bhoraji, Deoraj, Oogursen, Mahoolji, Khailooji Junkoji, Suttooji, Sambaji, Sevaji (the founder of the Mahratta nation), Sambaji, Ramraja, usurpation of the Peishwas. The Satara throne, but for the jealousies of Oodipur, might on the imbecility of Ramraja have been replenished from Mewar. It was offered to Nathji, the grand father of the present chief Sheodan Sing, presumptive heir to Cheetore. Two noble lines were reared from princes of Cheetore expelled on similar occasions; those of Sevaji and the Gyorkas of Nepal.

obtained from time immemorial on such events, and is yet maintained where any semblance of hostility will allow its execution. On the morning of installation, having previously received the teeka of a sovereignty, the prince at the head of his retainers makes a foray into the territory of any one with whom he may have a feud, or with whom he may be indifferent as to exciting one. He captures a stronghold or plunders a town, and returns with the trophies. If amity should prevail with all around, which the prince cares not to disturb, they have still a mock representation of the custom. For many reigns after Jeipur princes united their fortunes to the throne of Delhi, their frontier town, Malpura, was the object of the teeka dower of the princes of Mewar.

"When Ajmal * went another road," as the bard figuratively describes the demise of Rana Ajeysi, "the son of Ursi unsheathed the sword, thence never stranger to his hand." Maldeo remained with the royal garrison in Cheetore, but Hamir desolated their plains, and left to his enemies only the fortified towns which could safely be inhabited. He commanded all who owned his sovereignty either to quit their abodes, and retire with their families to the shelter of the hills on the eastern and western frontiers, or share the fate of the public enemy. The roads were rendered impassable from his parties, who issued from their retreats in the Aravali, the security of which baffled pursuit. This destructive policy of laying waste the resources of their own country, and from this asylum, attacking their foes as opportunity offered, has obtained from the time of Mahmood of Gazni in the tenth, to Mahomed, the last, who merited the name of Emperor of Delhi in the eighteenth century.

Hamir made Kailwarra† his residence, which soon became the chief retreat of the emigrants from the plains. The situation was admirably chosen, being covered by several ranges, guarded by intricate defiles, and situated at the foot of a pass leading over the mountain into a still more inaccessible retreat (where Komulmeer now stands),‡ well watered and wooded, with abundance of pastures and excellent indigenous fruits and roots. This tract, above fifty miles in breadth, is twelve hundred feet above the level of the plains and three thousand above the

* This is a poetical version of the name of Ajeysi, a liberty frequently taken by the bards for the sake of rhyme.

† The lake he excavated here, the '*Hamir-tallao*' and the temple of the protecting goddess on its bank, still bear witness of his acts while confined to this retreat.

‡ See Plate, view of Komulmeer.

sea, with a considerable quantity of arable land, and free communication to obtain supplies by the passes of the western declivity from Marwar, Guzerat, or the friendly Bhils of the west, to whom this house owes a large debt of gratitude. On various occasions, the communities of Oguna and Panora furnished the princes of Mewar with five thousand bowmen, supplied them with provisions, or guarded the safety of their families when they had to oppose the foe in the field. The elevated plateau of the eastern frontier presented in its forests and dells many places of security; but Alla* traversed these in person, destroying as he went: and did they not possess the advantages of climate and natural productions arising from the elevation of the other. Such was the state of Mewar. Its places of strength were occupied by the foe, cultivation and peaceful objects neglected from the persevering hostility of Hamir, when a proposal of marriage came from the Hindu governor of Cheetore, which was immediately accepted, contrary to the wishes of the prince's advisers. Whether this was intended as a snare to entrap him, or merely as an insult, every danger was scouted by Hamir which gave a chance to the recovery of Cheetore. He desired that '*the cocoa-nut*,† *might be retained*,' coolly remarking on the dangers pointed out, "my feet shall at least tread in the rocky steppes in which my ancestors have moved. A Rajpoot should always be prepared for reverses; one day to abandon his abode covered with wounds, and the next to re-ascend with the *mor* (crown) on his head." It was stipulated that only five hundred horse should form his suit. As he approached Cheetore, the five sons of the Chohan advanced to meet him, but on the portal of the city, no torun, ‡ of

* I have an inscription, and in *Sanskrit*, set up by an apostate chief of bard in his train, which I found in this tract.

† This is the symbol of an offer of marriage.

‡ The *torun* is the symbol of marriage. It consists of three wooden bars, forming an equilateral triangle; mystic in shape and number, and having the apex crowned with the effigies of a peacock. It is placed over the portal of the bride's abode. At Oodipur, when the princes of Jessulmeer, Bikaneer, and Kishengurh simultaneously married the two daughters and grand-daughter of the Rana, the toruns were suspended from the battlements of the tripolia, or *three-arched portal*, leading to the palace. The bridegroom on horseback, lance in hand, proceeds to break the torun (*torun toorna*), which is defended by the damsels of the bride, who from the parapet assail him with missiles of various kinds, especially with a crimson powder made from the flowers of the *palasa* at the same time singing songs fitted to the occasion, replete with *double-entendres*. At length the torun is broken amidst the shouts of the retainers, when the fair defenders retire.

The Similitude of these ceremonies in the north of Europe and in Asia, increases the list of common affinities, and indicates the violence of rude times to obtain the object of affection; and the lance, with which the

nuptial emblem was suspended. He, however, accepted the unsatisfactory reply to his remark on this indication of treachery, and ascended for the first time the ramp of Cheetore. He was received in the ancient halls of his ancestors by Rao Maldeo, his son Bunbeer, and other chiefs, '*with folded hands.*' The bride was brought forth, and presented by her father without any of the solemnities practised on such occasions; 'the knot of their garments tied and their hands united,' and thus they were left. The family priest recommended patience, and Hamir retired with his bride to the apartments allotted for them. Her kindness and vows of fidelity overcame his sadness upon learning that he had married a widow. She had been wedded to a chief of the Bhatti tribe, shortly afterwards slain, and when she was so young as not to recollect even his appearance. He ceased to lament the insult when she herself taught him how it might be avenged, and that it might even lead to the recovery of Cheetore. It is a privilege possessed by the bridegroom to have one specific favour complied with as a part of the dower (*daeja*,) and Hamir was instructed by his bride to ask for Jal, one of the civil officers of Cheetore, and of the Mehta tribe. With his wife so obtained, and the scribe whose talents remained for trial, he returned in a fortnight to Kailwarra. Kaitsi was the fruit of this marriage, on which occasion Maldeo made over all the hill tracts to Hamir. Kaitsi was a year old when one of the penates (Kaitr Pal) was found at fault, on which she wrote to her parents to invite her to Cheetore, that the infant might be placed before the shrine of the deity. Escorted by a party from Cheetore, with her child she entered its walls; and instructed by the Mehta, she gained over the troops who were left, for the Rao had gone with his chief adherents against the Mars of Madaria. Hamir was at hand. Notice that all was ready reached him at Bagore. Still he met opposition that had nearly defeated the scheme. But having forced admission, his sword overcame every obstacle, and the oath of allegiance (*an*) was proclaimed from the palace of his fathers.

The Sonigurra on his return was met with 'a salute of arabas,'* and Maldeo himself carried the account of his loss to the Ghilji king Mahmood, who had succeeded Alla. The 'standard of the sun' once more shone efulgent from the walls of Cheetore, and was the signal for return to their ancient

Rajpoot chieftain breaks the torun, has the same emblematic import as the spear, which, at the marriage of the nobles in Sweden, was a necessary implement in the furniture of the marriage chamber. *Vide* "Northern Antiquities."

* A kind of arquebuss.

abodes from their hills and hiding-places to the adherents of Hamir. The valleys of Komulmeer and the western highlands poured forth their 'streams of men,' while every chief of true Hindu blood rejoiced at the prospect of once more throwing off the barbarian yoke. So powerful was this feeling, and with such activity and skill did Hamir follow up this favour of fortune, that he marched to meet Mahmood, who was advancing to recover his lost possessions. The king unwisely directed his march by the eastern plateau, where numbers were rendered useless by the intricacies of the country. Of the three steppes which mark the physiognomy of this tract, from the first ascent from the plain of Mewar to the descent at the Chumbul, the king had encamped on the central, at Singolli, where he was attacked, defeated, and made prisoner by Hamir, who slew Hari Sing, brother of Bunbeer, in single combat. The king suffered a confinement of three months in Cheetore, nor was liberated till he had surrendered Ajmeer, Rinthumbore, Nagore, and Sooe Sopur, besides paying fifty lacks of rupees and one hundred elephants. Hamir would exact no promise of cessation from further inroads, but contended himself with assuring him that from each he should be prepared to defend Cheetore, not within, but without the walls.*

Bunbeer, the son of Maldeo, offered to serve Hamir, who assigned the districts of Neemutch, Jeerun, Ruttunpur, and the Kairar, to maintain the family of his wife in becoming dignity; and as he gave the grant he remarked: "eat, serve, and be faithful. You were once the servant of a Toork, but of a Hindu of your own faith; for I have but taken back my own, the rock moistened by the blood of my ancestors, the gift of the deity I adore and who will maintain me in it; nor shall I endanger it by the worship of a fair face, as did my predecessor." Bunbeer shortly after carried Bhynsrore by assult, and this ancient possession guarding the Chumbul was again added to Mewar. The Chieftains of Rajasthan rejoiced once more to see a Hindu take the lead paid willing homage and aided him with service when required.

Hamir was the sole Hindu prince of power now left in India. All the ancient dynasties were crushed, and the ancestors of the present princes of Marwar, and Jeypur brought their levies, paid homage, and obeyed the summons of the prince of Cheetore, as did the chiefs of Boondi, Gwalior Chanderi, Raeseen, Sicri, Calpee, Aboo, &c.

* Ferishta does not mention this conquest over the Ghilji emperor. But as Mewar recovered her wanted splendour in this reign, we cannot doubt the truth of the native annals.

Extensive as was the power of Mewar before the Tatar occupation of India, it could scarcely have surpassed the solidity of sway which she enjoyed during the two centuries following events to the next invasion from the same Cimmerian abode, led by Baber, we have a succession of splendid names recorded in her annals, and though destined soon to be surrounded by new Mahomedan dynasties, in Malwa and Guzerat as well as Delhi, yet successfully opposing them all. The distracted state of affairs when the races of Ghilji, Lodi, and Soor alternately struggled for and obtained the seat of dominion, Delhi was favourable to Mewar, whose power was now so consolidated, that she not only repelled armies from her territory, but carried war abroad, leaving tokens of victory at Nagore, in Saurashtra, and to the walls of Delhi. The subject of Mewar must have enjoyed not only a long repose, but high prosperity during this period, judging from their magnificent public works when a triumphal column must have cost the income of a kingdom to erect, and which ten years' produce of the crown-lands of Mewar could not at this time defray. Only one of the structures prior to the sack of Cheetore was left entire by Alla, and is yet existing, and this was raised by private and sectarian hands. It would be curious if the unitarian profession of the Jain creed was the means of preserving this ancient relic from Alla's wrath. The princes of this house were great patrons of the arts, and especially of architecture; and it is a matter of surprise how their revenues, derived chiefly from the soil, could have enabled them to expend so much on these objects and at the same time maintain such armies as are enumerated. Such could be effected only by long prosperity, and a mild, paternal system of government; for the subject had his monuments as well as the prince, the ruins of which may yet be discovered in the more inaccessible or deserted portions of Rajasthan. Hamir died full of years, leaving a name still honoured in Mewar, as one of the wisest and most gallant of her princes, and bequeathing a well-established and extensive power to his son.

KHAITSI succeeded in S. 1421 (A. D. 1365) to the power and to the character of his father. He captured Ajmee and Jehajpur from Lilla Patan, and re-annexed Mandalgurh, Dussore, and the whole of Chuppun (for the first time) to Mewar. He obtained a victory over the Delhi, monarch Hemayoon at Bakrole; but unhappily his life terminated in a family broil with his vassal, the Hara chief of Bunaoda, whose daughter he was about to espouse.

LAKHA Rana, by his assassination, mounted the throne in Cheetore in S. 1439 (A. D. 1383). His first act was the

entire subjugation of the mountainous region of Marwara, and the destruction of its chief stronghold, Beratgurh, where he erected Bendore. But an event of much greater importance than settling his frontier, and which most powerfully tended to the prosperity of the country, was the discovery of the tin and silver mines of Jawura, in the tract wrested by Khaitsi from the Bhils of Chuppun. Lakha Rana has the merit of having first worked them, though their existence is superstitiously alluded to so early as the period of the founder. It is said the "seven metals (*heft-dhat*)"* were formerly abundant. But this appears figurative. We have no evidence for the gold; though silver, tin, copper, lead, and antimony were yielded in abundance (the first two from the same matrix), but the tin that has been extracted for many years past yields but a small portion of silver.† Lakha Rana defeated the sankla Rajpoots of Nagarchal,‡ at Ambar. He encountered the emperor Mahomed Shah Lodi, and on one occasion defeated a royal army at Bednore. But he carried the war to Gya, and in driving the barbarian from this sacred place, was slain. Lakha is a name of celebrity, as a patron of the arts and benefactor of his country. He excavated many reservoirs and lakes, raised immense ramparts to dam their waters, besides erecting strongholds. The riches of the mines of Jawura were expended to rebuild the temples and palaces levelled by Alla. A portion of his own palace yet exists, in the same style of architecture as that more ancient, of Rutna and the fair Pudmini; and a minster (*mundir*) dedicated to the creator (Bramha), an enormous and costly fabric, is yet entire. Being to "the one," and consequently containing no idol, it may thus have escaped the ruthless fury of the indaders.

Lakha had a numerous progeny, who have left their clans called after them, Loonawuts and Doolawuts, now the sturdy allodial proprietors of the alpine regions bordering on Oguna Panor and other tracts in the Aravalli.§ But a circumstances which

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* *Heft-dhat*, corresponding to the planets, each of which ruled a metal: hence Mohar, 'the sun,' for gold: *Chandra*, 'the moon,' for silver.

† They have long been abandoned, the miners are extinct, and the protecting deities of mines are unable to get even a flower placed on their shrines, though some have been reconsecrated by the Bhils, who have converted Lutchmi into Settlamata (June Lucina), whom the Bhil females invoke to pass them through danger.

‡ Jhoonjoonoo, Singhana, and Nurbana, formed the ancient Nagarceal territory.

§ The Sarungdeote chief of Kanorh (on the borders of Chuppun), one of the sixteen lords of Mewa, is also a descendant of Lakha, as are some of the tribes of Sondwara, about Firfurah and the ravines of the Cali Sinde,

set aside the rights of primogeniture, and transferred the crown of Cheetore from his eldest son, Chonda, to the younger, Mokul, had nearly carried it to another line. The consequences of making the elder branch a powerful vassal clan with claims to the throne, and which have been the chief cause of its subsequent prostration, we will reserve for another chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

Delicacy of the Rajpoots.—The occasion of changing the rule of primogeniture in Mewar.—Succession of the infant Mokulji, to the prejudice of Chonda, the rightful heir.—Disorders in Mewar through the usurpations of the Rahtores.—Chonda expels them from Cheetore and takes Mundore.—Transactions between Mewar and Marwar.—Reign of Mokulji.—His assassination.

If devotion to the fair sex be admitted as a criterion of civilization, the Rajpoot must rank high. His susceptibility is extreme, and fires at the slightest offence to female delicacy, which he never forgives. A satirical impromtu, involving the sacrifice of Rajpoot prejudices, dissolved the coalition of the Rahtores and Cutchwahas, and laid each prostrate before the Mahrattas, whom when united they had crushed: and a jest, apparently trivial, compromised the right of primogeniture to the throne of Cheetore, and proved more disastrous in its consequences than the arms either of Moguls or Mahrattas.

Lakha Rana was advanced in years. His sons and grandsons were established in suitable domains, when "the cocoa-nut came" from Rinmul prince of Marwar, to affiance his daughter with Chonda, the heir of Mewar. When the embassy was announced, Chonda was absent, and the old chief was seated in his chair of state surrounded by his court. The messenger of Hymen was courteously received by Lakha, who observed that Chonda would soon return and take the gage; "for," added he, drawing his fingers over his mustachios, "I don't suppose you send such play-things to an old grey-beard like me." This little sally was of course applauded and repeated. But Chonda, offended at delicacy being sacrificed to wit, declined accepting the symbol which his father had even in jest supposed might be intended for him. As it could not be returned without gross insult to Rinmul, the old Rana, incensed at his son's obstinacy, agreed to accept it himself, provided Chonda would swear to renounce his birth-right in the event of his having a son, and be to the child but "the first of his Rajpoots." He swore by Eklinga to fulfil his father's wishes.

MOKULJI was the issue of this union, and had attained the age of five when the Rana resolved to signalize his finale, by a raid against the enemies of their faith, and to expel the 'barbarian' from the holy land of Gya. In ancient times this was by no means uncommon. We have several instances in the annals of these states, of princes resigning 'the purple' on

the approach of old age, and by a life of austerity and devotion, pilgrimage and charity, seeking to make their peace with heaven, 'for the sins inevitably committed by all who wield a sceptre.' But when war was made against their religion by the Tatar proselytes to Islam, the Sutledge and the Caggar were as the banks of the Jordan—Gya, their Jerusalem, their holy land; and if their destiny filled his cup, the Hindu chieftain was secure of beatitude,* exempted from the troubles of 'second birth;'† and borne from the scene of probation in celestial cars by the Apsaras,‡ would be introduced at once into the 'realm of the sun.'§ Ere, however, the Rana of Cheetore journeyed to this bourn, he was desirous to leave his throne unexposed to civil strife. The subject of succession had never been renewed; but discussing with Chonda his warlike pilgrimage to Gya, from which he might not return, he sounded him by asking what estates should be settled on Mokul. "The throne of Cheetore," was the honest reply; and to set suspicion at rest, he desired that the ceremony of installation should be performed previous to Lakha's departure. Chonda was the first to pay homage and swear obedience and fidelity to his future sovereign; reserving, as the recompense of his renunciation, the first place in the council, and stipulating that in all grants to the vassals of the crown, his symbol (the lance), should be superadded to the autograph of the prince. In all grants the lance of Saloombra* still precedes the monogram of the Rana,

The sacrifice of Chonda to offended delicacy and filial respect was great, for he had all the qualities requisite for command. Brave, frank and skilful, he conducted all public affairs after his father's departure and death, to the benefit of the minor, and the state. The queen mother, however, who is admitted as the natural guardian of her infant's rights on all such occasions, felt umbrage and discontent at her loss of power; forgetting that, but for Chonda, she would never have been mother to the Rana of Mewar. She watched with a jealous eye all his proceedings. But it was only through the medium of suspicion she could accuse the integrity of Chonda, and she artfully asserted that, under colour of directing state affairs, he was

* *Mookt.*

† This is a literal phrase, denoting further transmigration of the soul, which is always deemed a punishment. The soldier, who falls in battle in the faithful performance of his duty, is alone exempted, according to their martial mythology, from the pains of 'second birth.'

‡ The fair messengers of heaven.

§ *Suraj Mandal.*

‖ The abode of the chief of the various clans of Chondawut.

¶ Vide p. 88.

exercising absolute sovereignty, and that if he did not assume the title of Rana, he would reduce it to an empty name. Chonda, knowing the purity of his own motives, made liberal allowance for maternal solicitude; but upbraiding the queen with the injustice of her suspicions, and advising a vigilant care to the rights of Sesodias, he retired to the court of Mandoo, then rising into notice, where he was received with the highest distinctions, and the district of Hallar was assigned to him by the king.

His departure was the signal for an influx of the kinderd of the queen from Mundore. Her brother Joda (who afterwards gave his name to Jodhpur) was the first, and was soon followed by his father, Rao Rinmul, and numerous adherents, who deemed the arid region of Maroo-des, and its rabri or 'maize porridge, well exchanged for the fertile plains and wheaten bread of Mewar.

With his grandson on his knee, the old Rao "would sit on the throne of Bappa Rawul, on whose quitting him for play, the regal ensigns of Mewar waved over the head of Mundore." This was more than the Sesodia nurse* (an important personage in all Hindu governments) could bear, and bursting with indignation, she demanded of the queen *if* her kin was to defraud her own child of his inheritance. The honesty of the nurse was greater than her prudence. The creed of the Rajpoot is to "obtain sovereignty," regarding the means as secondary, and this avowal of her suspicions only hastened their designs. The queen soon found herself without remedy, and a remonstrance to her father produced a hint which threatened the existence of her offspring. Her fears were soon after augmented by the assassination of Ragudeva, the second brother of Chonda, whose estates were Kailwara and Kowaria. To the former place, where he resided aloof from the court, Rao Rinmul sent a dress of honour, which etiquette requiring him to put on when presented, the prince was assassinated in the act. Ragudeva was so much beloved for virtues, courage, and manly beauty, that his murder became martyrdom, and obtained for him divine honours, and a place amongest the *Dei Patres (Pitri-deva)* of Mewar. His image is on every hearth, and is daily worshipped with the Penates. Twice in the year his altars receive public homage from every Sesodia, from the Rana to the serf.†

* The *Dhae*. The *Dhabhaes*, or 'foster-brothers,' often hold lands in perpetuity, and are employed in the most confidential places, on embassies, marriages, &c.

† On the 8th day of the *dusserah*, or 'military festival,' when the levies are mustered at the *Chaogan*, or 'Champ de mars,' and on the 10th

In this extremity the queen-mother turned her thoughts to Chonda, and it was not difficult to apprise him of the danger which menaced the race, every place of trust being held by her kinsmen, and the principal post of Cheetore by a Bhatti Rajpoot of Jessulmeer. Chonda, though at a distance, was not inattentive to the proverbially dangerous situation of a minor amongst the Rajpoots. At his departure he was accompanied by two hundred Ahaireas or hunts-men, whose ancestors had served the princes of Cheetore from ancient times. These had left their families behind, a visit to whom was the pretext for their introduction to the fort. They were instructed to get into the service of the keepers of the gates, and being considered more attached to the place than to the family, their object was effected. The queen-mother was counselled to cause the young prince to descend daily with a numerous retinue to give feasts to the surrounding villages, and gradually to increase the distance, but not to fail on the "festival of lamps"* to hold the feast *(gote)* at Gosoonda.†

The injunctions were carefully attended to. The day arrived. The feast was held at Gosoonda. But the night was closing in, and no Chonda appeared. With havey hearts the the nurse, the Purohit,‡ and those in the secret, moved homeward, and had reached the eminence called Chitoree, when forty horsemen passed them at the gallop, and at their head was Chonda in disguise, who by a secret sign paid homage as he passed his younger brother and sovereign. Chonda and his band had reached the *Rampol*,§ or upper gate, unchecked. Here, when challenged, they said they were neighbouring chieftains who hearing of the feast at Gosoonda, had the honour to escort the prince home. The story

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of Cheit, his altars are purified, and his image is washed and placed thereon. Women pray for the safety of their children; husbands that their wives may be fruitful. Previously to this, a son of Bappa Rawul was worshipped; but after the enshrinement of Raghudeva, the adoration of Kulesputra was gradually abolished. Nor is this custom confined to Mewar. There is a deified *Putra* in every Rajpoot family,—one who has met a violent death. Besides Eklinga, the descendants of Bappa have adopted numerous household divinities: the destinies of life and death, Byen-mata the goddess of the Chawuras, Nagnaitcha the serpent divinity of the Rahtores, and Khetra-pal, or 'fosterer of the field,' have with many others obtained a place on the Sesodia altars. This festival may not unaptly be compared to that of Adonis amongst the Greeks, for the *Putra* is worshipped chiefly by women.

* The *Dewalli*, from *dewa*, 'a lamp.' This festival is in honour of Latchmi, goddess of wealth.

† Seven miles south of Cheetore, on the road to Malwa.

‡ The family priest and instructor of youth.

§ *Ram-pol*, 'the gate of Rama.'

obtained credit. But the main body, of which this was but the advance, presently coming up, the treachery was apparent. Chonda unsheathed his sword, and at his well-known shout the hunters were speedily in action. The Bhatti chief, taken by surprise, and unable to reach Chonda, launched his dagger at and wounded him, but was himself slain. The guards at the gates were cut to pieces, and the Rahtores hunted out and killed without mercy.

The end of Rao Rinmul was more ludicrous than tragical. Smitten with the charms of a Sesodia hand-maid of the queen who was compelled to his embrace, the old chief was in her arms, intoxicated with love, wine, and opium, and heard nothing of the tumult without. A woman's wit and revenge combined to make his end afford some compensation for her loss of honour. Gently rising, she bound him to his bed with his own Marwari turban:* nor did this disturb him, and the messengers of fate had entered ere the opiate allowed his eyes to open to a sense of his danger. Enraged, he in vain endeavoured to extricate himself; and by some tortuosity of movement he got upon his legs, his pallet at his back like a shell or shield of defence. With no arms but a brass vessel of ablution, he levelled to the earth several of his assailants, when a ball from a matchlock extended him on the floor of the palace. His son Joda was in the lower town, and was indebted to the fleetness of his steed for escaping the fate of his father and kindred, whose bodies strewed the *terrepleine* of Cheetore, the merited reward of their usurpation and treachery.

But Chonda's revenge was not yet satisfied. He pursued Rao Joda, who unable to oppose him, took refuge with Hurba Sankla, leaving Mundore to its fate. This city Chonda entered by surprise, and holding it till his sons Kontotji and Munjaji arrived with reinforcements, the Rahtore treachery was repaid by their keeping possession of the capital during twelve years. We might here have left the future founder of Jodhpur, had not this feud led to the junction of the rich province of Godwar to Mewar, held for three centuries and again lost by treachery. It may yet involve a struggle between the Sesodians and Rahtores.

'Sweet are the uses of adversity.' To Joda it was the first step in the ladder of his eventual elevation. A century and a half had scarcely elapsed since a colony, the wreck of Kanouj, found an asylum, and at length a kingdom, taking possession of one capital and founding another, abandoning Mundore and erecting Jodhpur. But even Joda could never

* Often sixty cubits in length.

have hoped that his issue would have extended their sway from the valley of the Indus to within one hundred miles of the Jumna, and from the desert bordering on the Sutledge to the Aravali mountains; that one hundred thousand swords should at once be in the hands of Rahtores, 'the sons of one father (*ek Bapca Betan*).'

If we slightly encroach upon the annals of Marwar, it is because its history and that of Mewar are here so interwoven, and the incidents these events gave birth to illustrative of the national character of each, that it is, perhaps more expedient to advert to the period when Joda was shut out from Mundore, and the means by which he regained that city, previous to relating the events of the reign of Mokul.

Hurba Sankla, at once a soldier and a devotee was one of those Rajpoot cavaliers '*sans peur et sans reproche*,' whose life of celibacy and perilous adventure was mingled with the austere devotion of an ascetic; by turns aiding with his lance the cause which he deemed worthy, or exercising an unbounded hospitality towards the stranger. This generosity had much reduced his resources when Joda sought his protection. It was the eve of the '*Sudda Birt*,' one of those hospitable rites which, in former times, characterized Rajwarra. This 'perpetual charity' supplies food to the stranger and traveller, and is distributed not only by individual chiefs and by the Government, but by the subscriptions of communities. Even in Mewar, in her present impoverished condition, the offering to the gods in support of their shrines and the establishment of the '*Sudda Birt*' were simultaneous. Hospitality is a virtue pronounced to belong more peculiarly to a semi-barbarous condition. Alas! for refinement and ultra-civilization, strangers to the happiness enjoyed by Hurba Sankla. Joda, with one hundred and twenty followers, came to solicit the 'strangers' fare:' but unfortunately it was too late, the '*Sudda Birt*' had been distributed. In this exigence, Hurba recollected that there was a wood called *mujd*,* used in dyeing, which among other things in the desert regions is resorted to in scarcity. A portion of this was bruised, and boiled with some flour, sugar, and spices, making altogether a palatable pottage; and with a promise of better fare on the morrow, it was set before the young Rao and his followers, who, after making a good repast soon forgot Cheetore in sleep.

* The wood of Solomon's temple is called *al-mug*; the prefix *al* is merely the article. This is the wood also mentioned in the annals of Guzerat, of which the temple of 'Adinath' was constructed. It is said to be indestructible even by fire. It has been surmised that the fleets of Tyre frequented the Indian coast: could they thence have carried the *Al-Mujd* for the temple of Solomon?

On waking, each stared at his fellow, for their mustachios were dyed with their evening's meal. But the old chief, who was not disposed to reveal his expedient, made it minister to their hopes by giving it a miraculous character, and saying "that as the grey of age was thus metamorphosed into the tint of morn* and hope, so would their fortunes become young, and Mundore again be theirs."

Elevated by this prospect, they enlisted Hurba on their side. He accompanied them to the chieftain of Mewoh "whose stables contained one hundred chosen steeds." Pabooji, a third independent of the same stamp, with his 'coal-black steed,' was gained to the cause, and Joda soon found himself strong enough to attempt the recovery of his capital. The sons of Chonda were taken by surprise. But despising the numbers of the foe, and ignorant who were their auxiliaries, they descended sword in hand to meet the assailants. The elder† son of Chonda with many adherents was slain; and the younger, deserted by the subjects of Mundore, trusted to the swiftness of his horse for escape; but being pursued, was overtaken and killed on the boundary of Godwar. Thus Joda, in his turn, was revenged, but the "*feud was not balanced.*" Two sons of Cheetore had fallen for one chief of Mundore. But wisely reflecting on the original aggression, and the superior power of Mewar, as well as his being indebted for his present success to foreign aid, Joda sued for peace, and offered as the *moondkati*, or 'price of blood,' and "to quench the feud," that the spot where Manja fell should be the future barrier of the two states. The entire province of Godwar was comprehended in the cession, which for three centuries withstood every contention, till the internal dissention of the last half century, which grew out of the cause by which it was obtained, the change of succession in Mewar severed this most valuable acquisition.‡

Who would imagine, after such deadly feuds between these rival states, that in the very next succession these hostile frays were not only buried in oblivion, but that the prince of Marwar abjured "his turban and his bed" till he had revenged the assassination of the prince of Cheetore, and restored his infant heir to his rights? The annals of these states afford numerous

* This wood has a brownish red tint.

† This is related with some variation in other annals of the period.

‡ There is little hope, while British power acts as high constable and keeper of the peace in Rajwarra, of this being recovered: nor, were it otherwise, would it be desirable to see it become an object of contention between these states. Marwar has attained much grandeur since the time of Joda, and her resources are more unbroken than those of Mewar; who if she could redeem, could not from its exposed position, maintain the province against the brave Rahtore.

instances of the same hasty, overbearing temperament governing all; easily moved to strife, impatient of revenge, and stedfast in its gratification. But this satisfied, resentment subsides. A daughter of the offender given to wife banishes its remembrance, and when the bard joins the lately rival names in the couplet, each will complacently curl his mustachio over his lip as he hears his "renown expand like the lotus," and thus the feud is extinguished."

Thus have they gone on from time immemorial, and will continue, till what we may fear to contemplate. They have now neither friend nor foe but the British. The Tatar invader sleeps in his tomb, and the Mahratta depredator is muzzled and enchained. To return.

MOKUL, who obtained the throne by Chonda's surrender of his birth-right, was not destined long to enjoy the distinction, though he evinced qualities worthy of heading the Sesodias. He ascended the throne in S. 1454 (A. D. 1398), at an important era in the history of India; when Timur, who had already established the race of Chagitai in the kindoms of central Asia, and laid prostrate the throne of Byzantium, turned his arms towards India. But it was not a field for his ambition; and the event is not even noticed in the annals of Mewar: a proof that it did not affect their repose. But they record an attempted invasion by the king of Delhi, which is erroneously stated to have been by Feroz Shah. A grandson of this prince had indeed been set up, and compelled to fly from the arm of Timur, and as the direction of his flight was Guzerat, it is not unlikely that the recorded attempt to penetrate by the passes of Mewar may have been his. Be that as it may, the Rana Mokul anticipated and met him beyond the passes of the Aravali, in the field of Raepur, and compelled him to abandon his enterprize. Pursuing his success, he took possession of Sambur and its salt lakes, and otherewise extended and strengthened his territory, which the distracted state of the empire consequent on Timur's invasion rendered a matter of difficulty. Mokul finished the palace commenced by Lakha, now a mass of ruins; and erected the shrine of Chatoorbhoj, 'the four-armed deity,' in the western hills.

Besides three sons, Rana Mokul had a daughter, celebrated for her beauty, called Lal Bae, or the ruby.' 'She was betrothed to the Keechie chieftain of Gagrown, who, at the *hatleva** demanded the pledge of succour on foreign invasion. Dheruj the son of the Keechie, had come to solicit the stipulated aid against Hoshung of Malwa, who had indeed their capital.

* The ceremony of joining hands.

The Rana's head-quarters were then at Madaria. He was employed in quelling a revolt of the mountaineers, when Dheruj arrived and obtained the necessary aid. Madaria was destined to be the scene of the termination of Mokul's career. He was assassinated by his uncles, the natural brothers of his father, from an unintentional offence, which tradition has handed down in all its details.

Chacha and Maira were the natural sons of Kaitsi Rana (the predecessor of Lakha); their mother a fair hand-maid of low descent, generally allowed to be a carpenter's daughter. 'The fifth sons of Mewar' (as the natural children are figuratively termed) possess no rank, and though treated with kindness, and entrusted with confidential employments, the sons of the chiefs of the second class take precedence of them, and 'sit higher on the carpet.' These brothers had the charge of seven hundred horse in the train of Rana Mokul at Madaria. Some chiefs at enmity with them conceiving that they had overstepped their privileges, wished to see them humiliated Chance procured them the opportunity: which however cost their prince his life. Seated in a grove with his chiefs around him, he inquired the name of a particular tree. The Chohan chief, feigning ignorance, whispered him to ask either of the brothers; and not perceiving their scope, he artlessly did so. "Uncle, what tree is this?" The sarcasm thus prompted, they considered as reflecting on their birth (being sons of the carpenter's daughter), and the same day, while Mokul was at his devotions, and in the act of continuing his rosary, one blow severed his arm from his body, while another stretched him lifeless. The brothers quickly mounting their steeds, had the audacity to hope to surprise Cheetore, but the gates were closed upon them.

Though the murder of Mokul is related to have no other cause than the sarcasm alluded to, the precautions taken by the young prince Koombho, his successor, would induce a belief that this was but the opening of a deep-laid conspiracy. The traitors returned to the stronghold near Madaria, and Koombho trusted to the friendship and good feeling of the prince of Marwar in this emergency. His confidence was well repaid. The prince put his son at the head of a force, and the retreat of the assassins being near his own frontier, they were encountered and dislodged. From Madaria they fled to Paye, where they strengthened a fortress in the mountains named Ratakote; a lofty peak of the compound chain which encircles Oodipur visible from the surrounding country, as are the remains of this stronghold of the assassins. It would appear that their lives were dissolute, for they had carried off the virgin daughter

of a Chohan, which led to their eventual detection and punishment. Her father, Sooja, had traced the route of the ravishers, and mixing with the workmen, found that the approaches to the place of their concealment were capable of being scaled. He was about to lay his complaint before his prince, when he met the cavalcade of Koombho and the Rahtore. The distressed father 'covering his face,' disclosed the story of his own and daughter's dishonour. They encamped till night at Dailwara, when, led by the Chundanah, they issued forth to surprise the authors of so many evils. Arrived at the base of the rock, where the parapet was yet low, they commenced the escalade, aided by the thick foliage. The path was steep and rugged, and in the darkness of the night each had grasped his neighbour's skirt for security. Animated by a just revenge, the Chohan (Sooja) led the way, when on reaching a ledge of the rock the glaring eye-balls of a tigress flashed upon him. Undismayed, he squeezed the hand of the Rahtore prince who followed him, and who on perceiving the object of terror instantly burried his poignard in her heart. This omen was superb. They soon reached the summit. Some had ascended the parapet; others were scrambling over, when the minstrel slipping, fell, and his drum, which was to have accompanied his voice in singing the conquest, awoke by its crash the daughter of Chacha. Her father quieted her fears by saying it was only 'the thunder and the rains of Bhadoon:' to fear God only and go to sleep, for their enemies were safe at Kailwa. At this moment the Rao and his party rushed in. Chacha and Maira had no time to avoid their fate. Chacha was cleft in two by the Chundanah, while the Rahtore prince laid Maira at his feet, and the spoils of Ratakote were divided among the assailants.

CHAPTER VIII.

Succession of Koombho.—He defeats and takes prisoner Mahmood of Malwa.—Splendour of Koombho's reign.—Assassinated by his son.—The murderer dethroned by Raemul.—Mewar invaded by the imperial forces.—Raemul's successes.—Feuds of the family.—death of Raemul.

KOOMBHO succeeded his father in S. 1475 (A.D. 1419); nor did any symptom of dissatisfaction appear to usher in his reign, which was one of great success amidst no common difficulties. The bardic historians* do as much honour to the Marwar prince, who had made common cause with their sovereign in revenging the death of his father, as if it had involved the security of his crown. But this was a precautionary measure of the prince, who was induced thus to act from several motives, and above all, in accordance with usage, which stigmatizes the refusal of aid when demanded. Besides, "Koombho was the nephew of Marwar."

It has rarely occurred in any country to have possessed successively so many energetic princes as ruled Mewar through several centuries. She was now in the middle path of her glory, and enjoying the legitimate triumph of seeing the foes of her religion captives on the rock of her power. A century had elapsed since the bigot Alla had wreaked his vengeance on the different monuments of art. Cheetore had recovered the sack, and new defenders had sprung up in the place of those who had fallen in their 'saffron robes,' a sacrifice for her preservation, All that was wanting to augment her resources against the storms which were collecting on the brows of Caucasus and the shores of the Oxus, and were destined to burst on the head of his grandson Sanga, was effected by Koombho; who with Hamir's energy, Lakha's taste for the arts, and a genius comprehensive as either and more fortunate, succeeded in all his undertakings, and once more raised the 'crimson banner' of Mewar upon the banks of the Caggar, the scene of Samarsi's defeat. Let us contrast the patriarchal Hindu governments of this period with the despotism of the Tatar invader.

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* The *Raj Ruttuna*, by Rinchor Bhut, says: "the Mundore Rao was pradhan, or premier, to Mokul and conquered Nowah and Deedwana for Mewar."

From the age of Shahbudin, the conqueror of India, and his contemporary Samarsi, to the time we have now reached, two entire dynasties, numbering twenty-four emperors and one empress, through assassination, rebellion, and dethronement, had followed in rapid succession, yielding a result of only nine years to a reign. Of Mewar, though several fell in defending their altars at home or their religion abroad, eleven princes suffice to fill the same period.

It was towards the close of the Ghilji dynasty that the satraps of Delhi shook off its authority and established subordinate kingdoms: Beejipur and Golconda in the Dekhan; Malwa, Guzerat, Joinpur in the east; and even Calpee had its king. Malwa and Guzerat had attained considerable power when Koombho ascended the throne. In the midst of his prosperity these two states formed a league against him, and in S. 1496 (A.D. 1440) both kings, at the head of powerful armies, invaded Mewar. Koombho met them on the plains of Malwa bordering on his own state, and at the head of one hundred thousand horse and foot and fourteen hundred elephants, gave them an entire defeat, carrying captive to Cheetore Mahmood, the Ghilji sovereign of Malwa.

Abul Fuzil relates this victory, and dilates on Koombho's greatness of soul in setting his enemy at liberty, not only without ransom but with gifts. Such is the character of the Hindu: a mixture of arrogance, political blindness, pride and generosity. To spare a prostrate foe is the creed of the Hindu cavalier, and he carries all such maxims to excess. The annals, however, state that Mahmood was confined six months in Cheetore; and that the trophies of conquest were retained we have evidence from Baber, who mentions receiving from the son of his opponent, Sanga, the crown of the Malwa king. But there is a more durable monument than this written record of victory: the triumphal pillar in Cheetore, whose inscriptions detail the event, "when, shaking the earth, the lords of Goojur-khund and Malwa, with armies overwhelming as the ocean, invaded Medpat." Eleven years after this event, Koombho laid the foundation of this column, which was completed in ten more: a period apparently too short to place "this ringlet on the brow of Cheetore, which makes her look down upon Meru with derision." We will leave it, with the aspiration that it may long continue a monument of the fortune of its founders.

It would appear that the Malwa king afterwards united his arms with Koombho, as, in a victory gained over the imperial forces at Jhoonjoonoo, when "he planted his standard in Hissar," the Malwa troops were combined with those of Mewar. The imperial power had at this period greatly de-

clined. The Khootba was read in the mosques in the name of Timoor, and the Malwa king had defeated, single-handed, the last Ghorian sultan of Delhi.

Of eighty-four fortresses for the defence of Mewar, thirty-two were erected by Khoombho. Inferior only to Cheetore is that stupendous work called after him Koombhomeer* 'the hill of Khoombho,' from its natural position, and the works he raised, impregnable to a native army. These works were on the site of a more ancient fortress, of which the mountaineers long held possession. Tradition ascribes it to Sumprit Raja, a Jain prince in the second century, and a descendant of Chandragupta. The ancient Jain temples appear to confirm the tradition.† When Koombho captured Nagore he brought away the gates, with the statue of the god Hanuman, who gives his name to the gate which he still guards. He also erected a citadel on a peak of Aboo, within the fortress of the ancient Pramara, where he often resided. Its magazine and alarm-tower still bear Koombho's name; and in a rude temple the bronze effigies of Koombho and his father still receive divine honours. Centuries have passed since the princes of Mewar had influence here, but the incident marks the vivid remembrance of their condition. He fortified the passes between the western fronties and Aboo, and erected the fort Vasunti near the present Sirohi, and that of Macheen, to defend the Shero Nalla and Deogurh against the *Mairs* of Aravali. He re-established Ahore and other smaller forts to over-awe the Bhoomia‡ Bhil of Jarole and Panora, and defined the boundaries of Marwar and Mewar.

Besides these monuments of his genius, two consecrated to religion have survived: that of "Koombho Sham," on Aboo, which though worthy to attract notice elsewhere, is here eclipsed by a crowd of more interesting objects. The other, one of the largest edifices existing, cost upwards of a million sterling, towards which Koombho contributed eighty thousand pounds. It is erected in the Sadri pass leading from the western descent of the highlands of Mewar, and is dedicated to Rishub-deva.§ Its secluded position has preserved it from

* Pronounced *Komulmeer*, See Plate.

† See plates.

‡ A powerful phrase, indicating 'possessor of the soil.'

§ The Rana's minister, of the Jain faith, and of the tribe Porwar (one of the *twelve and a half* divisions), laid the foundation of this temple in A.D. 1438. It was completed by subscription. It consists of three stories, and is supported by numerous columns of granite, upwards of forty feet in height. The interior is inlaid with mosaics of cornelian and agate. The statues of the Jain saints are in its subterranean vaults. We could not expect much elegance at a period when the arts had long been declining,

or firmness to execute. The heir-apparent, Raemul, who was exiled to Eidur for what his father deemed an impertinent curiosity,* had attached one of these bards to his suite, whose ingenuity got the edict set aside, and his race restored to their lands and prince's favour. Had they taken off the Brahmin's head, they might have falsified the prediction which unhappily was too soon fulfilled.†

RAEMUL succeeded in S. 1530 (A.D. 1474) by his own valour to the seat of Koombho. He had fought and defeated the usurper, who on this occasion fled to the king of Delhi and offered him a daughter of Mewar. After his death in the manner described, the Delhi monarch with Sehesmul and Soorajmul, sons of the parricide, invaded Mewar, encamping at Siarh, now Nathadwara. The chiefs were faithful to their legitimate prince, Raemul, and aided by his allies of Aboo and Girnar, at the head of fifty-eight thousand horse and eleven thousand foot, he gave battle to the pretender and his imperial ally at Ghassa. The conflict was ferocious. "The streams ran blood," for the sons of usurper were brave as lions. But the king was so completely routed that he never again entered Mewar.

Raemul bestowed one daughter to Surji (Yadu), the chief of Girnar; and another on the Deora, Jeymul of Sirohi, confirming his title to Aboo as her dower. He sustained the warlike reputation of his predecessors, and carried on interminable strife with Gheas-o-din of Malwa, whom he defeated in several

* He had observed that his father, ever since the victory over the king at Jhoonjoonu, before he took a seat thrice waved his sword in circles over his head, pronouncing at the same time some incantation. Inquiry into the meaning of this was cause of his banishment.

† During the rains of 1820, when the author was residing at Oodipur, the Rana fell ill. His complaint was an intermittent (which for several years returned with the monsoon), at the same time that he was jaundiced with bile. An intriguing Brahmin, who managed the estates of the Rana's elder sister, held also the two-fold office of physician and astrologer to the Rana. He had predicted that year as one of evil in his horoscope, and was about to verify the prophesy, since, instead of the active medicines requisite, he was administering the *Heft dhat*, or 'seven metals,' compounded. Having a most sincere regard for the Rana's welfare, the author seized the opportunity of a full court being assembled on the distribution of swords and coco-nuts preparatory to the military festival, to ask a personal favour. The Rana, smiling, said that it was granted, when he was entreated to leave off the poison he was taking. He did so; the amendment was soon visible, and aided by the medicines of Dr. Duncan, which he readily took, his complaint was speedily cured. The 'man of fate and physic' lost half his estates, which he had obtained through intrigue. He was succeeded by Umra the bard, who is not likely to ransack the pharmacopœia for such poisonous ingredients; his ordinary prescription being the 'amrit.'

pitched battles, to the success of which the valour of his nephews, whom he had pardoned, mainly contributed. In the last of these encounters the Ghilji king sued for peace, renouncing the pretensions he had formerly urged. The dynasty of Lodi next enjoyed the imperial bauble, and with it Mewar had to contest her northern boundary.

Raemul had three sons, celebrated in the annals of Rajasthan. Sanga, the competitor of Baber, and Prithwi Raj, the Rolando of his age. Unhappily for the country and their father's repose, fraternal affection was discarded for deadly hate, and their feuds and dissensions were a source of constant alarm. Had discord not disunited them, the reign of Raemul would have equalled any of his predecessors. As it was, it presented a striking contrast to them: his two elder sons banished; the first, Sanga, self-exiled from perpetual fear of his life, and Prithwi Raj, the second, from his turbulence; while the younger, Jeimal, was slain through his intemperance. A sketch of these feuds will present a good picture of the Rajpoot character, and their mode of life when their arms were not required against their country's foes.

Sanga* and Prithwi Raj were the offspring of the Jhali Queen; Jeimal was by another mother. What moral influence the name he bore had on Prithwi Raj we can surmise only from his actions, which would stand comparison with those of his prototype the Chohan of Delhi, and are yet the delight of the Sesodia. When they assemble at the feast after a day's sport, or in a sultry evening spread the carpet on the terrace to inhale the leaf or take a cup of kusoomba, a tale of Prithwi Raj recited by the bard is the highest treat they can enjoy. Sanga, the heir-apparent, was a contrast to his brother. Equally brave, his courage was tempered by reflection; while Pirthwi Raj burned with a perpetual thirst for action, and often observed "that fate must have intended him to rule Mewar." The three brothers, with their uncle, Surajmul, were one day discussing these topics, when Sanga observed that, though heir to 'the ten thousand towns' of Mewar, he would waive his claims, and trust them, as did the Roman brothers, to the omen which should be given by the priestess of Charuni Devi at Nahra Mugro,† the 'Tiger's Mount.' They repaired to her abode. Pirthwi Raj and Jeimal entered first, and seated themselves on a pallet: Sanga followed and took possession of the panther hide of the prophetess; his uncle, Surajmul, with one knee resting thereon. Scarcely had Prithwi Raj disclosed their

* His name classically is *Singram Sing*. 'the lion of war.'

† About ten miles east of Oodipur.

errand, when the sybil pointed to the panther-hide† as the decisive omen of sovereignty to Sanga, with a portion to his uncle. They received the decree as did the twins of Rome. Prithwi Raj drew his sword and would have falsified the omen, had not Surjmul stepped in and received the blow destined for Sanga, while the prophetess fled from their fury. Surajmul and Prithwi Raj were exhausted with wounds, and Sanga fled with five sword-cuts and an arrow in his eye, which destroyed the sight for ever. He made for the sanctuary of Chutturbhooja, and passing Sevantee, took refuge with Beeda (Oodawut), who was accoutred for a journey, his steed standing by him. Scarcely had he assisted the wounded heir of Mewar to alight when Jeimal galloped up in pursuit. The Rahtore guarded the sanctuary, and gave up his life in defence of his guest, who meanwhile escaped.

Prithwi Raj recovered from his wound; and Sanga, aware of his implacable enmity, had recourse to many expedients to avoid discovery. He, who at a future period leagued a hundred thousand men against the descendant of Timoor, was compelled to associate with goat-herds, expelled the peasant's abode as too stupid to tend his cattle, and precisely like our Alfred the great, having in charge some cakes or flour, was reproached with being more desirous of eating than tending them. A few faithful Rajpoots found him in this state, and providing him with arms and a horse, they took service with Rao Kurimchund Pramar, chief of Sreenugger,* and with him "ran the country." After one of these raids, Sanga one day alighted under a banian tree, and placing his dagger under his head, reposed, while two of his faithful Rajpoots, whose names are preserved,‡ prepared his repast, their steeds grazing by them. A ray of the sun penetrating the foliage, fell on Sanga's face, and discovered a snake, which feeling the warmth, had uncoiled itself and was rearing its crest over the head of the exile. A bird of omen§ had perched itself on the crested serpent, and was chattering aloud. A goat-herd named Maroo, "versed in the language of birds," passed at the moment Sanga awoke. The prince repelled the proffered homage of the goat-herd, who, however, had intimated to the Pramara chief that he was served by "royalty."¶

† *Singhasun* is the ancient term for the Hindu throne, signifying 'the lion-seat.' Charus, bards, who are all *Maharajas*, 'great princes,' by courtesy, have their seats of the lion, tiger, panther, or black antelope.

* Near Ajmeer.

‡ Jey Sing Baleo and Jeimoo Sindil.

§ Called the *devi*, about the size of the wagtail, and like it, black and white.

¶ Chuthurdhari.

The Paramara kept the secret, and gave Sanga a daughter to wife, and protection till the tragical end of his brother called him to the throne.

When the Rana heard of the quarrel which had nearly deprived him of his heir, he banished Prithwi Raj, telling him that he might live on his bravery and maintain himself with strife. With but five horse‡ Prithwi Raj quitted the paternal abode, and made for Baleoh in Godwar. These dissensions following the disastrous conclusion of the last reign, paralized the country, and the wild tribes of the west and the mountaineers of the Aravali so little respected the garrison of Nadole (the chief town of Godwar), that they carried their depredation to the plains. Prithwi Raj halted at Nadole, and having to procure some necessaries pledged a ring to the merchant who had sold it to him. The merchant recognized the prince, and learning the cause of his disguise proffered his services in the scheme which the prince had in view for the restoration of order in Godwar, being determined to evince to his father that he had resources independent of birth. The Meenas were the aboriginal proprietors of all these regions; the Rajpoots were interlopers and conquerors. A Rawut of this tribe had regained their ancient haunts, and held his petty court at the town of Nodolaye in the plains, and was even served by Rajpoots. By the advice of Ojah, the merchant, Prithwi Raj enlisted himself and his band among the adherents of the Meena. On the *Ahairea*, or 'hunter's festival,' the vassals have leave to rejoin their families. Prithwi Raj, who had also obtained leave, rapidly retraced his steps, and despatching his Rajpoots to dislodge the Meena, awaited the result in ambush at the gate of the town. In a short time the Meena appeared on horseback, and in full flight to the mountains for security. Prithwi Raj pursued, overtook, and transfixed him with his lance to a kesoola tree, and setting fire to the village, he slew the Meenas as they sought to escape the flames. Other towns shared the same fate, and all the province of Godwar, with the exception of Daisoori, a stronghold of the Madraicha Chohans, fell into his power. At this time Sadda Solanki, whose ancestor had escaped the destruction of Putun and found refuge in these mountainous tracts, held Sodgurh. He had espoused a daughter of the Madraicha, but the grant of Daisoori and its lands* in perpetuity easily gained him to the cause of Prithwi Raj.

‡ The names of his followers were, Jessa Sindia, Singum (Dabi) Abho, Junoh, and a Bhadail Rahtore.

* The grant in the preamble denounces a course on any of Pirthwi Raj's descendants who should resume it. I have often conversed with his

Prithwi Raja having thus restored order in Godwar, and appointed Ojah and the Solanki to the government thereof, regained the confidence of his father; and his brother Jeimal being slain at this time, accelerated his forgiveness and recall. Ere he rejoins Raemul we will relate the manner of this event. Jeimal was desirous to obtain the hand of Tarra Bae, daughter of Rao Soortan,* who had been expelled by the Pathans. The price of her hand was the recovery of this domain. But Jeimal, willing to anticipate the reward, and rudely attempting access to the fair, was slain by the indignant father. The quibbling remark of the bard upon this event is that "Tarra was not the star *(tarra)* of his destiny." At the period of this occurrence Sanga was in concealment, Prithwi Raj banished, and Jeimal consequently looked to as the heir of Mewar. The Rana, when incited to revenge, replied with a magnanimity which deserves to be recorded, "that he who had thus dared to insult the honour of a father, and that father in distress, richly merited his fate:" and in proof of his disavowal of such a son he conferred on the Solanki the district of Bednore.

This event led to the recall of Prithwi Raj, who eagerly took up the gage disgraced by his brother. The adventure was akin to his taste. The exploit which won the hand of the fair Amazon, who, equipped with bow and quiver, subsequently accompanied him in many perilous enterprizes, will be elsewhere related.

Surajmul (the uncle), who had fomented these quarrels, resolved not to belie the prophetess if a crown lay in his path. The claims acquired from his parricidal parent were revived when Mewar had no sons to look to. Prithwi Raj, on his return renewed the feud with Surajmul, whose "vaulting ambition" persuaded him that the crown was his destiny, and he plunged deep into treason to obtain it. He joined as partner in his schemes Sarungdeo, another descendant of Lakha Rana, and both repaired to Mozuffir, the sultan of Malwa. With his aid, they assailed the southern frontier, and rapidly possessed themselves of Sadri, Baturo, and a wide tract extending from Nye to Neemutch, attempting even Cheetore. With the few troops at hand Raemul descended to punish the rebels, who met the attack on the river Gumbeeree. The Rana, fighting like a

descendant, who held Sodgurh and its lands, which were never resumed by the princes of Cheetore though they reverted to Marwar. The chief still honours the Rana, and many lives have been sacrificed to maintain his claims, and with any prospect of success he would not hesitate to offer his own.

* This is a genuine Hindu name, 'the Hero's refuge,' for *Soor* 'a warrior' and *sran* 'an abode.'

common soldier, had received two and twenty wounds, and was nearly falling through faintness, when Prithwi Raj joined him with one thousand fresh horse, and reanimated the battle. He selected his uncle Surajmul, whom he soon covered with wounds. Many had fallen on both sides, but neither party would yield. When worn out they mutually retired from the field, and bivouacked in sight of each other.

It will shew the manners and feelings so peculiar to the Rajpoot, to describe the meeting between the rival uncle and nephew—unique in the details of strife, perhaps, since the origin of man. It is taken from a MS. of the Jhala chief who succeeded Surajmul in Sadri. Prithwi Raj visited his uncle, whom he found in a small tent reclining on a pallet, having just had "*the barber*" (*nae*) to sew up his wounds. He rose, and met his nephew with the customary respect, as if nothing unusual had occurred; but the exertion caused some of the wonds to open afresh, when the following dialogue ensued.

Prithwi Raj. "Well, uncle, how are your wounds?"

Surajmul. Quite healed, my child, since I have the pleasure of seeing you."

Prithwi Raj. "But, uncle (*kaka*), I have not yet seen the Dewanji.* I first ran to see you, and I am very hungry; have you any thing to eat?"

Dinner was soon served, and the extra-ordinary pair sat down and "ate off the same platter" † nor did Prithwi Raj hesitate to eat the "*pan*," ‡ presented on his taking leave.

Prithwi Raj. "You and I will end our battle in the morning, uncle."

Surajmul. "Very well, child; come early."

They met. But Sarungdeo bore the brunt of the conflict, receiving thirty-five wounds. During "four gurries§ swords and lances were plied, and every tribe of Rajpoot lost numbers that day." But the rebels were defeated and fled to Sadri, and Prithwi Raj returned in triumph, though with seven wounds, to Cheetore. The rebels, however, did not relinquish their designs, and many personal encounters took place between the uncle and nephew: the latter saying he would not let him retain "as much land of Mewar as would cover a needle's point:" and Sujoh‖

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* 'Regent;' the title the Rana is most familiarly known by.

† *Thali*, 'a brass platter.' This is the highest mark of confidence and friendship.

‡ This compound of the betel or areca-nut, cloves, mace, terra japonica, and prepared lime, is always taken after meals, and has not unfrequently been a medium for administering poison.

§ Hours of twenty-two minutes each.

‖ Familiar contraction of Surajmul.

retorting, that "he would allow his nephew to redeem only as much as would suffice to lie upon." But Prithwi Raj gave them no rest, pursuing them from place to place. In the wilds of Baturo, they formed a stockaded retreat of the dho tree, which abounds in these forests. Within this shelter, horses and men were intermingled. Sujoh and his coadjutor were communing by the night-fire on their desperate plight, when their cogitations were checked by the rush and neigh of horses. Scarcely had the pretender exclaimed "this must be my nephew!" when Prithwi Raj dashed his steed through the barricade and entered with his troops. All was confusion, and the sword showered its blows indiscriminately. The young prince reached his uncle, and dealt him a blow which would have levelled him, but for the support of Sarungdeo, who upbraided him, adding that "a buffet now was more than a score of wounds in former days:" to which Sujoh rejoined, "only when dealt by my nephew's hand." Sujoh demanded a parley. Calling on the prince to stop the combat, he continued: "if I am killed, it matters not—my children are Rajpoots, they will run the country to find support. But if you are slain, what will become of Cheetore? My face will be blackened, and my name everlastingly reprobated."

The sword was sheathed, and as the uncle and nephew embraced, the latter asked the former, "what were you about, uncle, when I came?" "Only talking nonsense, child, after dinner."—But with me over your head, uncle, as a foe, how could you be so negligent?—"What could I do? you had left me no resource, and I must have some place to rest my head!" There was a small temple near the stockade, to which in the morning Prithwi Raj requested his uncle to accompany him to sacrifice to Cali,* but the blow of the preceding night prevented him. Sarungdeo was his proxy. One buffalo had fallen, and a goat was about to follow, when the prince turned his swords on Sarungdeo. The combat was desperate. But Prithwi Raj was the victor, and the head of the traitor was placed as an offering on the altar, of Time. The Gooda† was plundered, the town of Baturo recovered, and Surajmul fled to Sadri, where he only stopped to fulfil his threat, "that if he could not retain its lands he would make them over to those stronger than the king?‡

* The Hindu Proserpine, or Calligenia. Is this Grecian handmaid of Hecate also Hindu, born of time' (*Cali-jenema*)?

† Gooda, or Goora is the name of such temporary places of refuge; the origin of towns bearing this name.

‡ Such grants are irresumable, under the penalty of sixty thousand ears in hell. This fine distri is eaten up by these mendicant Brahmins. One town alone, containing 52,000 beegas (about 15,000 acres) of rich land,

and having distributed them amongst Brahmins and bards, he finally abandoned Mewar. Passing through the wilds of Khanthul, he had an omen which recalled the Charuni's prediction; 'a wolf endeavouring in vain to carry off a kid defended by maternal affection.' This was interpreted as 'strong ground for a dwelling.' He halted, subdued the aboriginal tribes, and on this spot erected the town and stronghold of Deola, becoming lord of a thousand villages, which have descended to his offspring, who now enjoy them under British protection. Such was the origin of Pertabgurh Deola.

Prithwi Raj was poisoned by his brother-in-law, of Aboo, whom he had punished for maltreating his sister, but afterwards confided in. His death was soon followed by that of Rana Raemul, who, though not equal to his predecessors, was greatly respected and maintained the dignity of his station amidst no ordinary calamities.*

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is thus lost; and by such follies Mewar has gradually sunk to her present extreme poverty.

*The walls of his palace are still pointed out.

CHAPTER IX.

Accession of Rana Sanga.—State of the Mohamedan power.—Grandeur of Mewar.—Sanga's victories.—Invasions of India.—Baber's invasions—Defeats and kills the King of Delhi.—Opposed by Sanga.—Battle of Kanua.—Defeat of Sanga.—His death and character.—Accession of Rana Rutna.—His death.—Rana Bickramajeet.—His character.—Disgusts his nobles.—Cheetore invested by the King of Malwa.—Storm of Cheetore.—Saca or immolation of the females.—Fall and plunder of Cheetore.—Hemayoon comes to its aid.—He restores Cheetore to Bickramajeet, who is deposed by the nobles.—Election of Bunbeer.—Bickramajeet assassinated.

SINGRAM, better known in the annals of Mewar as Sanga (Called Sinka by the Mogul historians), succeeded in S. 1565 (A.D. 1509). With this prince Mewar reached the summit of her prosperity. To use their own metaphor, "he was the kullus* on the pinnacle of her glory." From him we shall witness this glory on the wane; and though many rays of splendour illuminated her declining career, they served but to gild the ruin.

The imperial chair, since occupied by the Tuar descendant of the Pandus, and the first and last of the Chohans, and which had been filled successively by the dynasties of Gazni and Ghor, the Ghilji and Lodi, was now shivered to pieces, and numerous petty thrones were constructed of its fragments. Mewar little dreaded these imperial puppets, 'when Amurath to Amurath succeeded,' and when four kings reigned simultaneously between Delhi and Benares.† The kings of Malwa, though leagued with those of Guzerat, conjoined to the rebels, could make no impression on Mewar when Sanga led her heroes. Eighty thousand horse, seven Rajas of the highest rank, Raos, and one hundred and four chieftains bearing the titles of Rawul and Rawut, with five hundred war elephants, followed him into the field. The princes of Marwar and Ambar‡ did him homage, and the Raos of Gwalior, Ajmeer, Sikri,

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* The ball or urn which crowns the pinnacle (*sikr*).

† Delhi, Biana, Kalpee, and Joinpoor.

‡ Prithwi Raj was yet but Rao of Ambar, a name now lost in Jeypur. The twelve sons of this prince formed the existing subdivisions or clans of the Cutchwahas, whose political consequence dates from Humayoon, the son and successor of Baber.

Raesen, Kalpee, Chanderi, Boondi, Gagrown, Rampura, and Aboo, served him as tributaries or held of him in chief.

Sanga did not forget those who sheltered him in his reverses. Keremchund of Srinuggur had a grant of Ajmeer and the title of Rao for his son Jugmal, the reward of his services in the reduction of Chanderi.

In a short space of time, Sanga entirely allayed the disorders occasioned by the intestine feuds of his family; and were it permitted to speculate on the cause which prompted a temporary cession of his rights and his dignities to his more impetuous brother, it might be discerned in a spirit of forecast, and of fraternal and patriotic forbearance, a deviation from which would have endangered the country as well as the safety of his family. We may assume this, in order to account for an otherwise pusillanimous surrender of his birth-right, and being in contrast to all the subsequent heroism of his life, which when he resigned, was contained within the wreck of a form, Sanga organized his forces, with which he always kept the field, and ere called to contend with the descendant of Timoor, had gained eighteen pitched battles against the kings of Delhi and Malwa. In two of these he was opposed by Ibrahim Lodi in person, at Bakrole and Ghatolli, in which last battle the imperial forces were defeated with great slaughter, leaving a prisoner of the blood royal to grace the triumph of Cheetore. The Peela-khal (yellow rivulet) near Biana became the northern boundary of Mewar, with the Sinde river to the east, —touching Malwa to the south while his native hills were an impenetrable barrier to the west. Thus swaying, directly or by control, the greater part of Rajasthan, and adored by the Rajpoots for the possession of those qualities they hold in estimation, Sanga was ascending to the pinnacle of distinction; and had not fresh hordes of Usbecs and Tatars from the prolific shores of the Oxus and Jaxartes again poured down on the devoted plains of Hindusthan, the crown of the *Chacravarta** might again have encircled the brow of a Hindu, and the banner of supremacy been transferred from Indraprastha to the battlements of Cheetore. But Baber arrived at a critical time to rally the dejected followers of the Koran, and to collect them around his own victorious standard.

From the earliest recorded periods of her history, India has been the prey of the more hardy population from the central regions of Asia. From this fact we may infer another, namely that its internal from of government was the same as

* Universal potentate: the Hindu reckon only six of these in their history.

at the present day, partitioned into numerous petty kingdoms of tribes and clans of a feudal federation, a prey to all the jealousies inseparable from such a condition. The historians as Alexander bear ample testimony to such form of government, when the Punjab alone possessed many sovereigns, besides the democracies of cities. Perians overran it; and Darius the Mede accounted India as the richest of his satrapies; the Greeks, the Parthians, who have left in their medals the best proofs of their power; the Getes or Yuti followed. From the Gori Shabudin to the Chagitai Babar, in less than three centuries, five invasions are recorded, each originating a dynasty. Sanga's opponent was the last, and will continue so until the rays of knowledge renovated the ancient nursery of the human race:—then may end the anomaly in the history of power, of a handful of Britons holding the succession to the Mede, the Parthian, and the Tatar. But, however surprise may be excited at witnessing such rapidity of change, from the physical superiority of man over man, it is immeasurably heightened at the little moral consequence, which in every other region of the world has always attended such concussions. Creeds have changed, races have mingled, and names have been effaced from the page of history; but in this corner of civilization we have no such result, and the Rajpoot remains the same singular being, concentrated in his prejudices, political and moral, as in the days of Alexander, desiring no change himself, and still less to cause any in others. Whatever be the conservative principle, it merits a philosophic analysis, but more a proper application and direction, by those to whom the destinies of this portion of the globe are confided; for in this remote spot there is a nucleus of energy, on which may accumulate a mass for our support, or our destruction.

To return: a descendant of the Turshka of the Jaxartes, the ancient foe of the children of Surya and Chandra, was destined to fulfil the prophetic Puran which foretold dominion "to the Turshka, the Yavan," and other foreign races, in Hind; and the conquered made a right application of the term Turk, both as regards its ancient and modern signification, when applied to the conquerors from Turkisthan. Baber, the opponent of Sanga, was king of Ferghana, and of Turki race. His dominions were on both sides the Jaxartes, a portion of ancient Sakatai, or Saca-dwipa (Scythia), where dwelt Tomyris the Getic queen immortalized by Herodotus, and where her opponent erected Cyropolis, as did in after-times the Macedonian his most remote Alexandria. From this region did the same Gete, Jit or Yuti, issue, to the destruction of Bactria, two centuries before the Christian era, and also five subsequent thereto

found a kingdom in Northern India. Again, one thousand years later, Baber issued with his bands to the final subjugation of India. As affecting India alone, this portion of the globe merits deep attention. But as the "*officina gentium*," whence issued those hordes of Aṣi, Jits, or Yeuts (of whom the Angles were a branch), who peopled the shores of the Baltic, and the precursors of those Goths who, under Attila and Alaric, altered the condition of Europe, its importance is vastly enhanced. But on this occasion it was not redundant population which made the descendant of Timoor and Jungheez abandon the Jaxartes for the Ganges, but unsuccessful ambition: for Baber quitted the delights of Samarcand as a fugitive, and commenced his enterprize, which gave him the throne of the Pandus, with less than two thousand adherents.

The Rajpoot prince had a worthy antagonist in the king of Ferghana. Like Sanga he was trained in the school of the adversity, and like him, though his acts of personal heroism were even romantic, he tempered it with that discretion which looks to its results. In A. D. 1494, at the tender age of twelve, he succeeded to a kingdom; ere he was sixteen, he defeated several confederacies and conquered Samarcand, and in two short years again lost and regained it. His life was a tissue of successes and reverses; at one moment hailed lord of the chief kingdoms of Transoxiana; at another flying, unattended, or putting all to hazard in desperate single combats, in one of which he slew five champions of his enemies. Driven at length from Ferghana, in despair he crossed the Hindu-Coosh, and in 1519 the Indus. Between the Punjab and Cabul he lingered seven years, ere he advanced to measure his sword with Ibrahim of Delhi. Fortune returned to his standard. Ibrahim was slain, his army routed and dispersed, and Delhi and Agra opened their gates to the fugitive king of Ferghana. His reflections on success evince it was his due: "not to me, oh God! but to thee, be the victory!" says the chivalrous Baber. A year had elapsed in possession of Delhi, ere he ventured against the most powerful of his antagonists, Rana Sanga of Cheetore.

With all Baber's qualities as soldire, supported by the hardy clans of the 'cloud Mountains (*Belur Tag*), of Karatagin,* the chances were many that he and they terminated their career

* The literay world is much indebted to Mr. Erskine for his "Memoirs of Baber," a work of a most original stamp and rare value for its extensive historical and geographical details of a very interesting portion of the globe. The king of Ferghana, like Cæsar, was the historian of his own conquests, and unites, all the qualities of the romantic Troubadour to those of the warrior and statesman. It is not saying too much when it is asserted, that Mr. Erskine is the only person existing who could have made such a

on the 'yellow rivulet' of Biana. Neither bravery nor skill saved him from this fate, which he appears to have expected. What better proof can be desired than Baber's own testimony to the fact, that a horde of invaders from the Jaxartes, without support or retreat, were obliged to entrench themselves to the teeth in the face of their Rajpoot foe, alike brave and overpowering in numbers? To ancient jealousies he was indebted for not losing his life instead of gaining a crown, and for being extricated from a condition so desperate, that even the frenzy of religion, which made death martyrdom in "this holy war," scarcely availed to expel the despair which so infected his followers, that in the bitterness of his heart he says "not a single person who uttered a manly word, nor an individual who delivered a courageous opinion,"

Baber advanced from Agra and Sikri to oppose Rana Sanga, in full march to attack him at the head of almost all the princes of Rajasthan. Although the annals state some points which the imperial historian has not recorded, yet both accounts of the conflict correspond in all the essential details. On the 5th of Kartik, S. 1584* (A.D. 1528), according to the annals, the Rana raised the siege of Biana, and at Kanua encountered the advanced guard of the Tatars, amounting to fifteen hundred men, which was entirely destroyed; the fugitives carrying to the main body the accounts of the disaster, which paralyzed their energies, and made them entrench for security, instead of advancing with the confidence of victory. Reinforcements met the same fate, and were pursued to the camp. Accustomed to reverses, Baber met the check without dismay, and adopted every precaution that a mind fertile in expedients could suggest to re-assure the drooping spirits of his troops. He threw up entrenchments, in which he placed his artillery, connecting

translation, or preserved the great charm of the original—its elevated simplicity; and though his modesty makes him share the merit with Dr. Leyden, it is to him the public thanks are due. Mr. Erskine's introduction is such as might have been expected from his well-known erudition and research, and with the notes interspersed adds immensely to the value of the original. With his geographical materials, those of Mr. Elphinstone, and the journal of the "Voyage d'Orenbourg a Bokhara," full of merit and modesty, we now possess sufficient materials for the geograghy of the nursery of mankind. I Would presume to amend one valuable geographical notice (Introd- p. 27), and which only requires the permutation of a vowel, Kas-*mir* for Kas-*mir* when we have, not '*the country of the Kas*,' but the *Kasia Montes* (mer) of Ptolemy; the Kho (*mer*) Kas or *Caucasus*. *Mir*. has no signification, *Mer* is ' is mountain" in Sanscrit, as is *Kho* in persain. *Kas*, was the race inhabiting these; and and *Kas-gar*, the Kassia Region of Ptolemy. *Gar* is a Sanscrit world still in use for a ' region,' of *Cutchwaha-gar*, *Gujar-gar*.

* According to the Memoirs of Baber, 11th February 1527.

his guns by chains, and in the more exposed parts *chevaux de frise*, united by leather ropes : a precaution continued in every subsequent change of position. Every thing seemed to aid the Hindu cause: even the Tatar astrologer asserted, that as Mars was in the west, whoever should engage coming from the opposite quarter should be defeated. In this state of total inactivity, blockaded in this encampment, Baber remained near a fortnight, when he determined to renounce his besetting sin, and merit superior aid to extricate him from his peril: the *naivete* of his vow must be given in his own words.* But the destruction of the wine flasks would appear only to have added to the existing consternation, and made him, as a last resort, appeal to

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* "On Monday, the 23d of the first Jemadi, I had mounted to survey my posts, and in the course of my ride was seriously "struck with the reflexion, that I had always resolved, one time or another, to make an effectual repentance, and that some traces of a hankering after the renunciation of forbidden works had ever remained in my heart. I said to myself, "O, my soul.'

(*Persian Verse.*)

'How long wilt thou continue to take pleasure in sin?
' Repentance is not unpalatable—taste it.

(*Turki Verse.*)

"' How great has been thy defilement from sin!
"' How much pleasure thou didst take in despair!
"' How long hast thou been the slave of thy passions!
"'How much of thy life hast thou thrown away!
"'Since thou hast set out on a holy war,
"' Thou hast seen death before thine eyes for thy salvation.
"' He who resolves to sacrifice his life to save himself,
"' Shall attain that exalted state which thou knowest.
"'Keep thyself far away from all forbidden enjoyments;
"' Cleanse thyself from all thy sins.'

"Having withdrawn myself from such temptation, I vowed never "more to drink wine. Having sent for the gold and silver goblets and "cups, with all the other utensils used for drinking parties, I directed them "to be broken, and renounced the use of wine, purifying my mind. The "fragments of the goblets and other utensils of gold and silver I directed "to be divided among derwishes and the poor. The first person who "followed me in my repentance was Asas who also accompanied me in my "resolution of ceasing to cut the beard, and of allowing it to grow. That "night and the following, numbers of Amirs and courtiers, soldiers, and persons not in the service to the number of nearly three hundred men "made vows of reformation. The wine which we had with us we poured "on the ground. I ordered that the wine brought by Baba Dost should "have salt thrown into it that it might be made into vinegar. On the spot "where the wine had been poured out I directed a wain to be sunk and "built of stone, and close by the wain an alms-house to be erected. In the "month of Moharrem in the year 935, when I went to visit Gualiar, on my "way from Dholpur to Sikri, I found this wain completed. I had previously "made a vow, that if I gain the victory over Rana Sanka the Pagan, I would "remit the temgha (or stamp-tax) levied from Musulmans. At the time "when I made my vow of penitence, Derwish Muhammed Sarban and

their faith. Having addressed them in a speech of manly courage, though bordering on despair, he seized the happy moment that his exhortation elicited, to swear them on the the Koran to conquer or perish.* Profiting by this excitement he broke up his camp, to which he had been confined nearly a month, and marched in order of battle to a position two miles in advance, the Rajpoots skirmishing up to his guns. Without a regular circumvallation, his moveable pallisadoes and guns chained he felt no security. The inactivity of Sanga can scarcely escape censure, however we may incline to palliate it by supposing that he deemed his enemy in the toils, and that every day's delay brought with it increased danger to him. Such reasoning would be valid, if the heterogeneous mass by which the prince of Mewar was surrounded had owned the same patriotic sentiments as himself. But he ought to have known his countrymen, nor overlooked the regulating maxim of their ambition, "*get land.*" Delay was fatal to this last coalition against the foes of his race. Baber is silent on the point to which the annals ascribe their discomfiture, a negotiation pending his blockade at Kanua. But these have preserved it, with the name of the traitor who sold the cause of his country.

"Sheikh Zin put me in mind of my promise. I said, you did right to "remind me of this. I renounce the temgha in all my dominions so far as "concerns 'Musulmans;' and I sent for my secretaries and desired them "to write and send to all my dominions firmans, conveying intelligence of "the two important incident that had occured."—*Memoirs of Baber*, page 354.

* "At this time, as I have already observed, in consequence of prece- "ding events, a general consternation and alarm prevailed among great and small. There was not a single person who uttered a manly word, nor an individual who delivered a courageous opinion. The Vazirs, whose duty it was to give good counsel, and Amirs who enjoyed the kingdoms, neither spoke "bravely, nor was their counsel or deportment such as became men of firm- "ness. During the whole course of this expedition, Khalifeh conducted "himself admirably, and was unremitting and indefatigable in his endea- "vours to put every thing in the best order. At length, observing the uni- "versal discouragement of my troops, and their total want of spirit, I formed "my plan. I called an assembly of all the Amirs and officers, and addressed 'them: 'Noblemen and soldiers! Every man that comes into the world is "subject to dissolution. When we are passed away and gone, God only sur- "vives, unchangeable. Whoever comes to the feast of life must, before it is over, drink from the cup of death. He who arrives at the inn of mortality, "must one day inevitably take his departure from that house of sorrow, the "world. How much better it is to die with honour than to live with "infamy!

"With fame, even if I die, contented;
"Let fame be mine, since my body is death's.

"The most high God has been propitious to us, and has now placed us "in such a crisis, that, if we fall in the field we die the death of martyrs; "if we survive, we rise victorious, the avengers of the cause of God. Let us "then, with one accord, swear on God's holy word, that none of us will even

The negotiation* had reached this point, that on condition of Baber having left Delhi and its dependencies, the Peela-khal at Biana should be the boundary of their respective dominions, and even an annual tribute was offered to the Rana. We can believe that in the position Baber then was, he would not scruple to promise any thing. The chief of Rayseen, by name Sillaidi, of the Tuar tribe, was the medium of communication, and though the arrangement was negatived, treason had effected the salvation of Baber.

On the 16th March the attack commenced by a furious onset on the centre and right wing of the Tatars, and for several hours the conflict was tremendous. Devotion was never more manifest on the side of the Rajpoot, attested by the long list of noble names amongst the slain as well as the bulletin of their foe, whose artillery made dreadful havoc in the close ranks of the Rajpoot cavalry, which could not force the entrenchments, nor reach the infantry which defended them. While the battle was still doubtful, the Tuar traitor who led the van (*herole*) went over to Baber, and Sanga was obliged to retreat from the field which in the onset promised a glorious victory, himself severely wounded, and the choicest of his chieftains slain; Rawul Udit* Sing of Dongerpoor, with two hundred of his clan; Rutna of Saloombra, with three of his Chondawut kin; Raemul Rahtore, son of the prince of Marwar, with the brave Mairtea leaders Khaitsi and Rutna; Ramdas the Sonigurra Rao; Ujo the Jhala; Gokuldas Pramara; Manikchund and Chundrabhan, Chohan chiefs of the first rank in Mewar; besides a host of inferior names. Husein Khan of Mewat, and a son of the last Lodi king of Delhi, who coalesced and the conqueror assumed the little of '*Ghazi*,' which has ever since been retained by his descendants.

Sanga retreated towards the hills of Mewat, having announced his fixed determination never to re-enter Cheetore but with

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"think of turning his face from this warfare, nor desert from the battle and "slaughter that ensues till his soul is separated from his body.'

"Master and servant, small and great, all with emulation, seizing the "blessed Koran in their hands, swore in the form that I had given. My "plan succeeded to admiration, and its effects were instantly visible, far and "near, on friend and foe."—*Memoirs* of *Baber*, page 357.

* Baber says, "although Rana Sanka (Sanga) the Pagan, when I was at "Cabul, sent me ambassadors, and had arranged with me that if I would "march upon Delhi he would on Agra! but when I took Delhi and Agra, "the Pagan did not move."—*Memoirs of Baber*, page 339.

† In the translation of Baber's Memoirs, Udi Sing is styled "Wali of the country," confounding him with Udi Sing, successor of Sanga. He was Wali (sovereign) of Dongerpur, not *Oodipur*," which was not then in existence.

Sanga retreated towards the hills of Mewar, having announced his fixed determination never to re-enter Cheetore but with victory. Had his life been spared to his country, he might have redeemed the pledge; but the year of his defeat was the last of his existence, and he died at Buswa, on the frontier of Mewar, not without suspicion of poison. It is painful to record the surmise that his ministers prompted the deed, and the cause is one which would fix a deep stain on the country; namely, the purchase by regicide of inglorious ease and stipulated safety, in preference to privations and dangers, and to emulating the manly constancy of their prince, who resolved to make the heavens his canopy till his foe was crushed,—a determination which was pursued with the most resolute perseverence by some of his gallant successors.

Polygamy is the fertile source of evil, moral as well as physical, in the east. It is a relic of barbarism and primeval necessity, affording a proof that ancient Asia is still young in knowledge. The desire of each wife* that her offspring should wear a crown, is natural. But they do not always wait the course of nature for the attainment of their wishes, and the love of power too often furnishes instruments for any deed, however base. When we see, shortly after the death of Sanga, the mother of his second son intriguing with Baber, and bribing him with the surrender of Rinthumbor and the trophy of victory, the crown of the Malwa king to supplant the lawful heir, we can easily suppose she would not have scrupled to remove any other bar. On this occassion, however, the suspicion rests on the ministers alone. That Baber respected and dreaded his foe we have the best proof, in his not risking another battle with him; and the blame which he bestows on himself for the slackness of his pursuit after victory is honorable to Sanga, who is always mentioned with respect in the commentaries of the conqueror. Although he generally styles him as the Pagan, and dignifies the contest with the title of "the holy war," yet he freely acknowledges his merit, when he says, "Rana Sanga attained his present high eminence by his own valour and his sword."

* The number of queens is determined only by state necessity and fancy of the prince. To have them equal in number to the days of the week is not unusual; while the number of *handmaids* is unlimited. It will be conceded, that the prince who can govern such a household, and maintain equal rights, when claims to pre-eminence must be perpetually asserted, possesses no little tact. The government of the kingdom is but an amusement compared with such a task, for it is within the *Ranulæ* that intrigue is enthroned.

Sanga Rana was of the middle stature, but of great muscular strength; fair in complexion, with unusually large eyes which appear to be peculiar to his descendants.* He exhibited at his death but the fragments of a warrior: one eye was lost in the broil with his brother; an arm in an action with the Lodi king of Delhi, and he was a cripple owing to a limb being broken by a cannon-ball in another; while he counted eighty wounds from sword or lance on various parts of his body. He was celebrated for energetic enterprize, of which his capture of Mozuffur, king of Malwa, in his own capital, is a celebrated instance. His successful storm of the almost impregnable Rinthumbor, though ably defended by the imperial Ali, gained him great renown. He erected a small palace at Kanua, on the line which he determined should be the northern limit of Mewar; and had he been succeeded by a prince possessed of his foresight and judgment, Baber's descendants might not have retained the sovereignty of India. A cenotaph long marked the spot where the fire consumed the remains of the celebrated prince. Sanga had seven sons, of whom the two elder died in non-age. He was succeeded by the third son.

RUTNA (S. 1586, A. D. 1530), who possessed all the arrogance and martial virtue of his race. Like his father, he determined to make the field his capital, and commanded that the gates of Cheetore never should be closed, boasting that 'its portals were Delhi and Mandoo.' Had he been spared to temper by experience the exuberance of youthful impetuosity, he would have well seconded the resolution of his father, and the league against the enemies of his country and faith. But he was not destined to pass the age always dangerous to the turbulent and impatient Rajpoot, ever courting strife if it would not find him. He had married by stealth the daughter of Prithwi Raj of Ambar, probably before the death of his elder brothers made him heir to Cheetore. His double-edged sword, the proxy of the Rajpoot cavalier, represented Rutna on this occassion. Unfortunately it was kept but too secret; for the Hara prince of Boondi,† in ignorance of the fact demanded and obtained her to wife, and carried her to his capital. The consequences are attributable to the Rana alone, for he ought, on coming to the throne, to have espoused her; but his vanity was flattered at the mysterious transaction, which he demeed would prevent

* I possess his portrait, given to me by the present Rana, who has a collection of full-lengths of all his royal ancestors from Samarsi to himself, of their exact heights and with every bodily peculiarity, whether of complexion or form. They are valuable for the costume. He has often shewn them to me, while illustrating their actions.

† Surajmul.

all application for the hand of his "affianced" (*manga*). The bards of Boondi are rather pleased to record the power of their princes, who dared to solicit and obtain the hand of the "bride" of Cheetore. The princes of Boondi had long been attached to the Seesodia house; and from the period when their common ancestors fought together on the banks of the Caggar against Shahabudin, they had silently grown to power under the wing of Mewar, and often proved a strong plume in her pinion. The Hara inhabited the hilly tract on her eastern frontier, and though not actually incorporated with Mewar, they yet paid homage to her ensigns and titles, and in return often poured forth their blood. But at the tribunal of '*Anunga*,'* the Rajpoot scattered all other homage and allegiance to the winds. The maiden of Ambar saw no necessity for disclosing her secret, or refusing the brave Hara, of whom fame spoke loudly, when Rutna delayed to redeem his proxy. The unintentional offence sank deep into the heart of the Rana, and though he was closely connected with the Hara, having married his sister, he brooded on the means of revenge, in the attainment of which he sacrificed his own life as well as that of his rival. The festival of the *Ahairea*† (the spring hunt), which has thrice been fatal to the princes of Mewar, gave the occasion, when they fell by each other's weapons. Though Rutna enjoyed the dignity only five years, he had the satisfaction to see the ex-king of Ferghana, now founder of the Mogul dynasty of India, leave the scene before him and without the diminution of an acre of land to Mewar since the fatal day when Rana Rutna was succeeded by his brother.

BIKRAMAJEET,‡ in S. 1591 (A. D. 1535). This prince had all the turbulence, without the redeeming qualities of character, which endeared his brother to his subjects. He was insolent, passionate, and vindictive, and utterly regardless of that respect which his proud nobles rigidly exacted. Instead of appearing at their head, he passed his time amongst wrestlers and prize-fighters, on whom and a multitude of 'paeks,' or foot soldiers, he lavished those gifts and that approbation, to which the aristocratic Rajpoot, the equestrian order of Rajasthan, arrogated exclusive right. In this innovation he probably imitated his foes,

* The Hindoo Cupid, implying 'incorporeal,' from *anga* 'body,' with the private prefix '*an*.'

† I have given the relation of this dual in the narrative of my journeys on my visit to the cenotaph of Rutna, erected where he fell. It was the pleasure of my life to listen to the traditional anecdotes illustrative of Rajpoot history on the scenes of their transactions.

‡ The Bhakha orthography for Vicramaditya.

who had learned the superiority of infantry, despised by the Rajpoot, who, except in sieges, or when "they spread the carpet and hamstrung their steeds," held the foot-soldier very cheap.

The use of artillery was now becoming general, and the Moslems soon perceived the necessity of foot for their protection. But prejudice operated longer upon the Rajpoot, who still curses "those vile guns," which render of comparatively little value the lance of many a gallant soldier; and he still prefers falling with diginity from his steed, to descending to an equality with his mercenary antagonist.

An open rupture was the consequence of such innovation and (to use the figurative expression for misrule) "Poppa Bae, ka Raj"* was triumphant. The police were despised; the cattle carried off by the mountaineers from under the walls of Cheetore; and when his cavaliers were ordered in pursuit, the Rana was tauntingly told to send his paeks.

Buhadoor, sultan of Guzerat, determined to take advantage of the Rajpoot divisions, to revenge the disgrace of the defeat and captivity of his predecessor Mozuffur.† Reinforced by the troops of Mandoo, he marched against the Rana, then encamped at Loeecha, in the Boondi territory. Though the force was overwhelming, yet with the high courage which belonged to his house, Bikramajeet did not hesitate to give battle; but he found weak defenders in his mercenary paeks, while his vassals and kin not only kept aloof, but marched off in a body to defend Cheetore and the posthumous son of Sanga Rana, still an infant.

There is a sanctity in the very name of Cheetore, which from the earliest times secured her defenders. Now, when threatened again by "the barbarian," such was the inexplicable character of the Rajpoot, that we find the heir of Surajmul abandon his new capital of Deola to pour out the few drops which yet circulated in his veins in defence of the abode of his fathers.

"The son of Boondi," with a brave band of five hundred Haras, also came; as did the Sonigurra and Deora Raos of Jhalore and Aboo, with many auxiliaries from all parts of Rajwarra. This was the most powerful effort hitherto made by the sultans of Central India, and European artillerists‡ are

* The government of Poppa Bae, a princess of ancient times, whose mismanaged sovereignty has given a proverb to the Rajpoot.

† Taken by Prithwi Raj and carried to Rana Raemul, who took a large sum of money and seven hundred horses as his ransom.

‡ We have, in the poems of Chund, frequent indistinct notices of fire-arms, especially the 'nal-gola' or or *tube*-ball; but whether discharged by percussion or the expansive force of gunpowder is dubious. The poet also repeatedly speaks of "the volcano of the field," giving to understand great guns; but these may be interpolations, though I would not check a full investigation of so curious a subject by raising a doubt. Baber was the first

recorded in these annals as brought to the subjugation of Cheetore. The engineer is styled 'Labri Khan of Frengan,' and to his skill Buhadoor was indebted for the successful storm which ensued. He sprung a mine at the "Beeka rock," which blew up forty-five cubits of the rampart, with the bastion where the brave Haras were posted. The Boondi bards dwell on this incident, which destroyed their prince and five hundred of his kin. Rao Doorga, with the Chondawut chieftains Sutto and Doodoo and their vassals bravely defended the breach and repelled many assaults; and, to set an example of courageous devotion, the queen mother Jawahir Bae, of Rahtore race, clad in armour, headed a sally in which she was slain. Still the beseigers gained ground, and the last council convened was to concert means to save the infant son of Sanga from this imminent peril. But Cheetore can only be defended by royalty, and again they had recourse to the expedient of crowning a king, as a sacrifice to the dignity of the protecting deity of Cheetore. Bagh-ji, prince of Deola, courted the insignia of destruction; the banner of Mewar floated over him, and the golden sun from its sable field never shone more refulgent than when the changi* was raised amidst the shouts of her defenders over the head of the son of Surajmul. The infant, Oody Sing, was placed in safety with Soortan, prince of Boondi,† the garrison put on their saffron robes, while materials for the *johur* were preparing. There was little time for the pyre. The bravest had fallen in defending the breach, now completely exposed. Combustibles were quickly heaped up in reservoirs and magazines excavated in the rock, under which gunpowder was strewed. Kurnavati, mother of the prince, and sister to the gallant Arjoon Hara, led the procession of willing victims to the doom, and thirteen thousand females were thus swept at once from the record of life. The gates were thrown open, and the Deola chief, at the head of the survivors, with a blind and impotent despair, rushed on his fate.

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who introduced field guns in the Mahomedan wars, and Buhadoor's invasion is the first notice of their application in sieges, for in Alla-o-din's time, in the thirteenth century, he used the catapult or battering-ram, called 'munjanika.' To these guns Baber was indebted for victory over the united cavalry of Rajasthan. They were served by Roomi Khan, probably a Roumeliot, or Syrain Christian. The Franks (Feringees) with Buhadoor, must have been some of Vasco di Gama's crew.

* The *Changi*, the chief insignia of regality in Mewar, is a sun of gold in the centre of a disc of black ostrich feathers or felt, about three feet in diameter, elevated on a pole, and carried close to the prince. It has something of a Scythic cast about it. What *changi* imports I never understood.—See frontispiece, for its representation.

† The name of the faithful Rajpoot who preserved Oody Sing, Chuka Sen Dhoondera, deserves to be recorded.

Buhadoor must have been appalled at the horrid sight on viewing his conquest;* the mangled bodies of the slain, with hundreds in the last agonies from the poniard or poison, awaiting death as less dreadful than dishonour and captivity.† To use the emphatic words of the annalist, "the last day of Cheetore had arrived." Every clan lost its chief, and the choicest of their retainers. During the siege and in the storm thirty-two thousand Rajpoots were slain. This is the second *saka* of Cheetore.

Buhadoor had remaided but a fortnight, when the tardy advance of Humayoon with his succours warned him to retire. According to the annals, he left Bengal at the solicitation of the queen Kurnavati. But instead of following up the spoil-encumbered foe, he commenced a pedantic war of words with Buhadoor, punning on the word 'Cheetore.' Had Humayoon not been so distant, this catastrophe would have been averted, for he was bound by the laws of chivalry, the claims of which he had acknowledged, to defend the queen's cause, whose knight he had become. The relation of the peculiarity of a custom analogous to the taste of the chivalrous age of Europe may amuse. When her Amazonian sister the Rahtore queen was slain, the mother of the infant prince took a surer method to shield him in demanding the fulfilment of the pledge given by Humayoon when she sent *Rakhi* to that monarch.

'The festival of the bracelet *(Rakhi)*' is in spring, and whatever its origin, it is one of gallantry of the most delicate nature which is established between the fair sex and the cavaliers of Rajasthan. Though the bracelet may be sent by maidens, it is only on the occasions of urgent necessity or danger. The Rajpoot dame bestows with the Rakhi the title of adopted brother. While its acceptance secures to her all the protection of a *'cavaliere servente,'* scandal itself never suggests any other tie to his devotion. He may hazard his life in her cause, and yet never receive a smile in reward, for he cannot even [illegible] the fair object who, as brother of her adoption, has consecrated him her defender. But there is a charm in the mystery of such connection, never endangered by close observation, that the loyal to the fair may well attach a value to the publication cognition of being the *Rakhibund Bhâe*, the 'bracelet-bound

* The date "Jeit sood 12th, S. 1589," A. D. 1532-3.

† From ancient times, leading the captive females, appears to have been the sign of complete victory. Rajpoot inscriptions often allude to "a conqueror beloved by the wives of his conquered foe," and in the early parts of Scripture the same notion is referred to. The mother of Sisera asks, "Have they not divided the prey; to every man a damsel or two?" *Judges*, v. 31.

brother' of a princess. The intrinsic value of such pledge is never looked to, nor is it requisite that it should be costly, though it varies with the means and rank of the donor, and may be of flock silk and spangles, or gold chains and gems. The acceptance of the pledge and its return is by the *katchli*, or corset, of simple silk or satin, or gold brocade and pearls. In shape or application, there is nothing similar in Europe, and as defending the most delicate part of the structure of the fair, it is peculiarly appropriate as an emblem of devotion. A whole province has often accompanied the *katchli*, and the monarch of India was so pleased with this courteous delicacy in the custom of Rajasthan, on receiving the bracelet of the princess Kurnavati, which invested him with the title of her brother, and uncle and protector to her infant Oody Sing, that he pledged himself to her service, "even if the demand were the castle of Rinthumbor." Humayoon proved himself a true knight, and even abandoned his conquest in Bengal when called on to redeem his pledge, and succour Cheetore, and the widows and minor sons of Sanga Rana.* Humyoon had the highest proofs of the worth of those courting his protection. He was with his father Baber in all his wars in India, and at the battle of Biana his prowess was conspicuous, and was recorded by Baber's own pen. He amply fulfilled his pledge, expelled the foe from Cheetore, took Mandoo by assult, and, as some revenge for her king's aiding the king of Guzerat, he sent for the Rana Bikramajeet, whom following their own notions of investiture, he girt with a sword in the captured citadel of his foe.

The Mahomedan historians, strangers to their customs, or the secret motives which caused the conqueror to abandon Bengal, ascribe it to the Rana's solicitations. But we may credit the annals which are in unison with the chivalrous notions of the Rajpoots, into which succeeding monarchs, the great Akber, his son Jehangir, and Shah Jehan, entered with delight. It was

* Many romantic tales are founded on "*the gift of the Rakhi.*" The author, who was placed in the enviable situation of being able to do good, and on the most extensive scale, was the means of restoring many of these ancient families from degradation to affluence. The greatest reward he could, and the only one he would, receive, was the courteous civility displayed in many of these interesting customs. He was the "*Rakhi bund Bhae*" of, and received 'the bracelet' from, three queens of Oodypur, Boondi, and Kotah, besides Chund-Bae, the maiden sister of the Rana; as well as many ladies of the chieftains of rank, with whom he interchanged letters. The sole article of 'barbaric pearl and gold,' which he conveyed from a country where he was six years supreme, are these testimonies of friendly regard. Intrinsically of no great value, they were presented and accepted in the ancient spirit, and he retains them with a sentiment the more powerful, because he can no longer render them any service.

so even with Aurungzebe, two of whose original letters to the queen-mother of Oodipur are now in the author's possession, which are remarkable for their elegance and purity of diction, and are couched in terms perfectly accordant with Rajpoot delicacy,*

Bikramajeet, thus restored to his capital, had gained nothing by adversity; or, to employ the words of the annalist, "experience had yielded no wisdom." He renewed all his former insolence to his chiefs, and so entirely threw aside his own dignity, and, what is of still greater consequence, the reverence universally shewn to old age, as to strike in open court Keremchund of Ajmeer, the protector of his father Sanga in his misfortunes. The assembly rose with one accord at this indignity to their order. As they retired, the Chondawut leader Kanji, the first of the nobles, exclaimed, "hitherto, brother chiefs, we have had but a smell of the blossom, but now we shall be obliged to eat the fruit;" to which the insulted Pramara added, as he hastily retired, "tomorrow its flavour will be known."

Though the Rajpoot looks up to his sovereign as to a divinity, and is enjoined implicit obedience by his religion, which rewards him accordingly hereafter, yet this doctrine has its limits, and precedents are abundant for deposal, when the acts of the prince may endanger the realm. But there is a bond of love, as well as of awe, which restrains them, and softens its severity in the paternity of sway; for these princes are at once the father and king of their people: not in fiction, but in reality —for he is the representative of the common ancestor of the aristocracy,—the sole lawgiver of Rajasthan.

Sick of these minors (and they had now a third in prospect), which in a few years had laid prostrate the throne of Mewar, her nobles on leaving their unworthy prince repaired to Bunbeer, the natural son of the heroic Prithwi Raj, and offered "to seat him on the throne of Cheetore." He had the virtue to resist the solicitiation; and it was only on painting the dangers which threatened the country, if its chief at such a period had not their confidence, that he gave his consent. The step between the deposal and death of a king is necessarily short, and the cries of the females, which announced the end of Bikramajeet, were drowned in the acclamations raised on the elevation of the *changi* over the head of the bastard Bunbeer.

* He addresses her as "dear and virtuous sister," and evinces much interest in her welfare. We are in total ignorance of the refined sentiment which regulates such a people—our home-bred prejudices deem them beneath inquiry; and thus indolence and self-conceit combine to deprive the benevolent of a high gratification.

CHAPTER X.

The bastard Bunbeer rules Mewar.—Attempted assassination of the posthumous son of Sanga. Oody Sing's escape and long concealment.—Acknowledged as Rana.—The Doonah described. Oody Sing gains Cheetore.—Deposal of Bunbeer —Origin of the Bhonslas of Nagpur.—Rana Oody Sing.—His unworthiness.—Humayoon expelled from the throne of India.—Birth of Akbar.—Humayoon recovers his throne. His death.—Accession of Akber.—Characters of Akber and Oody Singh contrasted.—Akbar besieges Cheetore, which is abandoned by the Rana.—Its defence.—Jeimul and Putto.—Anecdotes of Rajpoot females.—Suka or Johur. —General assault.—Cheetore taken.—Massacre of the Inhabitants.—Oody Sing founds the new capital Oodipur.—His death.

A FEW hours of sovereignty sufficed to check those "compunctious visitings" which assailed Bunbeer ere he assumed its trappings, with which he found himself so little encumbered that he was content to wear them for life. Whether this was the intention of the nobles who set aside the unworthy son of Sanga, there is abundant reason to doubt; and as he is subsequently branded with the epithet of "usurper" it was probably limited, though unexpressed, to investing him with the executive authority during the minority of Oody Sing. Bunbeer, however, only awaited the approach of night to remove with his own hands the obstacle to his ambition. Oody Sing was about six years of age. "He had gone to sleep after his rice and milk," when his nurse was alarmed by screams from the rawula, * and the Bari † coming in to take away the remains of the dinner, informed her of the cause, the assassination of the Rana. Aware that one murder was the precursor of another, the faithful nurse put her charge into a fruit basket, and covering it with leaves, she delivered it to the Bari, enjoining him to escape with it from the fort. Scarcely had she time to substitute her own infant in the room of the prince, when Bunbeer, entering, inquired for him. Her lips refused their office. She pointed to the cradle, and beheld the murderous steel buried in the heart of her babe. The little victim to fidelity was burnt amidst the tears of the rawula, the inconsolable house-hold of their late sovereign, who supposed that

* The seraglio, or female palace.

† Bari, Nae are names for the barbers, who are the *cuisiniers* of the Rajpoots.

their grief was given to the last pledge of the illustrious Sanga. The nurse (*Dhae*) was a Rajpootnee of the Kheechee tribe, her name *Punna*, or 'the Diamond.' Having consecrated with her tears the ashes of her child, she hastened after that she had preserved. But well had it been for Mewar had the poniard fulfilled its intention, and the annals never recorded the name of Oody Sing in the catalogue of her princes.

The faithful barber was awaiting the nurse in the bed of the Beris river, some miles west of Cheetore, and fortunately the infant had not awoke until he descended the city. They departed for Deola, and sought refuge with Sing Rao, the successor of Bagh-*ji*, who fell for Cheetore. Dreading the consequences of detection, they proceeded to Dongerpur. Rawul Aiskurn then ruled this principality, which. as well as Deola, was not only a branch, but the elder branch of Cheetore. With every wish to afford a shelter, he pleaded the danger which theatened himself and the child in such a feeble sanctuary. Pursuing a circuitous route through Edur, and the intricate valleys of the Aravali, by the help and with the protection of its wild inmates, the Bhils, she gained Komulmeer. The resolution she had formed was bold as it was judicious. She demanded an interview with the governor, Assa Sah his name, of the mercantile tribe of Depra, and a follower of the theistical tenets of the Jains. The interview being granted, she placed the infant in his lap, and bid him "guard the life of his sovereign." He felt perplexed and alarmed. But his mother, who was present, upbraided him for his scruples. "Fidelity," said she, "never looks at dangers or difficulties. He is your master, the son of Sanga, and by God's blessing the result will be glorious." Having thus fulfilled her trust, the faithful Punna withdrew from Komulmeer to avoid the suspicion which a Rajpootnee about a Seawuk's* child would have occasioned, as the heir of Cheetore was declared to be the nephew of the Depra.

Suspicions were often excited regarding Assa's nephew; once, especially, on the anniversary (*samvatsiri*) of the governor's father, when "the Rajpoot guests being in one rank, and the men of wealth in another, young Oody seized a vessel of curds, which no entreaty could prevail on him to relinquish, deriding their threats." Seven years elapsed before the secret transpired; at length self-revealed, from the same independent bearing. On the occassion of a visit from the Sonigurra chief, Oody was sent to receive him, and the dignified manner in which he performed the duty, convinced the chief "he was no

* The laity of the Jain pursuasion are so called.

nephew to the Sah." Rumour spread the tale, and brought not only the nobles of Mewar, but adjacent chiefs, to hail the son of Sanga Rana. Sahidas of Saloombra, the representative of Chonda, Juggo of Kailwa, Sanga of Bagore, all chiefs of the clans of Chondawut, the Chohans of Kotario and Baidla, the Pramar of Bijolli Akhiraj (Sonigurra), Prithwi Raj of Sanchore, and Loonkurn Jaitawut, repaired to Komulmeer, when all doubt was removed by the testimony of the nurse, and of her coadjutor in the preservation of the child.

A court was formed, when the faithful Assa Sah resigned his trust, and placed the prince of Cheetore "in the lap of the Kotario Chohan," as the "great"* ancient among the nobles of Mewar, who was throughout acquainted with the secret, and who, to dissipate the remaining scruples which attached to the infant's preservation, "ate off the same platter with him." The Sonigurra Rao did not hesitate to affiance to him his daughter, and it was accepted by his advisers, notwithstanding the interdict of Hamir to any intermarrige with the Sonigurra, since the insult of giving the widow to his bed. Oody received the teeka of Cheetore in the castle of Koombho, and the homage of nearly all the chiefs of Mewar.

The tidings reached the usurper, who had not borne his faculties meekly since his advancement. But having seized on the dignity, he wished to ape all the customs, of the legitimate monarchs of Cheetore, and even had the effrontery to punish as an insult the refusal of one of the proud sons of Chonda to take the *doonah* from his bastard hand.

The *doonah* is a portion of the dish of which the prince partakes, sent by his own hand to whomsoever he honours at the banquet. At the russora, or refectory, the chiefs who are admitted to dine in the presence of their sovereign are seated according to their rank. The repast is one of those occasions when an easy familiarity is permitted, which, though unrestrained, never exceeds the bounds of etiquette, and the habitual reverence due to their father and prince. When he sends, by the steward of the kitchen, a portion of the dish before him, or a little from his own *khansa*, or plate, all eyes are guided to the favoured mortal, whose good fortune is the subject of subsequent conversation. Though, with the diminished lustre of this house, the *doonah* may have lost its former estimation, it is yet received with reverence. But the extent of this feeling, even so late as the reign of Ursi Rana,

* *Burra* 'great,' *boora* 'aged:' the 'wise elder' of Rajasthan, where old age and dignity are synonimous.

† See page 285.

the father of the reigning prince, the following anecdote will testify. In the rebellion during this prince's reign, amongst the ancient customs which became relaxed, that of bestowing the *doonah* was included; and the Rana conferring it on the Rahtore prince of Kishengurh, Bijolli chief, one of the sixteen superior nobles of Mewar, rose and left the presence, observing, "neither the Kutchwaha or the Rahtore has a right to this honour, nor can we, who regard as sanctified even the leavings of your repast, witness this degradation; for the Thakoor of Kishengurh is far beneath me." To such extent is this privilege yet carried, and such importance is attached from habit to the personal character of the princes of Mewar, that the test of regal legitimacy in Rajasthan is admission to eat from the same plate (*khansa*) with the Rana; and to the refusal of this honour to the great Maun Sing of Ambar may be indirectly ascribed the ruin of Mewar.

It may, therefore, be conceived with what contempt the haughty nobility of Cheetore received the mockery of honour from the hand of this "fifth son of Mewar;" and the Chondawut chief had the boldness to add to his refusal, "that an honour from the hand of a true son of Bappa Rawul, became a disgrace when proffered by the offspring of the handmaid Seetulseni." The defection soon became general, and all repaired to the valley of Komulmeer to hail the legitimate son of Mewar. A caravan of five hundred horses and ten thousand oxen, laden with merchandize from Kutch, the dower of Bunbeer's daughter, guarded by one thousand Gherwal Rajpoots, was plundered in the passes: a signal intimation of the decay of his authority, and a timely supply to the celebration of the nuptials of Oody Rana with the daugther of the Rao of Jhalore. Though the interdict of Hamir was not forgotten, it was deemed that the insult given by Bunbeer *Sonigurra*, was amply effaced by his successor's redemption of the usurpation of Bunbeer *Seesodia*. The marriage was solemnized at Balhi, within the limits of Jhalore, and the customary offerings were sent or given by all the princes of Rajasthan. Two chiefs only of any consequence abstained from attending on their lawful prince on this occasion, the Solanki of Maholi and Maloji of Tanah. In attacking them, the bastard was brought into conflict; but Maloji was slain and the Solanki surrendered. Deserted by all, Bunbeer held out in the capital. But his minister admitted, under the garb of a reinforcement with supplies, a thousand resolute adherents of the prince. The keepers of the gates were surprised and slain, and the *un* of Oody Sing was proclaimed. Bunbeer was even permitted to retire with his family and his wealth. He

sought refuge in the Dekhan, and the Bhonslas of Nagpoor are said to derive their origin from this spurious branch of Cheetore.

RANA OODY SING ascended the throne in S. 1597 (A. D. 1541-2). Great were the rejoicings on the restoration of this prince. 'The song of joy,'* which was composed on the occasion, is yet a favourite at Oodipur, and on the festival of Isani (the Ceres of Rajasthan), the females still chant in chorus the 'farewell to Komulmeer.'† But the evil days of Mewar which set in with Sanga's death, and were accelerated by the fiery valour of Rutna and the capricious conduct of Bikramajeet, were completed by an anomaly in her annals: a coward succeeding a bastard to guide the destinies of the Seesodias. The vices of Rutna and his brother were virtues compared to this physical defect, the consequence of which destroyed a great national feeling, the opinion of its invincibility.

"Woe to the land where a minor rules or a woman bears sway!" exclaims the last of the great bards‡ of Rajasthan. But where both were united, as in Mewar, the measure of her griefs was full. Oody Sing had not one quality of a sovereign. Wanting in martial virtue, the common heritage of his race, he was destitute of all. Yet he might have slumbered life away in inglorious repose during the reign of Humayoon, or the contentions of the Pathan usurpation; but, unhappily for Rajasthan, a prince was then rearing, who forged fetters for the Hindu race which enthralled them for ages; and though the corroding hand of time left but their fragments, yet even now, though emancipated, they bear the indelible marks of the manacle, not like the galley-slave's, physical and exterior, but deep mental scars, never to be effaced. Can a nation which has run its long career of glory be regenerated? Can the soul of the Greek or the Rajpoot be reanimated with the spark divine which defended the kangras§ of Cheetore or the pass of Thermopylæ? Let history answer the question.

In the same year that the song of joy was raised in the cloud-capped‖ palace of Komulmeer for the deliverance of Oody Sing, the note of woe was pealed through the walls of Amerkote, and given to the winds of the desert, to proclaim the birth¶ of an infant destined to be the greatest monarch who ever swayed the sceptre of Hindusthan. In an oasis of

* Sohuloh.
† Komulmeer biddaona.
‡ Chund, the heroic bard of the last Hindu emperor.
§ Battlements.
‖ '*Badul Mahl*.'
¶ A. D. 1542.

the Indian desert, amidst the descendants of the ancient Sogdi * of Alexander, Akber first saw the light. His father was a fugitive, the diadem torn from his brows, its recovery more improbable than was its acquisition by Baber. The ten years which had elapsed since Humyoon's accession were passed in perpetual strife with his brothers, placed according to custom in subordinate governments. Their selfish ambition met its reward; for with the fall of Humayoon their own was insured, when Shere Shah displaced the dynasty of Chagitai for his own, the Pathan.

From the field of battle at Kanouj, where Humayoon left his crown, his energetic opponent gave him no respite, driving him before him from Agra to Lahore. Thence, with his family and a small band of adherents, alternately protected and repelled by Hindu chieftains, he reached the valley of Sinde, where he struggled to maintain himself amidst the greatest privations, attempting in succession each stronghold on the Indus, from Mooltan to the ocean. Foiled in every object, his associates made rebels by distress, he abandoned them for the more dubious shelter of the foes of his race. Vain were his solicitations to Jessulmeer and Jodpur; and though it cannot be matter of wonder that he found no commiseration from either Bhatti or Rahtore, we must reprobate, the unnational conduct of Maldeo, who the Mogul historian says, attempted to make him captive. From such inhospitable treatment the royal exile escaped by again plunging into to the desert, where he encountered, along with the tender objects of his solicitude, hardships of the most appalling description, until sheltered by the Soda prince of Amerkote. The high courage and the virtues of this monarch increase that interest in his sufferings, which royalty in distress never fails to awaken by its irresistible influence upon our sympathies; and they form an affecting episode in the history of Ferishta.† Humayoon, though more deeply skilled in the

* The Sodas, a branch of the Pramars, see P. 97.

† "Humayoon mounted his horse at midnight and fled towards Amerkote, which is about one hundred coss from Tatta. His horse, on the way, falling down dead with fatigue, he desired Tirdi Beg, who was well mounted to let him have his; but so ungenerous was this man, and so low was royalty fallen, that he refused to comply with his request. The troops of the raja being close to his heels, he was necessitated to mount a camel, till one Nidim Koka, dismounting his own mother, gave the king her horse, and placing her on the camel, ran himself on foot by her side.

"The country through which they fled being an entire sandy desert, the troops began to be in the utmost distress for water. Some ran mad, others fell down dead; nothing was heard but dreadful screams and lamentations. To add, if possible, to this calamity, news arrived of the

mysteries of astrology than any professed seer of his empire, appears never to have enjoyed that prescience which, according to the initiated in the science, is to be obtained from accurate observation :

"And coming events cast their shadows before ;"

for, could, he by any prophetic power, have foreseen that the cloud which then shaded his fortunes, was but the precursor of glory to his race, he would have continued his retreat from the sheltering sandhills of Amerkote with very different sentiments from those which accompanied his flight into Persia.

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enemy's near approach. Humyoon ordered all those who could fight to halt, and let the women and baggage move forward. The enemy not making their appearance, the king rode on in front to see how it fared with his family.

"Night in the meantime coming on, the rear lost their way, and in the morning were attacked by a party of the enemy. Shech Ali, with about twenty brave men, resolved to sell his life dear. Having repeated the field of martyrdom, he rushed upon the enemy and the first arrow having reached the heart of the chief of the party, the rest were by the valour of this handful put to flight. The other Moguls joined in the pursuit, and took many of their camels and horses. They then continued their march round the king sitting by a well, which he had fortunately found, and gave him an account of their adventure.

"Marching forward the next day from this well, they were more distressed than before, there being no water for two days' journey. On the fourth day of their retreat they fell in with another well, which was so deep, that the only bucket they had, took a great deal of time in being wound up, and therefore a drum was beat to give notice to the cassilas when the bucket appeared, that they might repair by turns to drink. The people were so impatient for water, that as soon as the first bucket appeared, ten or twelve of them threw themselves upon it before it quite reached the brim of the well, by which means the rope broke, and the bucket was lost, and several fell headlong after it. When this fatal accident happened, the screams and lamentations of all became loud and dreadful. Some lolling out tongues, rolled themselves in agony on the hot sand ; while others, precipitating themselves into the well, met with an immediate and consequently an easier death. What did not the unhappy king feel when he saw this terrible situation of his few faithful friends !

"The next day, though they reached water, was not less fatal than the former. The camels, who had not tasted water for several days, now drank so much that the greatest part of them died. The people also after drinking complained of an oppression of the heart, and in about half an hour a great part of them expired.

"A few, with the king, after this unheaed-of distress, reached Amerkote. The raja, being a humane man took compassion on their misfortunes: he spared nothing that could alleviate their miseries, or express his fidelity to the king.

"At Amerkote, upon Sunday the fifth of Rigib, in the year nine hundred and forty-nine, the prince Akber was brought forth by Hamida Banu Begum. The king after returning thanks to God, left his family under the protection of Raja Rana, and, by the aid of that prince, marched against Bicker."—*Don's Ferishta.*

Humayoon educated the young Akber in the same school of adversity in which he had studied under Baber. Between the Persian court and his ancient patrimony in Transoxiana, Candahar, and Cashmere, twelve years were passed in every trial of fortune. During this short period, India, always the prize of valour, had witnessed in succession six kings descended from the Pathan 'Lion' (*shere*), of whom the last, Secunder, was involved in the same civil broils which brought the crown to his family. Humayoon, then near Cashmere, no sooner observed the tide of events set counter to his foe, than he crossed the Indus and advanced upon Sirhind, where the Pathan soon appeared with a tumultuous array. The impetuosity of young Akber brought on a general engagement, which the veterans deemed madness. Not so Humayoon, who gave the command to his boy, whose heroism so excited all ranks, that they despised the numbers of the enemy, and gained a glorious victory. This was the presage of his future fame; for Akber was then but twelve years of age,* the same period of life at which his grandfather, Baber, maintined himself on the throne of Ferghana. Humayoon, worthy of such a son and such a sire, entered Delhi in triumph; but he did not long enjoy his recovered crown. His death will appear extraordinary, according to the erroneous estimate formed of Eastern princes. Its cause was a fall from the terrace of his library; for, like every individual of his race, he was not merely a patron of literature but himself a scholar. Were we to contrast the literary acquirements of the Chagitai princes with those of their contemporaries of Europe, the balance of lore would be found on the side of the Asiatics, even though Elizabeth and Henry IV. of France were in the scale. Amongst the princes from the Jaxartes are historians, poets, astronomers, founders of systems of Government and religion, warriors, and great captains, who claim our respect and admiration.

Scarcely had Akber been seated on the throne, when Delhi and Agra were wrested from him, and a nook of the Panjab constituted all his empire. But by the energetic valour of the great Byram Khan, his lost sovereignty was regained with equal rapidity, and established by the wisdom of this Sully † of Hindusthan on a rock. Calpee, Chanderi, Callinger, all Boondelkhund and Malwa were soon attached to the empire, and at the

* A. D. 1554.

† There are excellent grounds for a parallel between Akber and Henry IV. and between Byram and Sully, who were, moreover, almost contemporaries. The haughty and upright Byram was at length goaded from rebellion to exile, and died by assassination only four years after Akber's accession. The story is one of the most useful lessons of history.

early age of eighteen Akber assumed the uncontrolled direction of the state. He soon turned his attention towards the Rajpoots; and whether it was to revenge the inhospitality of Maldeo towards his father, he advanced against the Rahtores, and stormed and took Mairtea, the second city in Marwar. Raja Bharmul of Ambar anticipated the king, enrolled himself and son Bhagwandas amongst his vassals, gave the Chagitai a daughter to wife, and held his country as a fief of the empire. But the rebellions of the Usbec nobles, and the attempts of former princes to regain their lost power, checked for a time his designs upon Rajasthan. These matters adjusted, and the petty sovereigns in the East (to whom the present monarch of Oude is as Alexander) subjected to authority, he readily seized upon the provocation which the sanctuary given to Baz Bahadoor of Malwa and the ex-prince of Nirwur afforded, to turn his arms against Cheetore.*

Happy the country where the sovereignty is in the laws, and where the monarch is but the chief magistrate of the state, unsubjected to those vicissitudes, which make the sceptre in Asia unstable as a pendulum, kept in perpetual oscillation by the individual passions of her princes; where the virtues of one will exalt her to the summit of prosperity, as the vices of a successor will plunge her into the abyss of degradation. Akber and Oody Sing furnish the corollary to this self-evident truth.

The Rana was old enough to philosophize on "the uses of adversity;" and though the best of the "great ancients" had fallen in defence of Cheetore, there were not wanting individuals capable of instilling just and noble sentiments into his mind; but it was of that common character which is formed to be controlled by others; and an artful and daring concubine stepped in, to govern Oody Sing and Mewar.

Akber was not older when he came to the throne† of Delhi than Oody Sing when he ascended that of Mewar. Nor were his hopes much brighter; but the star which beamed upon his cradle in the desert, conducted to his aid such counsellors as the magnanimous Byram, and the wise and virtuous Abul Fuzil. Yet it may be deemed hardly fair to contrast the Rajpoot with the Mogul; the one disciplined into an accurate knowledge of human nature, by experience of the mutability of fortune; the other cooped up from infancy in a valley of his native hills, his birth concealed, and his education restricted.‡

* A. H. 975, A. D. 1567.

† A. D. 1555; both under thirteen years of age.

‡ If we argue this according to a Rajpoot's notions, we must reject the

Akber was the real founder of the empire of the Moguls' the first successful conqueror of Rajpoot independence: to this end his virtues were powerful auxiliaries, as by his skill in the analysis of the mind and its readiest stimulant to action, he was enabled to gild the chains with which he bound them. To these they became familiarized by habit, especially when the throne exerted its power in acts gratifying to national vanity, or even in ministering to the more ignoble passions. But generations of the martial races were cut off by his sword, and lustres rolled away ere his conquests were sufficiently confirmed to permit him to exercise the beneficence of his nature, and obtain by the universal acclaim of the conquered, the proud epithet of *Juggat Goor*, or '*guardian of mankind.*' He was long ranked with Shabudin, Alla, and other instruments of destruction, and with every just claim; like these, he constructed a Mumba* for the Koran from the altars of Eklinga, yet he finally succeeded in healing the wounds his ambition had inflicted; and received from millions that meed of praise, which no other of his race ever obtained.

The absence of the kingly virtues in the sovereign of Mewar filled to the brim the bitter cup of her destiny. The guardian goddess of the Seesodias had promised never to abandon the rock of her pride while a descendant of Bappa Rawul devoted himself to her service. In the first assault by Alla, twelve crowned heads defended the 'crimson banner' to the death. In the second, when conquest led by Bajazet† came from the south, the chieftain of Deola, a noble scion of Mewar, 'though severed from her stem,' claimed the crown of glory and of martyrdom. But on this, the third and grandest struggle, no regal victim appeared to appease the Cybele of Cheetore, and win her to retain its 'kangras'‡ as her coronet. She fell! the charm was broken; the mysterious tie was severed for ever which connected Cheetore with perpetuity of sway to the race of Ghelote. With Oody Sing fled the "fair face" which in the dead of night unsealed the eyes of Samarsi, and told him "the glory of the Hindu was departing:"§ with him, that opinion, which for ages esteemed her walls the sanctuary of

compromise, and say that the son of Sanga should have evinced himself worthy of his descent, under whatever circumstances fortune might have placed him.

* The pulpit or platform of the Islamite preachers.

† Bayazeed was the name of the Malwa sovereign ere he came to the throne, corrupted by Europeans to Bajazet. He is always styled "Baz Bahadoor" in the annals of Mewar.

‡ Battlements.

§ The last book of *Chund* opens with this vision.

the race, which encircled her with a halo of glory, as the palladium of the religion and the liberties of the Rajpoots,

To traditions such as these, history is indebted for the noblest deeds recorded in her page; and in Mewar they were the covert impulse to national glory and independence. For this the philosopher will value the relation; and the philanthropist as being the germ or nucleus of resistance against tyrannical domination. Enveloped in a wild fable, we see the springs of their prejudices and their action; batter down these adamantine walls of national opinion, and all others are but glass. The once invincible Cheetore is now pronounced indefensible. "The abode of regality, which for a thousand years reared her head above all the cities of Hindusthan," is become the refuge of wild beasts, which seek cover in her temples; and this erst sanctified capital is now desecrated as the dwelling of evil fortune, into which the entrance of her princes is solemnly interdicted.

Ferishta mentions but one enterprise against Cheetore, that of its capture; but the annals record another, when Akber was compelled to relinquish the undertaking. The successful defence is attributed to the masculine courage of the Rana's concubine queen, who headed the sallies into the heart of the Mogul camp, and on one occasion to the emperor's head-quarters. The imbecile Rana proclaimed that he owed his deliverance to her; when the chiefs, indignant at this imputation on their courage, conspired and put her to death. Internal discord invited Akber to re-invest Cheetore. He had just attained his twenty-fifth year, and was desirous of the renown of capturing it. The site of the royal Oordoo,* or camp, is still pointed out. It extended from the village of Pandowly† along the high road to Bussie, a distance of ten miles. The head-quarters of Akber are yet marked by a pyramidal column of marble, to which tradition has assigned the title of *Akber ca dewa*, or 'Akber's lamp.'‡ Scarcely had Akber sat down before Cheetore, when the Rana was compelled (say the annals)

* Of which *horde* is a corrup n.

† There are two villages of this name. This is on the lake called "Mansurwur," on whose bank I obtained that invaluable inscription (see No. 2.) in the nail-headed character, which settled the establishment of the Ghelotes in Cheetore, at a little more than [as Orme has remarked] one thousaud years. To the eternal regret of my Yati Guru and myself, a barbarian Brahmin servant, instead of having it copied, broke the venerable column to bring the inscription to Oodipur.

‡ It is as perfect as when constructed, being of immense blocks of compact white limestone, closely fitted to each other; its height thirty feet, the base a square of twelve, and summit four feet, to which a staircase conducts. A huge concave vessel was then filled with fire, which served

to quit it; but the necessity and his wishes were in unison. It lacked not, however, brave defenders. Sahidas, at the head of a numerous band of the descendants of Chonda, was at his post, 'the gate of the sun;' there he fell resisting the entrance of the foe, and there his altar stands on the brow of the rock which was moistened with his blood. Rawut Dooda of Madaria led "the sons of Sanga."* The feudatory chiefs of Baidla and Kotario, descended from Prithwiraj of Delhi,—the Pramar of Bijolli,—the Jhala of Sadri,—inspired their contingents with their brave example: these were all home chieftains. Another son of Deola again combatted for Cheetore, with the Sonigurra Rao of Jhalore,—Esuridas Rahtore, Kurumchund Cutchwaha,† with Dooda Sadani,‡ and the Tuar prince of Gwalior, were distinguished amongst the foreign auxiliaries on this occasion.

But the names which shine brightest in this gloomy page of the annals of Mewar, which are still held sacred by the bard and the true Rajpoot, and immortalized by Akber's own pen, are Jeimul of Bednore and Putta of Kailwa, both of the sixteen superior vassals of Mewar. The first was a Rahtore, of the Mairtea house, the bravest of the brave clans of Marwar; the other was head of the Jugawuts, another grand shoot from Chonda. The names of 'Jeimul and Putta' are 'as household words,' inseparable in Mewar, and will be honoured while the Rajpoot retains a shred of his inheritance or a spark of his ancient recollections. Though deprived of the stimulus which would have been given had their prince been a witness of their deeds, heroic achievements such as those already recorded were conspicuous on this occasion; and many a fair form threw the buckler over the scarf, and led the most desperate sorties.

When Saloombra§ fell at the gate of the sun, the command devolved on Putta of Kailwa. He was only sixteen:

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as a night-beacon to this ambulatory city, where all nations and tongues were assembled, or to guide the foragers. Akber, who was ambitious of being the founder of a new faith as well as kingdom, had tried every creed, Jewish, Hindu, and even made some progress in the doctrines of Christianity, and may have in return affected those of Zerdusht, and assuredly this pyramid possesses more of the appearance of a pyreum than a "dewa" though either would have fulfilled the purport of a beacon.

* The Sangawuts, not the sons of Rana Sanga, but of a chieftain of of Chonda's kin, whose name is the patronymic of one of its principle subdivisions, of whom the chief of Deogurh is now head. See page 165.

† Of the Punchaenote branch.

‡ One of the Shekhavat sub-divisions.

§ The abode, of the Chondawut leader. It is common to call them by the name of their estates.

his father had fallen in the last shock, and his mother had survived but to rear this the sole heir of their house. Like the Spartan mother of old, she commanded him to put on the 'saffron robe,' and to die for Cheetore: but surpassing the Grecian dame, she illustrated her precept by example; and lest any soft 'compunctious visitings,' for one dearer than herself might dim the lustre of Kailwa, she armed the young bride with a lance, with her descended the rock, and the defenders of Cheetore saw her fall, fighting by the side of her Amazonian mother. When their wives and daughters performed such deeds, the Rajpoots became reckless of life. They had maintained a protracted defence, but had no thoughts of surrender, when a ball struck Jeimul, who took the lead on the fall of the kin of Mewar. His soul revolted at the idea of ingloriously perishing by a distant blow. He saw there was no ultimate hope of salvation, the northern defences being entirely destroyed, and he resolved to signalize the end of his career. The fatal Johar was commanded, while eight thousand Rajpoots ate the last 'beera'* together, and put on their saffron robes; the gates were thrown open, the work of destruction commenced, and few survived 'to stain the yellow mantle' by inglorious surrender. Akber entered Cheetore, when thirty thousand of its inhabitants became victims to the ambitious thirst of conquest of this 'guardian of mankind.' All the heads of clans, both home and foreign, fell and seventeen hundred of the immediate kin of the prince sealed their duty to their country with their lives. The Tuar chief of Gwalior appears to have been the only one of note who was reserved for another day of glory. Nine queens, five princesses (their daughters), with two infant sons, and the families of all the chieftains not at their estates, perished in the flames or in the assault of this ever memorable day. Their divinity had indeed deserted them; for it was on 'Aditwar,' the day of the sun,† he shed for the last time a ray of glory on Cheetore. The rock of their strength was despoiled; the temples, the palaces dilapidated: and, to complete her humiliation and his triumph, Akber bereft her of all the symbols of regality; the nakaras,‡ whose reverberations proclaimed, for miles around, the entrance and exit of her princes; the candelabras from the shrine of the 'great mother,' who girt Bappa Rawul

* The beera, or pan, the aromatic leaf so called, enveloping spices, 'terra japonica,' calcined shell-lime, and pieces of the areca nut, is always presented on taking leave.

† "Cheit sood egarus, S. 1624," 11th Cheit, or May, A. D. 1568.

‡ Grand kettle-drums, about eight or ten feet in diameter.

with the sword with which he conquered Cheetore; and, in mockery of her misery, her portals, to adorn his projected capital, Akberabad.*

Akber claimed the honour of the death of Jeimul by his own hand: the fact is recorded by Abul Fuzil, and by the emperor Jehangir, who conferred on the matchlock which aided him to this distinction the title of *Singram*.† But the conqueror of Cheetore evinced a more exalted sense, not only of the value of his conquest, but of the merits of his foes, in erecting statues to the names of Jeimul and Putta at the most conspicuous entrance of his palace at Delhi, and they retained that distinction even when Bernier was in India.‡

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* The *teejo saca Cheetore ra*, or 'third sack of Cheetore,' was marked by the most illeterate atrocity, for every monument spared by Alla or Bayazeed was defaced, which has left an indelible stain on Akber's name as a lover of the arts, as well as of humanity. Alla's assault was comparatively harmless, as the care of the fortress was assigned to a Hindu prince, and Bayazeed had little time to fulfill this part of the Mosaic law, maintained with rigid severity by the followers of Islamism. Besides, at those periods, they possessed both the skill and the means to reconstruct: not so after Akber, as the subsequent portion of the annals will shew but a struggle for existence. The arts do not flourish amidst penury: the principle to construct cannot long survive, when the means to execute are fled; and in the monumental works of Cheetore we can trace the gradations of genius, its splendour and decay.

† "He (Akber) named the matchlock with which he shot Jeimul *Singram*, being one of great superiority and choice. and with which he had slain three or four thousand birds and beasts."—*Jehangir-nameh.*

‡ "I find nothing remarkable at the entry but two great elephants of stone, which are in the two sides of one of the gates. Upon one of them is the statue of Jamel (Jeimul), that famous raja of Cheetore, and upon the other Potter (Putta) his brother. These are two gallant men that, together with their mother, who was yet braver than they, cut out so much work for Ekbar; and who, in the seiges of towns which they maintained against him, gave such extraordinary proofs of their generosity, that at length they would rather be killed in the outfalls (sallies) with their mother, than submit; and for this gallantry it is, that even their enemies thought them worthy to have these statues erected to them. These two great elephants, together with the two resolute men sitting on them, do at the first entry into this fortress make an impression of I know not what greatness and awful terror."—*Letter written at Delhi, July 1st 1663, from edition printed in London in* 1684, in the Author's possession.

Such the impression made on a Parisian a century after the event; but far more powerful the charm to the author of these annals, as he pondered on the spot where Jeimul received the fatal shot from Singram, or placed flowers on the cenotaph that marks the fall of the son of Chonda and the mansion of Putta, whence issued the Seesodia matron and her daughter. Every foot of ground is hallowed by ancient recollections.

In these the reader may in some degree participate, as the plate gives in the distance the ruins of the dwelling both of Jeimul and Putta on the projection of the rock, as well as 'the ringlet on the forehead of Cheetore, the column of victory raised by Lakha Rana.

When the Carthaginian gained the battle of Cannæ, he measured his success by the bushels of rings taken from the fingers of the equestrian Romans who fell in that memorable field. Akbar estimated his by the quantity of cordons (*zïnar*) of distinction taken from the necks of the Rajpoots, and seventy-four *mans* and a half* are the recorded amount. To eternize the memory of this disaster, the numerals '74½' are *tilac*, or accursed. Marked on the banker's letter in Rajasthan it is the strongest of seals, for 'the sin of the slaughter of Cheetore'† is thereby invoked on all who violate a letter under the safeguard of this mysterious number. He would be a fastidious critic who stopped to calculate the weight of these cordons of the Rajpoot cavaliers, probably as much overrated as the trophies of the Roman rings, which are stated at three and a half bushels. It is for the moral impression that history deigns to note such anecdotes, in themselves of trivial import. So long as '74½' shall remain recorded, some good will result from the calamity, and may survive when the event which caused it is buried in oblivion.

When Oody Sing abandoned Cheetore, he found refuge with the Gohil in the forests of Rajpiplee. Thence he passed to the valley of the Girwo in the Aravali, in the vicinity of the retreat of his great ancestor Bappa, ere he couquered Cheetore. At the entrance of this valley, several years previous to this catastrophe, he had formed the lake, still called after him 'Oody Sagur' and he now raised a dyke between the mountains which dammed up another mountain stream. On the cluster of hills adjoining he raised the small palace called 'Nochoki,' around which edifices soon arose, and formed a city to which he gave his own name, Oodipur,‡ henceforth the capital of Mewar.

Four years had Oody Sing survived the loss of Cheetore, when he expired at Gogoonda, at the early age of forty-two yet far too long for his country's honour and welfare He left a numerous issue of twenty-five legitimate sons, whose descendants, all styled Ranawut, pushed aside the more ancient stock, and formed that extensive clan distinctively termed the *Babas*, or 'infants,' of Mewar, whether Ranawuts, Poorawuts, or Kanawuts. His last act was to entail with a barren sceptre contention upon his children; for setting aside the established

* The *man* is four seers: the maund is forty, or seventy-five pounds. Dow, calculating all the captured wealth of India by the latter, has rendered many facts improbable.

† '*Cheetore marya ra pap: ra* is the sign of the genitive, in the Doric tongue of Mewar, the *ca* of the refined.

‡ Classically '*Udya-pura*,' the city of East; from *udya (oriens)*, the point of sun-rise, as *usht* (west) is of sun-set.

laws of primogeniture, he proclaimed his favourite son Jugmal his successor. In Mewar there is no interregnum: even the ceremony of *matim* (mourning) is held at the house of the family priest while the palace is decked out for rejoicing. On the full moon of the spring month of Falgoon, while his brothers and the nobles attended the funeral pyre, Jugmul took possession of the throne in the infant capital, Oodipur: but even while the trumpets sounded, and the heralds called aloud 'may the king live for ever!' a cabal was formed round the bier of his father. It will be borne in mind, that Oody Sing espoused the Sonigurra princess; and the Jhalore Rao, desirous to see his sister's son have his right, demanded of Kistna, the 'great ancient' of Mewar and the leader of the Chondawuts, how such injustice was sanctioned by him. "When a sick man has reached the last extreme and asks for milk to drink, why refuse it?" was the reply;—with the addition: "the Sonigurra's nephew is my choice, and my stand by Pertap." Jugmal had just entered the Russora, and Pertap was saddling for his departure, when Rawut Kistna entered, accompanied by the ex-prince of Gwalior. Each chief took an arm of Jugmal, and with gentle violence removed him to a seat in front of the 'cushion' he had occupied; the hereditary premier remarking, "you had made a mistake, Mahraj; that place belongs to your brother:" and girding Pertap with the sword (the privilege of this house), thrice touching the ground, hailed him king of Mewar. All followed the example of Saloombra. Scarcely was the ceremony over, when the young prince remarked, it was the festival of the Ahairea, nor must ancient customs be forgotten: "therefore to horse, and slay a boar to Gouri,* and take the omen for the ensuing year." They slew abundance of game, and in the mimic field of war, the nobles who surrounded the gallant Pertap anticipated happier days for Mewar.

* Ceres—The Ahairea, or *Muhoorut ca Sikar*, will be explained in the Personal Narrative, as it would here break the connection of events.

CHAPTER XI.

Accession of Pertap.—The Rajpoot princes unite with Akber.—Depressed condition of Pertap.—He prepares for war.—Maldeo submits to Akber.—Pertap denounces connection with the Rajpoot princes.—Raja Maun of Ambar.—Prince Selim invades Mewar.—Battle of Huldighat.—Pertap encounters Selim, is wounded, and saved by the Jhala chief.—Assisted in his flight by his brother Sukta.—Komulmeer taken by Akber.—Oodipur occupied by the Moguls.—Pertap cuts off Ferid and his army.—Pertap's family saved by the Bhils.—The Khankhana.—Aggravated hardships of Pertap.—He negociates with Akber.—Prithwi Sing of Bikaneer.—The Kooshroz described.—Pertap abandons Mewar.—Departure for the Indus.—Fidelity of his minister.—Returns.—Surprises the Moguls.—Regains Komulmeer and Oodipur.—His successes.—His sickness and death.

PERTAP succeeded to the titles and renown of an illustrious house, but without a capital, without resources, his kindred and clans dispirited by reverses: yet possessed of the noble spirit of his race, he meditated the recovery of Cheetore, the vindication of the honour of his house, and the restoration of its power. Elevated with this design, he hurried into conflict with his powerful antagonist, nor stooped to calculate the means which were opposed to him. Accustomed to read in his country's annals the splendid deeds of his forefathers, and that Cheetore had more than once been the prison of their foes, he trusted that the revolutions of fortune might co-operate with his own efforts to overturn the unstable throne of Delhi. The reasoning was as just as it was noble; but whilst he gave a loose to those lofty aspirations which meditated liberty to Mewar, his crafty opponent was counteracting his views by a scheme of policy which, when disclosed, filled his heart with angush. The wily Mogul arrayed against Pertap his kindred in faith as well as blood. The princes of Marwar, Ambar, Bikaneer, and even Boondi, late his firm ally, took part with Akber and upheld despotism. Nay, even his own brother, Sagarji,* deserted him, and received, as the price of his treachery, the ancient capital of his race, and the title which that possession conferred.

* Sagarji held the fortress and lands of Kandhar. His descendants formed an extensive clan called *Sagarawuts*, who continued to hold Kandhar till the time of Sowaie Jey Sing of Ambar, whose situation as one of the great satraps of the Mogul court enabled him to wrest it from

But the magnitude of the peril confirmed the fortitude of Pertap, who vowed, in the words of the bard, 'to make his mother's milk resplendent'; and he amply redeemed his pledge. Single-handed, for a quarter of a century did he withstand the combined efforts of the empire; at one time carrying destruction into the plains, at another flying from rock to rock, feeding his family from the fruits of his native hills, and rearing the nursling hero Umra, amidst savage beasts and scarce less savage men, a fit heir to his prowess and revenge. The bare idea that 'the son of Bappa Rawul should bow the head to mortal man,' was insupportable; and he spurned every overture which had submission for its basis, or the degradation of uniting his family by marriage with the Tatar, though lord of countless multitudes.

The brilliant acts he achieved during that period live in every valley; they are enshrined in the heart of every true Rajpoot, and many are recorded in the annals of the conquerors. To recount them all, or relate the hardships he sustained, would be to pen what they would pronounce a romance who had not traversed the country where tradition is yet eloquent with his exploits, or conversed with the descendants of his chiefs, who cherish a recollection of the deeds of their forefathers, and melt, as they recite them, into manly tears.*

Pertap was nobly supported; and though wealth and fortune tempted the fidelity of his chiefs, not one was found base enough to abandon him. The sons of Jeimul shed their blood in his cause, along with the successors of Putta—the house of Saloombra redoubled the claims of Chonda to fidelity; and these five lustres of adversity are the brightest in the chequered page of the history of Mewar. Nay, some chiefs, attracted by the very desperation of his fortunes, passed to his standard, to combat and die with Pertap. Amongst these was the Dailwarra chief, whose devotion gained him the prince's 'right hand.'

To commemorate the desolation of Cheetore, which the bardic historian represents as a 'widow' despoiled of the ornaments to her loveliness, Pertap interdicted to himself and his

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Sagarji's issue, upon their refusal to intermarry with the house of Ambar. The great Mohabet Khan, the most interpid of Jehangir's generals, was an apostate Sagarawut. They established many chieftainships in Central India, as Omri Bhadora, Gunesgunge, Digdolli, places better known to Sindia's officers than to the British.

* I have climbed the rocks, crossed the streams, and traversed the plains which were the theatre of Pertap's glory, and conversed with the lineal descendants of Jeimul and Putta on the deeds of their forefathers, and many a time has the tear started in their eye at the tale they recited.

successors every article of luxury or pomp, until the insignia of her glory should be redeemed. The gold and silver dishes were laid aside for *pateras* * of leaves; their beds henceforth of straw, and their beards left untouched. But in order more distinctly to mark their fallen fortune and stimulate to its recovery, he commanded that the martial *nakaras*, which always sounded in the van of battle or processions, should follow in the rear. This last sign of the depression of Mewar still survives; the beard is yet untouched by the shears; and even in the subterfuge by which the patriot king's behest is set aside, we have a tribute to his memory: for though his descendant eats off gold and silver, and sleeps upon a bed, he places the leaves beneath the one and straw under the other.

Often was Pertap heard to exclaim "had Oody Sing never been, or none intervened between him and Sanga Rana, no Toork should ever have given laws to Rajasthan." Hindu society had assumed a new form within the century preceding: the wrecks of dominion from the Jumna and Ganges had been silently growing into importance; and Ambar and Marwar had attained such power, that the latter single-handed coped with the imperial Shere Shah; while numerous minor chieftainships were attaining shape and strength on both sides the Chumbul. A prince of commanding genius alone was wanting, to snatch the sceptre of dominion from the Islamite. Such a leader they found in Sanga, who possessed every quality which extorts spontaneous obedience, and the superiority of whose birth, as well as dignity, were admitted without cavil, from the Himalaya to Rameswar.† These states had powerful motives to obey such a leader, in the absence of whom their ancient partimony was lost; and such they would have found renewed in Sanga's grandson, Pertap, had Oody Sing not existed, or had a less gifted sovereign than Akber been his contemporary.

With the aid of some chiefs of judgment and experience, Pertap remodelled his government, adapting it to the exigencies of the times and to his slender resources. New grants were issued, with regulations defining the service required. Komulmeer, now the seat of government, was strengthened as well as Gogoonda and other mountain fortresses; and, being unable to keep the field in the plains of Mewar, he followed the system of his ancestors, and commanded his subjects, on

* The first invented drinking cup or eating vessel being from the leaf (*put*) of particular trees, especially the palasa (*bueta frondosa*) and burr (*ficus religiosa*). The cups of a beautiful brown earthenware made at Kotario, are chiefly *pateras*, of a perfectly classical shape. Query, the Roman *patera* or the Greek *Poter*, or Saxon *pot*?

† The bridge of Ram, the southern point of the peninsula.

pain of death, to retire into the mountains. During the protracted contest, the fertile tracts watered by the Bunas and the Beris, from the Aravali chain west, to the eastern table-land, was *be cheragh*, 'without a lamp.'

Many tales are related of the unrelenting severity with which Pertap enforced obedience to this stern policy. Frequently, with a few horse, he issued forth to see that his commands were obeyed. The silence of the desert prevailed in the plains; grass had usurped the place of the waving corn; the highways were choked with the thorny babool,* and beasts of prey made their abode in the habitations of his subjects. In the midst of this desolation, a single goatherd, trusting to elude observation, disobeyed his prince's injunction, and pastured his flock in the luxuriant meadows of Ontalla, on the banks of the Bunas. After a few questions, he was killed and hung up *in terrorem*. By such patriotic severity, Pertap rendered 'the garden of Rajasthan' of no value to the conqueror, and the commerce already established between the Mogul court and Europe, conveyed through Mewar from Surat and other ports, was intercepted and plundered.

Akber took the field against the Rajpoot prince, establishing his head-quarters at Ajmeer. This celebrated fortress destined ultimately to be one of the twenty-two soubahs of his empire and an emperial residence, had admitted for some time a royal garrison. Maldeo of Marwar, who had so ably opposed the usurper Shere Shah, was compelled to follow the example of his brother prince, Bagwandas of Ambar, and to place himself at the footstool of Akber: only two years subsequent to Pertap's accession, after a brave but fruitless resistance in Mairta and Jodhpur, he sent his son, Oody Singh, to pay homage to the king.† Akber received him at Nagore, on his route to Ajmeer, on which occasion the Raos of Mundore were made Rajas; and as the heir of Marwar was of uncommon bulk, the title by which he was afterwards known in Rajasthan was 'Moota Rajah,'‡ and henceforth the decendants of the kings of Canouj had the 'right hand' of the emperor of the Moguls. But the Rahtore was greater in his native pride than with all the accession of dignity or power which accrued on his sacrifice of Rajpoot principle. Oody 'le gros' was the first of his race who gave a daughter in marriage to a Tatar. The bribe for which he bartered his

* *Mimosa Arabica.*

† A. H. 977, A. D. 1569.

‡ There is less euphony in the English than in the French designation Oody "*le Gros.*"

honour was splendid ; for four provinces,* yielding £200,000 of annual revenue, were given in exchange for Jod Bae,† at once doubling the fisc of Marwar. With such exmaples as Ambar and Marwar, and with less power to resist the temptation, the minor chiefs of Rajasthan, with a brave and numerous vassalage, were transformed into satraps of Delhi, and the importance of most of them was increased by the change. Truly did the Mogul historian designate them 'at once the props and the ornaments of the throne.'

But these were fearful odds against [illegible] the arms of his countrymen thus turned against him, derived additional weight from their self-degradation, which kindled into jealousy and hatred against the magnanimous resolution they wanted the virtue to imitate. When Hindu prejudice was thus violated by every prince in Rajasthan, (that of Boondi alone excepted,)‡ the Rana renounced all alliance with those who were thus degraded ; and in order to carry on the line, he sought out and incorporated with the first class of nobles of his own kin the descendants of ancient princes of Delhi, of Puttan, of Marwar, and of Dhar. To the eternal honour of Pertap and his issue be it told, that to the very close of the monarchy of the Moguls, they not only refused such alliance with the throne, but even with their brother princes of Marwar and Ambar. It is a proud triumph of virtue to record, from the autograph letters of the most powerful of their princes, Bukhet Sing and Jey Sing, that whilst they had risen to greatness from the surrender of principle, as Mewar had decayed from her adherence to it, they should, even while basking in court favour, solicit, and that humbly, to be re-admitted to the honour of matrimonial intercourse—'to be purified,' 'to be regenerated,' 'to be made Rajpoots :'—and that this was granted only on condition of their adjuring the contaminating practice which had disunited them for more than a century ; with the additional stipulation, that the issue of marriage with the house of Mewar should be heirs to those they entered ; conditions which the decline of the empire prevented from being broken.

An anecdote illustrative of the settled repugnance of this

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* Godwar, Rs. 9,00,000 ; Oojein, 2,49,914 ; Debalpur, 1,82,500 ; Budnawur, 2,50,00.

† The magnificent tomb of Jod Bae, the mother of Shah Jehan, is at Secundra, near Agra, and not far from that in which Akber's remains are deposited.

‡ The causes of exemption are curious, and are preserved in a regular treaty with the emperor, a copy of which the author possesses, which will be given in 'the Annals of Boondi.'

noble family to sully the purity of its blood may here be related, as its result had a material influence on its subsequent condition. Raja Maun, who had succeeded to the throne of Ambar, was the most celebrated of his race, and from him may be dated the rise of his country. This prince exemplified the wisdom of that policy which Baber adopted to strengthen his conquest; that of connecting his family by ties of marriage with the Hindus. It has been already related, that Humayoon espoused a daughter of Bagwandas, consequently Raja Maun was brother-in-law to Akber. His courage and talents well seconded [illegible] advantage, and he became the most conspicuous of all the generals of the empire. To him Akber was indebted for half his triumphs. The Cutchwaha bards find a delightful theme in recounting his exploits, from the snow-clad Caucasus to the shores of the 'golden Chersonese.'* Let the eye embrace these extremes of his conquests, Cabul and the Paropamisan of Alexander, and Arracan (a name now well known) on the Indian ocean; the former re-united, the latter subjugated, to the empire by a Rajpoot prince and a Rajpoot army. But Akber knew the master-key to Hindu feeling, and by his skill overcame prejudices deemed insurmountable, and many are the tales yet told of their blind devotion to their favourite emperor.

Raja Maun was returning from the conquest of Sholapur to Hindusthan when he invited himself to an interview with Pertap, then at Komulmeer, who advanced to the Oody-Sagar to receive him. On the mound which embanks this lake a feast was prepared for the prince of Ambar. The board was spread, the Raja summoned, and prince Umra appointed to wait upon him; but no Rana appeared, for whose absence apologies alleging head-ache were urged by his son, with the request that Raja Maun would wave all ceremony, receive his

* When Raja Maun was commanded to reduce the revolted province of Cabul, he heistated to cross the Indus, the Rubicon of the Hindus, and which they term *Uttuc*, or 'the barrier,' as being the limit between their faith and the 'barbarian.' On the Hindu prince assigning this as his reson for not leading his Rajpoots to the snowy Caucasus, the accomplished Akber sent him a couplet tn the dialect of Rajasthan;

"Sub hyn bhum Gopal ca
"Jis mi Uttuc kaha
"Jis ca mun myn Uttuc hy
"So een Uttuc hoega."
"The whole earth is of God,
"In which he has placed the Uttuc.
"The mind that admits *impediments*
"Will also find an Uttuc."

This delicate irony succeeded when stronger language would have failed.

welcome, and commence. The prince, in a tone at once dignified and respectful, replied: "Tell the Rana I can divine the cause of his head-ache; but the error is irremediable, and if he refuses to put a plate (*khansa*) before me, who will?" Further subterfuge was useless. The Rana expressed his regret; but added, that "he could not eat with a Rajpoot who gave his sister to a Toork, and who probably ate with him." Raja Mann was unwise to have risked this disgrace; and if the invitation went from Pertap, the insult was ungenerous as well as impolitic; but of this he is acquitted. Raja Maun left the feast untouched, *save the few grains of rice he offered to Undéva,* which he placed in his turban,* observing as he withdrew: "it was for the preservation of your honour that we sacrificed our own, and gave our sisters and our daughters to the Toork; but abide in peril, if such be your resolve, for this country shall not hold you;" and mounting his horse he turned to the Rana, who appeared at this abrupt termination of his visit; "if I do not humble your pride, my name is not Maun:" to which Pertap replied, he should always be happy to meet him; while some one, in less dignified terms, desired he would not forget to bring his '*Phoopa*,' Akber. The ground was deemed impure where the feast was spread: it was broken up and lustrated with the water of the Ganges, and the chiefs who witnessed the humiliation of one, they deemed apostate, bathed and changed their vestments, as if polluted by his presence. Every act was reported to the emperor, who was exasperated at the insult thus offered to himself, and who justly dreaded the revival of those prejudices he had hoped were vanquished; and it hastened the first of those sanguinary battles which have immortalized the name of Pertap: nor will Huldighat be forgotten while a Seesodia occupies Mewar, or a bard survives to relate the tale.

Prince Selim, the heir of Delhi, led the war, guided by the councils of Raja Maun and the distinguished apostate son of Sagurji, Mohabet Khan. Pertap trusted to his native hills and the valour of twenty-two thousand Rajpoots to withstand the son of Akber. The divisions of the royal army encountered little opposition at the exterior defiles by which they penetrated the western side of the Aravali concentrating as they approached the chief pass which conducted to the vulnerable part of this intricate country.

The range to which Pertap was restricted was the moun-

* The Hindus as did the Greeks and other nations of antiquity, always made offering of the first portion of each meal to the gods. Undeva, 'the god of food.'

tainous region around, though chiefly to the west of the new capital. From north to south, Komulmeer to Ricumnath, about eighty miles in length; and in breadth, from Meerpur west to Satola east, about the same. The whole of this space is mountain and forest, valley and stream. The approaches to the capital from every point to the north, west, and south, are so narrow as to merit the term of defile; on each side lofty perpendicular rocks, with scarcely breadth for two carriages abreast, across which are those ramparts of nature termed *Col* in the mountain scenery of Europe, which ocasionally open into spaces sufficiently capacious to encamp a large force. Such was the plain of Huldighat, at the base of a neck of mountain which shut up the valley and rendered it almost inaccessible.* Above and below the Rajpoots were posted, and on the cliffs and pinnacles overlooking the field of battle, the faithful aborigines the Bhil, with his natural weapon the bow and arrow, and huge stones ready to roll upon the combatant enemy.

At this pass Pertap was posted with the flower of Mewar, and glorious was the struggle for its maintenance. Clan after clan followed with desperate intrepidity, emulating the daring of their prince, who led the crimson banner into the hottest part of the field. In vain he strained every nerve to encounter Raja Maun; but though denied the luxury of revenge on his Rajpoot foe, he made good a passage to where Selim commanded. His guards fell before Pertap, and but for the steel plates which defended his howda, the lance of the Rajpoot would have deprived Akber of his heir. His steed, the gallant Chytuc, nobly seconded his lord, and is represented in all the historical drawings of this battle with one foot raised upon the elephant of the Mogul, while his rider has his lance propelled against his foe. The conductor, destitute of defence, was slain, when the infuriated animal, now without control, carried off Selim. On this spot the carnage was immense: the Moguls eager to defend Selim; the heroes of Mewar to second their prince, who had already received seven wounds.† Marked by the 'royal umbrella,' which he would not lay aside, and which collected the might of the enemy against him, Pertap was thrice rescued from amidst the foe, and was at length nearly overwhelmed, when the Jhala chief gave a signal instance of fidelity, and extricated him with the loss of his

* Whoever has travelled Oberhasli of Meyringen, in the Oberland Bernois, requires no description of the alpine Aravali. The *Col de Balme*, in the vale of Chamouni, is, on a larger scale, the Huldighat of Mewar.

† Three from the spear, one shot, and three by the sword.

own life. Manah seized upon the insignia of Mewar, and rearing the 'gold sun' over his own head, made good his way to an intricate position, drawing after him the brunt of the battle, while his prince was forced from the field. With all his brave vassals the noble Jhala fell; and in remembrance of the deed his descendants have, since the day of Huldighat, borne the regal ensigns of Mewar, and enjoyed 'the right-hand of her princes.'* But this desperate valour was unavailing against such a force, with a numerous field artillery and a dromedary corps mounting swivels; and of twenty-two thousand Rajpoots assembled on that day for the defence of Huldighat, only eight thousand quitted the field alive.

Pertap, unattended, fled on the gallant Chytuc, who had borne him through the day, and who saved him now by leaping a mountain stream when closely pursued by two Mogul chiefs, whom this impediment momentarily checked. But Chytuc, like his master, was wounded; his pursuers gained upon Pertap, and the flash from the flinty rock announced them at his heels, when, in the broad accents of his native tongue, the salutation *ho! nila ghora ra aswar* 'ho! rider of the blue horse,' made him look back, and he beheld but a single horseman: that horseman his brother.

Sukta, whose personal enmity to Pertap had made him a traitor to Mewar, beheld from the ranks of Akber the 'blue horse' flying unattended. Resentment was extinguished, and a feeling of affection, mingling with sad and humiliating recollections, took possession of his bosom. He joined in the pursuit, but only to slay the pursuers, who fell beneath his lance; and now, for the first time in their lives, the brothers embraced in friendship. Here Chytuc fell, and as the Rana unbuckled his caparison to place it upon Unkarro, presented to him by his brother, the noble steed expired. An alter was raised, and yet marks the spot, where Chytuc † died; and the entire scene may be seen painted on the walls of half the houses of the capital.

The greeting between the brothers was necessarily short; but the merry Sukta, who was attached to Selim's personal force, could not let it pass without a joke; and inquiring "how a man felt when flying for his life?" he quitted Pertap with the assurance of reunion at the first safe opportunity. On rejoining

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*The descendants of Manah yet hold Sadri and all the privileges obtained on this occasion. Their kettle-drums beat to the gate of the palace, a privilege allowed to none besides, and they are addressed by the tittle of *Raj*, or royal.

† 'Chytuc ca Chabootra' is near to Jarrole.

Selim, the truth of Sukta was greatly doubted when he related that Pertap had not only slain his pursuers, but his own steed, which obliged him to return on that of the Khorasani. Prince Selim pledged his word to pardon him if he related the truth; when Sukta replied, "the burthen of a kingdom is on my brother's shoulders, nor could I witness his danger without defending him from it." Selim kept his word, but dismissed the future head of the Suktawuts. Determined to make a suitable 'nuzzur' on his introduction, he redeemed Phynsaor by a *coup de main*, and joined Pertap at Oodipur, who made him a grant of the conquest, which long remained the chief abode of the Suktawuts; * and since the day when this, their founder, preserved the life of his brother and prince against his Mogul pursuers, the byrd of the bard to all his race is *Khorasani Mooltani ca Aggul*, 'the barrier to Khorasan and Mooltan,' from which countries were the chiefs he slew.

On the 7th of Sawun, S. 1632 (July A. D. 1576), a day ever memorable in her annals, the best blood of Mewar irrigated the pass of Huldighat. Of the nearest kin of the prince five hundred were slain: the exiled prince of Gwalior, Ramsah, his son Khandirao, with three hundred and fifty of his brave Tuar clan, paid the debt of gratitude with their lives. Since their expulsion by Baber they had found sanctuary in Mewar, whose princes diminished their feeble revenues to maintain inviolable the rites of hospitality. † Manah, the devoted Jhala, lost one hundred and fifty of his vassals, and every house of Mewar mourned its chief support.

Elate with victory, Selim left the hills. The rainy season had set in, which impeded operations, and obtained for Pertap a few months of repose; but with the spring the foe returned, when he was again defeated, ‡ and took post in Komulmeer, which was invested by the Koka Shabaz Khan. He here made a gallant and protracted resistance, and did not retire till insects rendered the water of the 'Nogun' well, there sole resource, impure. To the treachery of the Deora chief of Aboo, who was now with Akber, this deed is imputed. Pertap thence withdrew to Chaond, § while Bhan, the Sonigurra chief, defended the place to the last, and was slain in the assault. On this

* The mother of Sukta was the *Bae-ji Raj*. 'Royal Mother' (Queen Dowager) of Mewar. She loved this son, and left Oodipoor to superintend his household at Bhynsrou: since which renunciation of rank to affection, the mothers of the senior branch of Suktawut are addressed 'Bae-ji Raj.'

† 800 rupees, or £100 daily, is the sum recorded for the support of this prince.

‡ The date of this battle is Maug Sood 7. S. 1633, A. D. 1577.

§ A town in the heart of the mountainous tract on the south-west of

occasion also fell the chief bard of Mewar, who inspired by his deeds as well as by his song, the spirit of resistance to the 'ruthless king,' and whose laudatory couplets on the deeds of his lord are still in every mouth. But the spirit of poesy died not with him, for princes and nobles, Hindu and Toork, vied with each other in exalting the patriot Pertap, in strains replete with those sentiments which elevated the mind of the martial Rajpoot, who is inflamed into action by this national excitement.

On the fall of Komulmeer, the castles of Dhurmeti and Gogoonda were invested by Raja Maun. Mohabet Khan took possession of Oodipur; and while a prince of the blood * cut off the resources furnished by the inhabitants of Oguna Panora, Khan Ferid invaded Chuppun, and approached Choand from the south. Thus beset on every side, dislodged from the most secret retreats, and hunted from glen to glen, there appeared no hope for Pertap: yet, even while his pursuers deemed him panting in some obscure lurking-place, he would by mountain signals reassemble his bands, and assail them unawares and often unguarded. By a skilful manœuvre, Ferid who dreamed of nothing less than making the Rajpoot prince his prisoner, was blocked up in a defile and his force cut off to a man. Unaccustomed to such warfare, the mercenary Moguls became disgusted in combating a foe seldom tangible; while the monsoon swelled the mountain stream, filling the reservoirs with mineral poisons and the air with pestilential exhalations. The perodical rains accordingly always brought some respite to Pertap.

Years thus rolled away, each ending with a diminution of his means and an increase to his misfortunes. His family was his chief source of anxiety: he dreaded their captivity, an apprehension often on the point of being realized. On one occasion they were saved by the faithful Bhils of Cavah, who carried them in wicker baskets and concealed them in the tin mines of Jawura, where they guarded and fed them. Bolts and rings are still preserved in the trees about Jawura and Chaond, to which baskets were suspended, the only cradles of the royal children of Mewar, in order to preserve them from the tiger and the wolf. Yet amidst such complicated evils the fortitude of Pertap remained unshaken, and a spy sent by Akber represented the Rajpoot and his chief seated at a scanty meal, maintaining all the etiquette observed in prospe-

Mewar, called Chuppun, containing about three hundred and fifty towns and villages, peopled chiefly by the aboriginal Bhils.

* Called Ami Shah in the Annals.

rity, the Rana bestowing the *doonah* to the most deserving, and which, though only of the wild fruit of the country, was received with all the reverence of better days. Such inflexible magnanimity touched the soul of Akber, and extorted the homage of every chief in Rajasthan; nor could those who swelled the gorgeous train of the emperor withhold their admiration. Nay, these annals have preserved some stanzas addressed by the Khankhanan, the first of the satraps of Delhi, to the noble Rajpoot, in his native tongue, applauding his valour and stimulating his perseverence: "all is unstable in this world: land and wealth will disappear, but the virtue of a great name lives for ever. Putto* abandoned wealth and land, but never bowed the head: alone, of all the princes of Hind he preserved the honour of his race."

But there were moments when the wants of those dearer than his own life almost excited him to frenzy. The wife of his bosom was insecure, even in the rock or the cave; and his infants, heirs to every luxury, were weeping around him for food: for with such pertinacity did the Mogul myrmidons pursue them, that "five meals have been prepared and abandoned for want of opportunity to eat them." On one occasion his queen and his son's wife were preparing a few cakes from the flour of the meadow grass,† of which one was given to each; half for the present, the rest for a future meal. Pertap was stretched beside them pondering on his misfortunes, when a piercing cry from his daughter roused him from reflection: a wild cat had darted on the reserved portion of food, and the agony of hunger made her shrieks insupportable. Until that moment his fortitude had been unsubdued. He had beheld his sons and his kindred fall around him on the field without emotion—"for this the Rajpoot was born; but the lamentation of his children for food unmanned him." He cursed the name of royalty, if only to be enjoyed on such conditions, and he demanded of Akber a mitigation of his hardships.

Overjoyed at this indication of submission, the emperor commanded public rejoicings, and exultingly shewed the letter to Prithwi Raj, a Rajpoot compelled to follow the victorious car of Akber. Prithwi Raj was the younger brother of the prince of Bikaneer, a state recently grown out of the Rahtores of Marwar, and which, being exposed in the flats of the desert, had no power to resist the example of its elder, Maldeo. Prithwi Raj was one of the most gallant chieftains of the age, and like the Troubadour princes of the west, could grace a cause with

* A colloquial contraction for Pertap.
† Called *Mol.*

the soul-inspiring effusions of the muse, as well as aid it with his sword: nay, in an assembly of the bards of Rajasthan, the palm of merit was unanimously awarded to the Rahtore cavalier. He adored the very name of Pertap, and the intelligence filled him with grief. With all the warmth and frankness of his nature, he told the king it was a forgery of some foe to the Rajpoot prince. "I know him well," said he; "for your crown he would not submit to your terms." He requested and obtained permission from the king to transmit by his courier a letter to Pertap, ostensibly to ascertain the fact of his submission, but really with the view to prevent it. On this occasion he composed those copulets, still admired, and which for the effect they produced will stand comparison with any of the *sirventes* of the Troubadours of the west.*

"The hopes of the Hindu rest on the Hindu; yet the Rana forsakes them. But for Pertap, all would be placed on the same level by Akber; for our chiefs have lost their valour and our females their honour. Akber is the broker in the market of our race: all has he purchased but the son of Oodoh: he is beyond his price. What true Rajoot would part with honour for ninth days *(Noroza)*; yet how many have bartered it away? Will Cheetore come to this market, when all have disposed of the chief article of the Khetri? Though Putto has squandered away wealth, yet this treasure has he preserved. Despair has driven many to this mart, to witness their dishonour: from such infamy the descendant of Hamir alone has been preserved. The world asks, whence the concealed aid of Pertap? None but the soul of manliness and his sword: with it, well has he maintained the Khetri's pride. This broker in the markst of men will one day be over-reached; he cannot live for ever; then will our race come to Pertap, for the seed of Rajpoot to sow in our desolate lands. To him all look for its preservation, that its purity may again become resplendent."

This effusion of the Rahtore was equal to ten thousand men; it nerved the drooping mind of Pertap, and roused him into action; for it was a noble incentive to find every eye of his race fixed upon him.

The allusion of the princely poet in the phrase, "bartering their honour on the 'Noroza,'" requires some explanation. The *Noroza*, or 'New Year's Day,' when the sun enters Aries, is one of great festivity among the Mahomedan princes of the East; but of that alluded to by Prithwi Raj we can form an adequate idea from the historian Abul Fuzil.

* It is no affectation to say that the spirit evaporates in the lameness of the translation. The author could feel the force, though he failed to imitate the strength of the original.

It is not New Year's Day, but a festival especially instituted by Akber, and to which he gave the epithet *Khooshroz*, 'day of pleasure,' held on the ninth day *(no-roza)*, following the chief festival of each month. The court assembled, and was attended by all ranks. The queen also had her court, when the wives of the nobles and of the Rajpoot vassal princes were congregated. But the Khooshroz was chiefly marked by a fair held within the precincts of the court, attended only by females. The merchants' wives exposed the manufactures of every clime, and the ladies of the court were the purchasers.* "His majesty is also there in disguise, by which means he learns the value of merchandize, and hears what is said of the state of the empire and the character of the officers of government." The ingenuous Abul Fuzil thus softens down the unhallowed purpose of this day; but posterity cannot admit that the great Akber was to obtain these results amidst the *Pushto* jargon of the dames of Islam, or the mixed *Bhaka* of the fair of Rajasthan. These 'ninth day fairs' are the markets in which Rajpoot honour was bartered, and to which the brave Prithwi Raj makes allusion.

It is scarcely to be credited that a statesman like Akber should have hazarded his popularity or his power, by the introduction of a custom alike appertaining to the Celtic races of Europe, as to these, the Goths of Asia; † and that he should

* At these royal fairs were also sold the productions of princely artizans, male and female, and which, out of compliment to majesty, made a bounteous return for their industry. It is a fact but little known, that most Asiatic princes profess a trade: the great Aurungzebe was a cap-maker, and sold them to such advantage on these 'ninth day fairs, that his funeral expenses were by his own express command defrayed from the privy purse, the accumulation of his personal labour. A delightful anecdote is recorded of the Ghilji king Mahmood, whose profession was literary, and who obtained good prices from his Omrahs for his specimens of caligraphy. While engaged in transcribing one of the Persian poets, a professed scholar with others, attended the *conversazione*, suggested an emendation, which was instantly attended to, and the supposed error remedied. When the Moolah was gone, the monarch erased the emendation and re-inserted the passage. An Omrah had observed and questioned the action, to which the king replied: "it was better to make a blot in the manuscript than wound the vanity of a humble scholar."

† This laxity, as regards female delicacy, must have been a remnant of Scythic barbarism, brought from the banks of the Jaxartes, the land of the Gete, where now, as in the days of Tomyris, a shoe at the door is a sufficient barrier to the entrance of many Tatar husbands. It is a well-known fact, also, that the younger son in these regions inherited a greater share than the elder, which is attributed to their pastoral habits, which invited early emigration in the elder sons. This habit prevailed with the Rajpoot tribes of very early times, and the annals of the Yadus, a race allied to the Yuti-Gete, or Jit, afford many instances of it. Modified, it yet

seek to degrade those whom the chances of war had made his vassals, by conduct so nefarious and repugnant to the keenly cherished feelings of the Rajpoot. Yet there is not a shadow of doubt that many of the noblest of the race were dishonoured on the 'Noroza;' and the Chivalrous Prithwi Raj was only preserved from being of the number by the high courage and virtue of his wife, a princess of Mewar, and daughter of the founder of the Suktawuts. On one of these celebrations of the Khooshroz, the monarch of the Moguls was struck with the beauty of the daughter of Mewar, and he singled her out from amidst the united fair of Hind as the object of his passion. It is not improbable that an ungene rous feeling united with that already impure, to despoil the Seesodias of their honour, through a princess of their house under the protection of the sovereign. On retiring from the fair, she found herself entangled amidst the labyrinth of apartments by which egress was purposely ordained, when Akber stood before her; but instead of acquiescence, she drew a poniard from her corset, and held it to his breast, dictating, and making him repeat, the oath of renunciation of the infamy to all her race. The anecdote is accompanied in the original with many dramatic circumstances. The guardian goddess of Mewar, the terrific '*Mata*,' appears on her tiger in the subterranean passage of this palace of pollution, to strengthen her mind by a solemn denunciation, and her hand with a weapon to protect her honour. Rae Sing, the elder brother of the princely bard, had not been so fortunate; his wife wanted either courage or virtue to withstand the regal tempter, and she returned to their dwelling in the desert despoiled of her chastity, but loaded with jewels: or, as Prithwi Raj expresses it: "she returned to her abode, tramping to the tinkling sound of the ornaments of gold and gems on her person; but where brother, is the moustache * on thy lip?"

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exists amongst the Jarejas (of the same stock), with whom the sons divide equally; which custom was transmitted to Europe by these Getic hordes, and brought into England by the *Jut* brothers, who founded the kingdom of Kent, (*a*) where it is yet known as *Gavelkind*. In English law it is termed *borough English*. In Scotland it existed in barbarous times, analogous to those when the Noroza was sanctioned; and the lord of the manor had privileges, which rendered it more than doubtful whether the first-born was natural heir: hence the youngest was the heir. So in France, in ancient times; and though the '*droit de Jambage*' no longer exists, the term sufficiently denotes the extent of privilege, in comparison with which the other rights of '*Socages*,' the seigneur's feeding his gray hounds with the best dishes and insulting the bride's blushes with ribald songs, were innocent.

(*a*) Canthi, 'a coast' in Gothic and Sanscrit.

* The loss of this is the sign of mourning.

It is time to return to the Aravali, and to the patriot prince Pertap. Unable to stem the torrent, he had formed a resolution worthy of his character; he determined to abandon Mewar and the blood-stained Cheetore (no longer the stay of his race), and to lead his Seesodias to the Indus, plant 'the crimson banner' on the insular capital of the Sogdi, and have a desert between him and his inexorable foe. With his family, and all that was yet noble in Mewar, his chiefs and vassals, a firm and intrepid band, who preferred exile to degradation, he descended the Aravali, and had reached the confines of the desert, when an incident occurred which made him change his measures, and still remain a dweller in the land of his forefathers. If the historic annals of Mewar record acts of unexampled severity, they are not without instances of unparallelled devotion. The minister of Pertap, whose ancestors had for ages held the office, placed at his prince's disposal their accumulated wealth, which, with their resources, is stated to have been equivalent to the maintenance of twenty-five thousand men for twelve years, The name of Bhama Sah is preserved as the saviour of Mewar. With this splendid proof of gratitude, and the *sirvente* of Prithwi Raj as incitements, he again "screwed his courage to the sticking-place," collected his bands, and while his foes imagined that he was endeavouring to effect a retreat through the desert, surprised Shabaz in his camp at Deweir, whose troops were cut in pieces. The fugitives were pursued to Amait, the garrison of which shared the same fate. Ere they could recover from their consternation, Komulmeer was assaulted and taken; Abdoola and his garrison were put to the sword, and thirty-two fortified posts in like manner carried by surprise, the troops being put to death without mercy. To use the words of the annals: Pertap made "a desert of Mewar; he made an offering to the sword of whatever dwelt in "its plains:" an appalling but indispensable sacrifice. In one short campagin (S. 1586, A. D. 1530), he had recovered all Mewar, except Cheetore, Ajmeer, and Mandalgurh; and determining to have a slight ovation in return for the triumph Raja Maun had enjoyed, (who had fulfilled to the letter his threat, that Pertap should "live in peril)," he invaded Amber, and sacked its chief mart of commerce, Malpura.

Oodipur was also regained; though this acquisition was so unimportant as scarcely to merit remark. In all likelihood it was abandoned from the difficulty of defending it, when all around had submitted to Pertap; though the annals ascribe it to a generous sentiment of Akber, prompted by the great Khankhanan, whose mind appears to have been captivated by the actions of the Rajpoot prince. An anecdote is appended to

account for Akber's relaxation of severity, but it is of too romantic a nature even for this part of their annals.

Pertap was indebted to a combination of causes for the repose he enjoyed during the latter years of his life; and though this may be ascribed principally to the new fields of ambition which occupied the Mogul arms, we are authorised also to admit the full weight of the influence that the conduct of the Hindu prince exerted upon Akber, together with the general sympathy of his fellow princes, who swelled the train of the conqueror, and who were too powerful to be regarded with indifference.

Repose was, however, no boon to the noblest of his race. A mind like Pertap's could enjoy no tranquillity, while from the summit of the pass which guarded Oodipur, his eye embraced the Kangras of Cheetore, to which he must ever be a stranger. To a soul like his, burning for the redemption of the glory of his race, the mercy thus shewn him, in placing a limit to his hopes, was more difficult of endurance than the pangs of fabled Tantalus. Imagine the warrior, yet in manhood's prime, broken with fatigues and covered with scars, from amidst the fragments of basaltic ruin * (fit emblem of his own condition!) casting a wistful eye to the rock stained with the blood of his fathers; whilst in the 'dark chamber' of his mind the scenes of glory enacted there appeared with unearthly lusture. First, the youthful Bappa, on whose head was the 'mor he had won from the Mori;' the warlike Samarsi, arming for the last day of Rajpoot independence, to die with Prithwi Raj on the banks of the Caggar: again descending the steep of Cheetore, the twelve sons of Ursi, the crimson banner floating around each, while from the embattled rock the guardian goddess looked down on the carnage which secured a perpetuity of sway. Again, in all the pomp of sacrifice, the Deola chief, Jeimul and Putta; and like the Pallas of Rajasthan, the Chondawut dame, leading her daughter into

* These mountains are of granite and close-grained quartz; but on the summit of the pass there is a mass of columnar rocks, which, though the author never examined them very closely, he has little hesitation in calling basaltic. Were it permitted to intrude his own feelings on his reader, he would say, he never passed the portals of Dubari, which close the pass leading from Cheetore to Oodipur, without throwing his eye on this fantastic pinnacle and imagining the picture he has drawn. Whoever, in rambling through the 'eternal city,' has had his sympathy awakened in beholding at the *Porta Salaria* the stone seat where the conqueror of the Persians and the Goths, the blind Belisarious, begged his daily dole,—or pondered at the unsculptured tomb of Napoleon upon the vicissitudes of greatness, will appreciate the feeling of one who, in sentiment, had identified himself with the Rajpoots, of whom Pertap was justly the model.

the ranks of destruction ; examples for their sons' and husbands' imitation. At length clouds of darkness dimmed the walls of Cheetore: from her battlements 'Kangra Ranee'* had fled ; the tints of dishonour began to blend with the visions of glory ; and lo! Oody Sing appeared flying from the rock to which the honour of his house was united. Aghast at the picture his fancy had portrayed, imagine him turning to the contemplation of his own desolate condition, indebted for a cessation of persecution to the most revolting sentiment that can assail an heroic mind —compassion ; compared with which scorn is endurable, contempt even enviable : these he could retaliate ; but for the high-minded, the generous, Rajpoot, to be the object of that sickly sentiment, pity, was more oppressive than the arms of his foe.

A premature decay assailed the pride of Rajasthan ; a mind diseased preyed on an exhausted frame, and prostrated him in the very summer of his days. The last moments of Pertap were an appropriate commentary on his life, which he terminated, like the Carthaginian, swearing his successor to eternal conflict against the foes of his country's independence. But the Rajpoot prince had not the same joyful assurance that inspired the Numidian Hamilcar ; for his end was clouded with the presentiment that his son Umra would abandon his fame for inglorious repose. A powerful sympathy is excited by the picture which is drawn of this final scene. The dying hero is represented in a lowly dwelling ; his chiefs, the faithful companions of many a glorious day, awaiting round his pallet the dissolution of their prince, when a groan of mental anguish made Saloombra inquire, "what afflicted his soul that it would not depart in peace?" He rallied ; "it lingered," he said, "for some consolatory pledge that his country should not be abandoned to the Toork ;" and with the death-pang upon him, he related an incident which had guided his estimate of his son's disposition, and now tortured him with the reflection, that for personal ease he would forego the remembrance of his own and his country's wrongs.

On the banks of the Peshola,† Pertap and his chiefs had constructed a few huts (the site of the future palace of Oodipur) to protect them during the inclemency of the rains in the day of their distress. Prince Umra, forgetting the lowliness of the dwelling, a projecting bamboo of the roof caught the folds of his turban and dragged it off as he retired. A hasty emotion, which disclosed a varied feeling, was observed with pain by

* 'The queen of battlements,' the turreted Cybele of Rajasthan.

† This magnificent lake is now adorned with marble palaces. Such was the wealth of Mewar even in her decline.

Pertap, who thence adopted the opinion that his son would never withstand the hardships necessary to be endured in such a cause. "These sheds," said the dying prince, "will give way to sumptuous dwellings, thus generating the love of ease; and luxury with its concomitants will ensue, to which the independence of Mewar, which we have bled to maintain, will be sacrificed: and you, my chiefs, will follow the pernicious example." They pledged themselves, and became guarantees for the prince, "by the throne of Bappa Rawul," that they would not permit mansions to be raised till Mewar had recovered her independence. The soul of Pertap was satisfied, and with joy he expired.

Thus closed the life of a Rajpoot whose memory is even now idolized by every Seesodia, and will continue to be so, till renewed oppression shall extinguish the remaining sparks of patriotic feeling. May that day never arrive! yet if such be her destiny, may it, at least, not be hastened by the arms of Britain!

It is worthy the attention of those who influence the destinies of states in more favoured climes, to estimate the intensity of feeling which could arm this prince to oppose the resources of a small principality against the then most powerful empire of the world, whose armies were more numerous and far more efficient than any ever led by the Persian against the liberties of Greece. Had Mewar possessed her Thucydides or her Xenophon, neither the wars of the Peleponnesus nor the retreat of the "Ten Thousand," would have yielded more diversified incidents for the historic Muse, than the deeds of this brilliant reign amid the many vicissitudes of Mewar. Undaunted heroism, inflexible fortitude, that which "keeps honour bright," perseverance,—with fidelity such as no nation can boast, were the materials opposed to a soaring ambition, commanding talents, unlimited means, and the fervour of religious zeal; all however, insufficient to contend with one unconquerable mind. There is not a pass in the alpine Aravali that is not sanctified by some deed of Pertap,—some brilliant victory, or oftener, more glorious defeat. Huldighat is the Thermopylæ of Mewar; the field of Deweir her Marathon.

CHAPTER XII.

Umra mounts the throne.—Akber's death through an attempt to poison Raja Maun.—Umra disregards the promise given to his father.—Conduct of the Saloombra chief.—Umra defeats the Imperial armies.—Sugraji installed as Rana in Cheetore.—Resigns it to Umra.—Fresh successes.—Origin of the Suktawuts.—The Emperor sends his son Purvez against the Rana, who is defeated.—Mohabet Khan defeated.—Sooltan Khoosru invades Mewar.—Umra's despair and submission.—Embassy from England.—Umra abdicates the throne to his son.—Umra's seclusion.—His death.—Observations.

OF the seventeen sons of Pertap, Umra, who succeeded him, was the eldest. From the early age of eight to the hour of his parent's death, he had been his constant companion and the partner of his toils and dangers. Initiated by his noble sire in every act of mountain strife, familiar with its perils, he entered on his career* in the very flower of manhood, already attended by sons able to maintain whatever his sword might recover of his patrimony.

Akber, the greatest foe of Mewar, survived Pertap nearly eight years. The vast field in which he had to exert the resources of his mind, necessarily withdrew him from a scene where even success ill repaid the sacrifices made to attain it. Umra was left in perfect repose during the remainder of this monarch's life, which it was not wisdom to disturb by the renewal of a contest against the colossal power of the Mogul. An extended reign of more than half a century permitted Akber to consolidate the vast empire he had erected, and to model the form of his government which displays, as handed down by Aabul Fuzil, as incontestable proof of his genius as well as of his natural beneficence. Nor would the Mogul lose, on being contrasted with the contemporary princes of Europe; with Henry IV. of France, who, like himself, ascended a throne weakened by dissention; with Charles V., alike aspiring to universal sway; or the glorious queen of our own isle, who made advances to Akber and sent him an embassy.† Akber was fortunate as either Henry or Elizabeth in the choice of his

* S. 1653, A. D. 1597.

† The embassy under Sir Thomas Roe was prepared by Elizabeth, but did not proceed till the accession of James. He arrived just as Mewar had bent her head to the Mogul yoke, and speaks of the Rajpoot prince Kurrun, whom he saw at court as a hostage for the treaty, with admiration.

ministers. The lofty integrity, military genius, and habits of civil industry, for which Sully was distinguished, found their parallel in Byram; and if Burleigh equalled in wisdom, he was not superior in virtue to Abul Fuzil, nor possessed of his excessive benevolence. Unhappily for Mewar, all this genius and power combined to overwhelm her. It is, however, a proud tribute to the memory of the Mogul, that his name is united with that of his rival Pertap in numerous traditionary couplets honourable to both; and if the Rajpoot bard naturally emblazons first on his page that of his own hero, he admits that none other but Akber can stand a comparison with him; thereby confirming the eulogy of the historian of his race, who, in summing up his character, observes that, "if he sometimes did things beneath the dignity of a great king, he never did any thing unworthy of a good man." But if the annalist of the Boondi state can be relied upon, the very act which caused Akber's death will make us pause ere we subscribe to these testimonies to the worth of departed greatness; and, disregarding the adage of only speaking good of the dead, compel us to institute, in imitation of the ancient Egyptians, a posthumous inquest on the character of the monarch of the Moguls. The Boondi records are well worthy of belief, as diaries of events were kept by her princes, who were of the first importance in this and the succeeding reigns: and they may be more likely to throw a light upon points of character of a tendency to disgrace the Mogul king, than the historians of his court, who had every reason to withhold such. A desire to be rid of the great Raja Maun of Amber, to whom he was so much indebted, made the emperor descend to act the part of the assassin. He prepared a *majoom*, or confection, a part of which contained poison; but caught in his own snare, he presented the innoxious portion to the Rajpoot and ate that drugged with death himself. We have a sufficient clue to the motives which influenced Akber to a deed so unworthy of him, and which were more fully developed in the reign of his successor; namely, a design on the part of Raja Maun to alter the succession, and that Khoosru, his nephew, should succeed instead of Selim. With such a motive, the aged emperor might have admitted with less scruple the advice which prompted an act he dare not openly undertake, without exposing the throne in his latter days to the dangers of civil contention, as Raja Maun was too powerful to be openly assaulted.

Let us return to Mewar. Umra remodelled the institutions of his country, made a new assessment of the lands and distribution of the fiefs, apportioning the service to the times. He also established the gradation of ranks such as yet exists, and

regulated the sumptuary laws even to the tie of a turban,* and many of these are to be seen engraved on pillars of stone in various parts of the country.

The repose thus enjoyed realized the prophetic fears of Pertap, whose admonitions were forgotten. Umra constructed a small palace on the banks of the lake, named after himself "the abode of immortality,"† still remarkable for its Gothic contrast to the splendid marble edifice erected by his successors, now the abode of the princes of Mewar.‡ Jehangir had been four years on the throne, and having overcome all internal dissension, resolved to signalize his reign by the subjugation of the only prince who had disdained to acknowledge the paramount power of the Moguls; and assembling the royal forces, he put them in motion for Mewar.

Umra, between the love of ease and reputation, wavered as to the conduct he should adopt; nor were sycophants wanting who

"Counselled ignoble ease and peaceful sloth,
"Not peace:"

and dared to prompt his following the universal contagion, by accepting the imperial firman. In such a state of mind the chiefs found their prince, when they repaired to the new abode to warn him, and prepare him for the emergency. But the gallant Chondawut, recalling to their remembrance the dying behest of their late glorious head, demanded its fulfilment. All resolved to imitate the noble Pertap,

"————————preferring
"Hard liberty before the easy yoke
"Of servile pomp."

A magnificent mirror of European fabrication adorned the embryo palace. Animated with a noble resentment at the inefficacy of his appeal to the better feelings of his prince, the chieftain of Saloombra hurled 'the slave of the carpet,'§ against the splendid bauble, and starting up, seized his sovereign by the arm and moved him from the throne. "To horse, chiefs!" he exclaimed, "and preserve from infamy the son of Pertap." A burst of passion followed the seeming indignity, and the patriot chief was branded with the harsh name of traitor; but with his sacred duty in view, and supported by every vassal of note, he

* The '*Umrasahi pagri*' or turban, is still used by the Rana and some nobles on court days, but the foreign nobility have the privilege, in this respect, of conforming to that of their own tribes.

† *Umra mahl.*

‡ See Plate, 'Palace of Oodipur.'

§ A small brass ornament placed at the corners of the carpet to keep it steady.

calmly disregarded the insult. Compelled to mount his steed, and surrounded by the veterans and all the chivalry of Mewar, Umra's passion vented itself in tears of indignation. In such a mood the cavalcade descended the ridge, since studded with palaces, and had reached the spot where the temple of Juggernath now stands, when he recovered from this fit of passion; the tear ceased to flow, and passing his hand over his moustache,* he made a courteous salutation to all, entreating their forgiveness for this omission of respect; but more especially expressing his gratitude to Saloombra, he said, "lead on, nor shall you ever have to regret your late sovereign." Elevated with every sentiment of generosity and valour, they passed on to Deweir, where they encountered the royal army led by the brother of the Khankhanan, as it entered the pass, and which after a long and sanguinary combat, they entirely defeated.†

The honors of the day are chiefly attributed to the brave Kana, uncle to the Rana, and ancestor of that numerous clan called after him Kanawuts. A truce followed this battle, but it was of short duration; for another and yet more murderous conflict took place in the spring of A. D. 1666, in the pass of the sacred Runpur, where the imperial army, under its leader Abdeolla, was almost exterminated;‡ though with the loss of the best and bravest of the chiefs of Mewar, whose names, however harsh, deserve preservation.§ A feverish exultation was the fruit of this victory, which shed a hectic flush of glory over the declining days of Mewar, when the crimson banner once more floated throughout the province of Godwar.

Alarmed at these successive defeats, Jehangir, preparatory to equipping a fresh army against Mewar, determined to establish a new Rana, and to instal him in the ancient seat of power, Cheetore, thus hoping to withdraw from the standard of Umra, may of his adherents. The experiment evinced at least a knowledge of their prejudices; but to the honor of Rajpoot fidelity, it failed. Sugra, who abandoned Pertap and went over to Akber, was selected; the sword of investiture was girded on him by the emperor's own hands, and under the escort of a Mogul force he went to reign amidst the ruins of Cheetore. Her grandeur, even in desolation, is beautifully depicted at this very period by the chaplain to the embassy

* This is a signal both of defiance and self-gratulation.

† S. 1664, A. D. 1608.

‡ Falgoon 7th, S. 1666, the spring of A. D. 1610. Ferishta misplaces this battle, making it immediately precede the invasion under Khoorum. The defeats of the Mogul forces are generally styled 'recalls of the commander.'

§ Doodo Sangawut of Deogurh, Narayn-das, Soorajmull, Aiskurn

from Elizabeth to Jehangir, the members composing which visited the capital of the Seesodias in their route to Ajmeer.*

For seven years Sugra had a spurious homage paid to him amidst this desolation, the ruined pride of his ancestors. But it is gratifying to record, that not even by this recreant son of Cheetore could the impressions formed in contemplating such scenes be resisted; and Sugra, though flinty as the rock to a brother and nephew, could not support the silent admonition of the altars of the heroes who had fallen in her defence. The triumphal column raised for victory over a combination of kings, was a perpetual memento of his infamy; nor could he pass over one finger's breadth of her ample surface, without treading on some fragment which reminded him of their great deeds and his own unworthiness. We would be desirous of recording, that a nobler remembrancer than 'coward conscience,' animated the brother of Pertap to an act of redeeming virtue; but when the annals tell us, that "the terrific Bhiroo (the god of battle) openly manifested his displeasure," it is decisive that it was not less the wish for greatness, than the desire to be "without the illness that should attend it;" and sending for his nephew, he restored to him Cheetore, retiring to the isolated Kandhar.† Some time after, upon going to court, and being upbraided by Jehangir, he drew his dagger and slew himself in the emperor's presence: an end worthy of such a traitor.‡

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all Seesodias of the first rank; Poorun Mull, son of Bhan, the chief of the Suktawuts; Hurridas Rahtore, Bhoput the Jhala of Sadri, Kahirdas Cutchwaha, Kesoodas Chodhan of Baidla, Mokund-das Rahtore, Jeimulote, or of the blood of Jeimul.

* "Cheetore an ancient great kingdom, the chief city so called, which standeth upon a mighty hill flat on the top, walled about at the least ten English miles. *There appear to this day above a hundred ruined churches and divers fair palaces, which are lodged in like manner among their ruins, beside many exquisite pillars of carved stone; and the ruins likewise of one hundred thousand stone houses, as many English by the observation have guessed.* There is but one ascent to it cut out of a firm rock, to which a man must pass through four (sometime very magnificent) gates. *Its chief inhabitants at this day are Zum and Ohim, birds and wild beasts; but the stately ruins thereof give a shadow of its beauty while it flourished in its pride.* It was won from Rana, an ancient prince, who was forced to live himself, ever after, on high mountainous places adjoining to that province, and his posterity to live there ever since. Taken from him it was by Achabar Podsha (the father of the king who lived and reigned when I was in these parts) after a very long siege, which famished the besieged, without which it could never have been gotten."

† "An isolated rock in the plain between the confluence of the Parbaty and Chumbul, and the famous Rinthumbor. The author has twice passed it in his travels in these regions.

‡ "It was one of his sons who apostatized from his faith who is well known in the imperial history as Mohabet Khan, beyond doubt the most

Umra took possession of the seat of his ancestors; but wanting the means to put it in defence, the acquisition only served to increase the temporary exultation. The evil resulting from attaching so much consequence to a capital had been often signally manifested; as to harass the enemy from their mountains, and thereby render his conquests unavailing was the only policy which could afford the chance of independence. With Cheetore, the Rana acquired by surrender or assault possession of no less than eighty of the chief towns and fortresses of Mewar: amongst them Ontalla, at whose capture occurred the struggle between the clans of Chondawut and Suktawut for the leading of the vanguard, elsewhere related. On this memorable storm, besides the leaders of the rival bands, five of the infant clan of Suktawut, consisting but of sixteen brave brothers, with three of the house of Saloombra, perished, struggling for the immortality promised by the bard. We may here relate the rise of the Suktawuts, with which is materially connected the future history of Mewar.

Sukta was the second of the twenty-four sons of Oody Sing. When only five years of age, he displayed that fearless temperament which marked his manhood. The armourer having brought a new dagger to try its edge by the usual process on spread cotton, the child asked the Rana "if it was intended to cut bones and flesh," and seizing it, tried it on his own little hand. The blood gushed on the carpet, but he betrayed no symptom of pain or surprise. Whether his father admitted the tacit reproof of his own want of nerve, or that it recalled the prediction of the astrologers, who, in casting Sukta's horoscope, had announced that he was to be "the bane of Mewar," he was incontinently commanded to be put to death, and was carried off for this purpose, but saved by the Saloombra chief, who arrested the fiat, sped to the Rana, and begged his life as a boon, promising, having no heirs, to educate him as the future head of the Chondawuts. The Saloombra chief had children in his old age, and while wavering between his own issue and the son of his adoption, the young Sukta was sent for to court by his brother Pertap. The brothers for a considerable time lived on the most amicable footing, unhappily interrupted by a dispute while hunting, which in time engendered mutual dislike. While riding in the

daring chief in Jehangir's reign. This is the secret of his bond of union with prince Khoorum (Shah Jehan), himself half a Rajpoot. It was with his Rajpoots Mohabet did that daring deed, making Jehangir prisoner in his own camp, in the zenith of his power.

ring, Pertap suddenly proposed to decide their quarrel by single combat, "to see who was the best lancer." Not backward, Sukta replied, "do you begin;" and some little time was lost in a courteous struggle for the first spear, when, as they took their ground and agreed to charge together, the Purohit* rushed between the combatants and implored them not to ruin the house. His appeal, however, being vain, there was but one way left to prevent the unnatural strife; the priest drew his dagger, and plunging it in his breast, fell a lifeless corpse between the combatants. Appalled at the horrid deed, "the blood of the priest on their head," they desisted from their infatuated aim. Pertap, waving his hand, commanded Sukta to quit his dominions, who bowing retired, and carried his resentments to Akber. Pertap performed, with the obsequies of this faithful servant, many expiatory rites, and made an irrevocable grant of salary to his son, still enjoyed by his descendants, while a small column yet identifies the spot of sacrifice to fidelity. From that hour to the memorable day when the founder of the Suktawuts gained the byrd of the race, '*Khorasan Mooltan ca Aggul*,' on the occasion of his saving his sovereign flying from the field, the brothers had never beheld each other's face.

Sukta had seventeen sons, all of whom, e[illegible]ir of Bhynsror,† attended his obsequies. On return fr[illegible] rite they found the gates barred against them by Bhanji, now chief of the Suktawuts, who told them "there were too many mouths," and that they must push their fortunes elsewhere while he attended his sovereign with the quota of Bhynsror. They demanded their horses and their arms, if such were his pleasure; and electing Achil as their head (whose wife was then pregnant), they took the route to Edur, which had recently been acquired by a junior branch of the Rahtores of Marwar. They had reached Palode when the pangs of childbirth seized the wife of Achil; and being rudely repulsed by the Sonigurra vassal of Palode, who refused her shelter at such a moment, they sought refuge amidst the ruins of a temple.‡ It was the shrine of *Mata Januvi*, 'the mother of births,' the *Juno Lucina* of the Rajpoots. In a corner of the sanctuary they placed the

* Family priest.

† I have visited the cenotaphs of Sukta and his successors at the almost insulated Bhynsror on the Chumbul. The castle is on a rock at the confluence of the *black Bamuni* and the Chumbul.

‡ Probably the identical temple to *the Mother*, in which I found a valuable inscription of Komarpal of Anhulwarra Puttun, dated S. 1207. Palode is in the district of Neemahaira, now alienated from Mewar, and under that upstart Pathan, Meer Khan.

mother of a future race ; but the rain, which fell in torrents, visibly affected the ruin. A beam of stone gave way, which but for Ballo would have crushed her : he supported the sinking roof on his head till the brothers cut down a babool tree, with which they propped it and relieved him. In this retreat Assa *(Hope)* was born, who became the parent of an extensive branch known as the Achiles Suktawuts.

The 'Great Mother' was propitious. The parent of '*Hope*' was soon enabled to resume her journey for Edur, whose chief received them with open arms, and assigned lands for their support. Here they had been some time when the Rana's prime minister passed through Edur from a pilgrimage to Satrunja.* A violent storm would have thrown down the tent in which was his wife, but for the exertion of some of the brothers ; and the minister, on learning that it was to the near kin of his sovereign he was indebted for this kindness, invited them to Oodipur, taking upon him to provide for them with their own proper head, which they declined without a special invitation. This was not long wanting ; for Umra was then collecting the strength of his hills aginst the king, and the services of the band of brothers, his kinsmen, were peculiarly acceptable. The first act of duty, though humble, is properly recorded, as ennobled by the sentiment which inspired it, and the pictured scene is yet preserved of Ballo and Joda collecting logs of wood for a night-fire in the mountain bivouac for their kinsman and sovereign. In the more brilliant exploit which followed, Ballo took the lead, and though the lord of Bhynsror was in camp, it was Ballo who obtained the leading of the vanguard : the commencement of that rivalry of clanship from whence have resulted some of the most daring, and many of the most merciless deeds in the history of Mewar. The right to lead in battle belonged to the Chondawuts, and the first intimation the chieftain had of his prince's inconsiderate insult was from the bard incessantly repeating the '*byrd*' of the clan, until "the portal of the ten thousand" of Mewar deemed him mad. "Not so," replied he ; but it is, perhaps, the last time your ears may be "gratified with the watch-word of Chonda, which may to-morrow be given as well as the Herole to the Suktawuts." An explanation followed, and the assault of Ontalla ensued, which preserved the rights of the Chondawuts, though nobly contested by their rivals. The vassal of Bakrole carried the tidings of the successful assault to the Rana, who arrived in time to receive the last obeisance

* One of the *five sacred mounts* of the Jains, of whose faith was the minister. Of these I shall speak at length in the Personal Narrative.

of Ballo, whose parting words to his prince were seized on by the Bard and added to the byrd of the clan: and although, in sloth and opium, they now "lose and neglect the creeping hours of time," yet whenever a Suktawut chief enters the court of his sovereign, or takes his seat amongst his brother chiefs, the bards still salute him with the dying words of Ballo:

"*Doonhh datar,*
"*Chaogoona joojar,*
"*Khorasan Mooltan ca aggul.*"*

Then passing the hand over his moustache, for a moment the escalade of Ontalla flits before his vision, where Ballo, Achiles, Joda, Dilla, and Chutharbhan, five of the seventeen sons of Sukta, fell for the maintenance of the post of honour. Bhanji soon after performed a service which obtained him the entire favour of his prince, who, returning from Rutlam, was insulted by the Rahtores of Bheendir, which was punished by the Suktawut, who took the town by assault, expelling the aggressors. Umra added it to his fief of Bhynsror, and since the latter was bestowed on the rival clan, Bheendir has continued the chief residence of the leader of the Suktawuts. Ten Chiefs†

* "Double gifts, fourfold sacrifices." Meaning, with increase of their prince's favour the sacrifice of their lives would progress; and which, for the sake of euphony probably, preceded the byrd won by the founder, "*the barrier to Khorasan and Mooltan.*"

The *Byrd* of the Chondawuts is: "*Dos sehes Mewar ca bur Kewar,*" "the portal of the ten thousand (towns) of Mewar." It is related that Sukta, jealous of so sweeping a byrd, complained that nothing was left for him: when the master bard replied, he was "*Kewar ca Aggul,*" the bar which secures the door (*Kewar*).

† Sukta—17 sons.

Bhan.

Dyal Ber. Maun. Goculdas Pooro.

Subbul.

Mokhum.

Umra.

Pirthi.

Jeit.

Omed.

Khoshial.

Zoorawur, present chief of the clan.

have followed in regular succession, whose issue spread over Mewar, so that in a few generations after Sukta, their prince could muster the swords of ten thousand Suktawuts; but internal feuds and interminable spoliation have checked the progress of population, and it might be difficult now to assemble half that number of the 'children of Sukta' fit to bear arms.

To return. These defeats alarmed Jehangir, who determined to equip an overwhelming force to crush the Rana. To this end he raised the imperial standard at Ajmeer, and assembled the expedition under his immediate inspection, of which he appointed his son Purvez commander, with instructions on departure "that if the Rana or his elder son Kurrun should repair to him, to receive them with becoming attention, and to offer no molestation to the country."* But the Seesodia prince little thought of submission: on the contrary, flushed with success, he gave the royal army the meeting at a spot oft moistened with blood, the pass of Khamnor,† leading into the heart of the hills. The imperial army was disgracefully beaten, and fled, pursued with great havoc, towards Ajmeer. The Mogul historian admits it to have been a glorious day for Mewar. He describes Purvez entangled in the passes, dissensions in his camp, his supplies cut off and under all these disadvantages attacked; his precipitate flight and pursuit, in which the royal army lost vast numbers of men.‡ But Jehangir in his diary slurs it over, and simply remarks: "I recalled Purvez to join me at Lahore, and directed his son with some chiefs to be left to watch the Rana."

This son, tutored by the great Mohabet Khan, fared no better than Purvez; he was routed and slain. But the Hydra was indestructible; for every victory, while it cost the best blood of Mewar, only multiplied the number of her foes

* A. D. 1611.

† Translated 'Brampoor' in Dow's Ferishta, and transferred to the Deccan; and the *pass (bala-ghat)* rendered *the* Balaghat mountains of the south. There are numerous similar errors.

‡ The details of battles, unless accompanied by exploits of individuals, are very uninteresting. Under this impression, I have suppressed whatever could impair the current of action by amplification, otherwise not only the Rajpoot bard, but the contemporary Mogul historian, would have afforded abundant matter; But I have deemed both worthy of neglect in such cases. Ferishta's history is throughout most faulty in its geographical details rendered still more obscure from the erroneous orthography often arising from mistaken punctuation) of the only translation of this valuable work yet before the public. There is one gentleman (Lieut. Col. Briggs) well qualified to remedy these defects, and who, with a laudable ndustry, has made an entire translation of the works of Ferishta, besides collating the best MSS. of the original text. It is to be hoped he will present his performance to the public.

Seventeen pitched battles had the illustrious Rajpoot fought since the death of his father: but the loss of his experienced veterans withered the laurels of victory, nor had he sufficient repose either to husband his resources, or to rear his young heroes to replace them. Another, and yet more mighty army, was assembled under prince Khoorum, the ablest of the sons of Jehangir, and better known in history as Shah Jehan, when emperor of the Moguls.

Again did the Rana with his son Kurrun collect the might of their hills; but a handful of warriors was all their muster to meet the host of Delhi, and 'the crimson banner,' which for more than eight hundred years had waved in proud independence over the heads of the Gehlotes, was now to be abased to the son of Jehangir. The Emperor's own pen shall narrate the termination of this strife.

"Eighth year of my reign, A. H. 1022,* I determined to move† to Ajmeer and send my fortunate son Khoorum before me; and having fixed the moment of departure, I dismissed him with magnificent khelats, and elephant, horse, sword, shield, and dagger, and besides his usual force added twelve thousand horse under Azim Khan, and presented to all the officers of his army suitable gratifications.

"On the commencement of the ninth year (A. D. 1614), while seated on my throne, in an auspicious moment, the elephant Alum Goman,‡ with seventeen others, male and female, captured from the Rana, were sent by my son Khoorum and presented before me. The next day I went abroad, mounted on Alum Goman, to my great satisfaction, and distributed gold in great quantity.

"Pleasing intelligence arrived of the intention of Rana Umra Sing to repair and make his obedience to me. My fortunate son Khoorum had established my authority and garrisons in divers strongholds of the Rana's country, *which owing to the malign influence of the air and water, its barrenness and inaccessibility, it was deemed impossible to bring under subjection;* yet, from the perpetual overrunning of the country, without regard to the heats or the rains, by my armies, the capture and imprisonment of the wives and children of many of the men of rank of the country, the Rana was at lengh reduced to acknowledge the despair to which he was driven, and that a further continuance of such distress would be attended with utter ruin, with the choice of captivity or bei[illegible]

* A. D. 1613.
† See page 32. Dow gives in a note a description of his camp
‡ 'The Arrogant of the earth.'

forced to abandon the country. He therefore determined to make his submission, and sent two of his chiefs, Soopkurrun and Herids Jhala, to my son Khoorum, to represent that if he would forgive and take him by the hand, he would pay his respects to him, and would send his eldest son Kurrun to attend and to serve the emperor, as did other Hindu princes; but that, *on account of his years, he would hold himself* excused from attending in person.* Of these events, my son sent a full relation by Shukur Oolla Afzul Khanee.

"I was greatly rejoiced at this event, happening under my own reign, and I commanded that these, the ancient possessors of the country should not be driven from it. The fact is, Rana Umra Sing and his ancestors were proud, and confident in the strength and inaccessibility of their mountainous country and its strong holds, *and had never beheld a king of Hindusthan, nor made submission to any one. I was desirous, in my own fortunate time, the opportunity should not slip my hands; instantly, therefore, on the representation of my son, I forgave the Rana, and sent a friendly firmaun that he might rest assured of my protection and care, and imprinted thereon, as a solemn testimony of my sincerity, my 'five fingers'* (punja†); *I also wrote my son, that by any means by which it could be brought about, to treat this illustrious one according to his own heart's wishes.*

"My son despatched the letter and firmaun by the chiefs Soopkurrun and Heridas Jhala, accompanied by Shukur Oolla and Soonderdas, with assurances to the Rana that he might rely on my generosity and esteem, to receive my firmaun and *impress of my hand*; and it was agreed that on the 26th of the month he should repair to my son.

"Having gone out of Ajmeer to hunt, Mahmood Beg, a servant of my son Khoorum, arrived, and presented a letter from him, and stated to me verbally, the Rana having met my son.

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* "He would hold himself excused." In these few words, to which the emperor has nobly given a place in his diary, we have the Rajpoot prince's feelings depicted on this painful occasion.

† The giving the hand, amongst all nations, has been considered as a pledge for the performance or ratification of some act of importance, and the custom amongst the Scythic or Tatar nations, of transmitting its impress as a substitute, is here practically described. I have seen the identical firman in a Rana's archives. The hand being immersed in a compost of sandal-wood is applied to the paper, and the palm and five fingers (*punja*) are yet distinct. In a masterly delineation of Oriental manners (*Carne's Letters from the East*) is given an anecdote of Mahommed, who unable to sign his name to a convention, dipped his hand in ink, and made an impression therewith. It is evident, the prophet of Islam only followed an ancient solemnity, of the same import as that practised by Jehangir.

"On receiving this news, I presented Mahmood Beg with an elephant, horse, and dagger, and gave him the title of Zoolfecar Khan.

Account of the meeting of Rana Umra Sing with Sultan Khoorum, and of Khoorum's visit to prince Kurrun, with all the Omras, and of the rank bestowed on prince Kurrun in the household of the emperor, on the part of the empress Noor Jehan."

"On Sunday, the 26th, the Rana, with respect and due attention to etiquette, as other vassals of the empire, paid his respects to my son, and presented a celebrated ruby, well known in possession of this house, and various arms inlaid with gold; with seven elephants of great price, which alone remained after those formerly captured; and also nine horses as tribute. My son received him with princely generosity and courtesy; when the Rana, taking my son by the knee, begged to be forgiven. He raised his head, and gave him very kind assurance of countenance and protection, and presented him with suitable khelats, an elephant, horses, and a sword. Though he had not above one hundred persons in his train worthy to be dignified with khelats, yet one hundred and twenty khelats, five horses, and twelve jewelled aigrettes, were bestowed on them. The custom, however, of these princes being that the heir and the father never visit together,* he observed this usage, and Kurrun, his declared successor, did not accompany the Rana. Sultan Khoorum, the same day, gave Umra Sing his leave, promising forthwith to send his son Kurrun, who was introduced, and khelats, with elephant sword, and dagger, were bestowed; and same day he repaired with him to me.

"In my interview with Sultan Khoorum, on his arrival at Ajmeer, he represented that if it was my pleasure, he would present the prince Kurrun, whom I accordingly desired him to bring. He arrived, paid his respects *and his rank was commanded to be, at the request of my son, immediately on my right hand*, and I rewarded him with suitable khelats. As Kurrun owing to the rude life he had led in his native hills, was extremely shy, and unused to the pageantry and experience of a court, in order to reconcile and give him confidence, I daily gave him some testimonies of my regard and protection, and on the second day of his service, I gave him a jewelled dagger, and on the third a choice steed of Irak with rich caparisons;

* This was to avoid treachery. I have often had the honour to receive the descendant princes, father and son, "of these illustrious ones" together.

and on the same day, I took him with me to the queen's court, when the queen, Noor Jehan, made him splendid khelats, elephant and horse caparisoned, sword, &c. The same day I gave him a rich necklace of pearls, another day an elephant, and it was my wish to give him rarities and choice things of every kind. I gave him three royal hawks and three gentle falcons, trained to the hand,* a coat of mail, chain and plate armour, and two rings of value; and, on the last day of the month, carpets, state cushions, perfumes, vessels of gold, and a pair of the bullocks of Guzerat.

"10th year.† At this time I gave prince Kurrun leave to return to his jagheer;‡ when I bestowed on him an elephant, horse, and a pearl necklace valued at 50,000 rupees (£5,000), and from the day of his repairing to my court to that of his departure, the value of the various gifts I presented him exceeded ten lakhs of rupees (£125,000), exclusive of one hundred and ten horses, five elephants, or what my son Khoorum gave him. I sent Mobarick Khan along with him, by whom I sent an elephant, horse, &c., and various confidential messages to the Rana.

"On the 8th Suifur of the 10th year of the H. 1024, Kurrun was elevated to the dignity of a Munsubdar§ of five thousand, when I presented him with a barcelet of pearls, in which was a ruby of great price.

"24th Mohurrum, 10th year (A. D. 1615), Juggut Sing, son of Kurrum, aged twelve years, arrived at court and paid his respects, and presented the *arzees* of his father and of his grandfather, Rana Umra Sing. *His countenance carried the impression of his illustrious extraction,*|| *and I delighted his heart with presents and kindness.*

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* Baz and Toora. † Of his reign.

‡ Such was the degraded title of the ancient, independent sovereignty of Mewar. Happy Pertap, whose ashes being mingled with his parent earth, was spared his country's humiliation!

§ With this, the annals state the restoration of many districts: the Kheirar, Phoolia, Bednore, Mandelgurh, Jeerun, Neemuch, and Bhynsror, with supremacy over Deola and Dongurpur.

|| It must have been this grandson of Umra of whom Sir Thomas Roe thus writes: "the right issue of Porus is here a king in the midst of the Mogul's dominions, never subdued till last year; and, to say the truth, he is rather bought than conquered: won to own a superior by gifts and not by arms. The pillar erected by Alexander is yet standing at Delhi, the ancient seat of Rama, the successor of Porus." *Extract of a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated at Ajmeer, January 29th, 1615.*

Copy of a letter written by the great Mogul unto King James, in the Persian tongue, here faithfully translated, which was as follows:

"Unto a king rightly descended from his ancestors, bred in military affairs, clothed with honour and justice, a commander worthy of all

"On the 10th Shaban, Juggut Sing had permission to return to his house. At his departure I presented him with 20,000 rupees, a horse, elephant, and khelats; and to Heridas

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command, strong and constant in the religion which the great prophet Christ did teach, King James, whose love hath bred such an impression in my thoughts as shall never be forgotten; but as the smell of amber, or as a garden of fragrant flowers, whose beauty and odour is still increasing, so, be assured, my love shall still grow and increase with years.

"The letters which you sent me in the behalf of your merchants, I have received, whereby I rest satisfied of your tender love towards me, desiring you not to take it ill, that I have not wrote to you heretofore: this present letter I send to you to renew our loves, and herewith do certify you, that I have sent forth my firmans throughout all my countries to this effect, that if any English ships or merchants shall arrive in any of my ports, my people shall permit and suffer them to do what they please, freely in their merchandising causes, aiding and assisting them on all occasions of injuries that shall be offered them, that the least cause of *discourtesie* be not done unto them; that they may be as free, or freer than my own people.

"And as now, and formerly, I have received from you divers tokens of your love; so I shall desire your mindfulness of me by some novelties from your countries, as an argument of friendship betwixt us, for such is the custom of princes here.

"And for your merchants, I have given express orders through all my dominions, to suffer them to buy, sell, transport, and carry away at their pleasure, without the lett or hindrance of any person whatsoever, all such goods and merchandizes as they shall desire to buy; and let this my letter as fully satisfie you in desired peace and love, as if my own son had been massenger to ratify the same.

"And if any in my countries, not fearing God, nor obeying their king, or any other void of religion, should endeavour to be an instrument to break this league of friendship, I would send my son Sultan Caroom, a souldier approved in the wars, to cut him off, that no obstacle may hinder the continuance and increase of our affections.

"When your majesty shall open this letter, let your royal heart be as fresh as a small garden, let all people make reverence at your gate. Let your throne be advanced higher. Amongst the greatness of the kings of the prophet Jesus, let your Majesty be the greatest; and monarchs derive their wisdom and counsel from your breast, as from a fountain, that the law of the majesty of Jesus may receive, and flourish under your protection.

"The letters of love and friendship which you sent me, the present tokens of your good affection towards me, I have received by the hands of your ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, who will deserve to be your trusted servant, delivered to me in an acceptable and happy hour; upon which mine eyes were so fixed, that I could not easily remove them unto any other objects, and have accepted them with great joy and delight. &."

The last letter had this beginning:—"How gracious is your majesty, whose greatness God preserve. As upon a rose in a garden, so are mine eyes fixed upon you. God maintain your estate, that your monarchy may prosper and be augmented; and that you may obtain all your desires worthy the greatness of your renown; and as the heart is noble and upright, so let God give you a glorious reign, because you strongly defend the law of the Majesty of Jesus, which God made yet

Jhala, preceptor of prince Kurrun, 5,000 rupess, a horse, and khelat; and I sent by him six golden images* to Rana.

"28th Rubee-ool-Akber, 11th year. *The statues of the Rana and Kurrun, sculptured in white marble, I desired; should have inscribed the date on which they were prepared and presented and commanded they should be placed in the gardens at Agra.*

"In the 11th year of my reign, an *arzee* from Etimad Khan acquainted me that Sultan Khoorum had entered the Rana's country, and that prince and his son had both exchanged visits with my son; and that from the tribute, consisting of seven elephants, twenty-seven saddle horses, trays of jewels, and ornaments of gold, my son took three horses and returned all the rest, and engaged that prince Kurrun and fifteen hundred Rajpoot horse should remain with him in the wars.

"In the 13th year, prince Kurrun repaired to my court, then at Sindla, to congratulate me on my victories and conquest of the Dukhun, and presented 100 mohors,† 1,000 rupees, *nuzzerana*, and effects in gold and jewels to the amount of 21,000 rupees, hardy elephants and horses; the last I returned, but kept the rest, and next day presented him a dress of honour: and from Futehpoor gave him his leave, with elephant, horse, sword, and dagger, and a horse for his father.

"14th year of my reign. On the 17th Rubbee-ool-awal, 1029 H., I received intelligence of the death of Rana Umra Sing. To Juggut Sing, his grandson, and Bheem Sing, his son, in attendance, I gave khelats, and despatched Raja Kishoredas‡ with the firman conferring benefits, and with the dignity of Rana, the khelat of investiture, choice horses, and a letter of condolence, suitable to the occasion, to prince Kurrun. 7th Shuval. Behari das Bramin, I despatched with a firman to Rana Kurrun, desiring that his son with his contingent should attend me."

To have generalized this detail of the royal historian would have been to lessen the interest of this important period in the annals of Mewar. Jehangir merits to have his exultation, his noble and unostentatious conduct, described by his own pen, the extreme minuteness of which description but increases the interest. With his self-gratulation, he bears full

more flourishing, for that it was confirmed by miracles,&c.,'—*Della valle, p.* 473.

* There are frequent mention of such images (*pootlis*), but I know not which they are.

† Golden suns, value £1. 12s.

‡ Increasing the respect to the Ranas by making a prince the bearer of the firman.

testimony to the gallant and long-protracted resistance of the Rajpoots; and while he impartially, though rather erroneously, estimates their motives and means of opposition, he does Umra ample justice in the declaration, that he did not yield until he had but the alternative of captivity or exile; and with a magnanimity above all praise, he records the Rajpoot prince's salvo for his dignity, "that he would hold himself excused from attending in person." The simple and *naive* declaration of his joy, "his going abroad on Alum Goman," the favourite elephant of the Rana which had been captured, on learning his submission, is far stronger than the most pompous testimony of public rejoicing. But there is a heart-stirring philanthropy in the conduct of the Mogul which does him immortal honour; and in commanding his son "to treat the illustrious one according to his heart's wishes," though he so long and so signally had foiled the royal armies, he proved himself worthy of the good fortune he acknowledges, and well shews his sense of the superiority of the chief of all the Rajpoots, by placing the heir of Mewar, even above all the princes of his own house, "immediately on *his right hand*." Whether he attempts to relieve the shyness of Kurrun, or sets forth the princely appearance of Juggut Sing, we see the same amiable feeling operating to lighten the chains of the conquered. But the shyness of Kurrun deserved a worthier term: he felt the degradation which neither the statues raised to them, the right hand of the monarch, the dignity of a 'commander of five thousand,' or even the restoration of the long-alienated territory, could neutralize, when the kingdom to which he was heir was called a fief (Jagheer), and himself, 'the descendant of a hundred kings,' a vassal (Jagheerdar) of the empire, under whose banner, which his ancestors had so signally opposed, he was now to follow with a contingent of fifteen hundred Rajpoot horse.

Seldom has subjugated royalty met with such consideration; yet, to a lofty mind like Umra's, this courteous condescension but increased the severity of endurance. In the bitterness of his heart, he cursed the magnanimity of Khoorum, himself of Rajpoot blood* and an admirer of Rajpoot valour, which circumstance more than the force of his arms had induced him to surrender; for Khoorum demanded but the friendship of the Rajpoot as the price of peace, and to withdraw every Mahomedan from Mewar if the Rana would but receive the emperor's firman outside of his capital. This

* Khoorum was son of a Rajpoot princess of Amber, of the *Cutchwaha* tribe, and hence his name was probably *Koorm*, synonimous with *cutchwa* a tortoise. The bards are always punning upon it.

his proud soul rejected; and though he visited prince Khoorum as a friend, he spurned the proposition of acknowledging a superior, or receiving the rank and titles awaiting such an admission. The Umra, who,—

> "Rather than be less,
> Cared not to be at all,"—

took the resolution to abdicate* the throne he could no longer hold but at the will of another. Assembling his chiefs, and disclosing his determination, he made the *teeka* on his son's forehead; and observing, that the honour of Mewar was now in his hands, forthwith left the capital and secluded himself in the *No-choki*: † nor did he from that hour cross its threshold, but to have his ashes deposited with those of his fathers.

All comment is superfluous on such a character as Rana Umra. He was worthy of Pertap and his race. He possessed all the physical as well as mental qualities of a hero, and was the tallest and strongest of all the princes of Mewar. He was not so fair as they usually are, and he had reserve bordering upon gloominess, doubtless occasioned by his reverses, for it was not natural to him; he was beloved by his chiefs for the qualities they most esteem, generosity and valour, and by his subjects for his justice and kindness, of which we can judge from his edicts, many of which yet live on the column or the rock.

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* Surrendered S. 1672, A. D. 1616: (according to Dow, S. 1669, A. D. 1613), died 1621.

† It must have been here that Sultan Khoorum visited the Rana. The remains of this palace, about half a mile without the city wall (north), on a cluster of hills, are yet in existence. It was built by Oody Sing on the banks of a lake, under which are gardens and groves, where the author had the Rana's permission to pitch his tents in the hottest months.

CHAPTER XIII.

Rana Kurrun fortifies and embellishes Oodipur.—The Ranas of Mewar excused—Attendance at court—Bheem commands the contingent of Mewar.—Leagues with Sultan Khoorum against Purvez.—Jehangir attacks the insurgents.—Bheem slain—Khoorum flies to Oodipur.—His reception by the Rana—Death of Kurrun.—Rana Juggut sing succeeds.—Death of Jehangir and accession of Khoorum as Shah Jehan.—Mewar enjoys profound peace.—The island palaces erected by Juggut Sing.—Repairs Cheetore.—His death.—Rana Raj Sing.—Deposal of Shah Jehan and accession of Arungzeb.—Causes for attachment to the Hindus, of Jahangir and Shah Jehan.—Arungzeb's character,—imposes the Jeziya or capitation tax on the Rajpoots.—Raj Sing abducts the intended wife of the emperor and prepares for war.—Arungzeb marches.—The valley of Girwo.—Prince Akbar surprised.—Defeated.—Blockaded in the mountains.—Liberated by the Heir of Mewar.—Delhiru Khan defeated.—Arungzeb defeated by the Rana and his Rahtore allies.—Arungzeb quits the field.—Prince Bheem invades Guzerat.—The Rana's Minister ravages Malwa.—United Rajpoots defeat Azim and drive him from Cheetore.—Mewar freed from the Moguls.—War carried into Marwar.—Seesodias and Rahtores defeat Sultan Akber.—Rajpoot stratagem.—Design to depose Arungzeb and elevate Akbar to the throne.—Its failure.—The Mogul makes overtures to the Rana.—Peace.—Terms.—The Rana dies of his wounds.—His character—contrasted with that of Arungzeb.—Lake Rajsumund.—Dreadful famine and pestilence.

KURRUN, or Kurna (*the radiant*), succeeded to the last independent king of Mewar, S. 1677 A. D. 1621. Henceforth we shall have to exhibit these princely 'children of the sun' with diminished lustre, moving as satellites round the primary planet; but, unaccustomed to the laws of its attraction, they soon deviated from the orbit prescribed, and in the eccentricity of their movements occasionally displayed their unborrowed effulgence. For fifteen hundred years we have traced each alternation of the fortune of this family, from their establishment in the second, to their expulsion in the fifth century from Saurashtra by the Parthians; the acquisition and loss of Edur; the conquest and surrender of Cheetore; the rise of Oodipur

and abasement of the red flag to Jehangir ; and we shall conclude with not the least striking portion of their history, their unity of interests with Britain.

Kurrun was deficient neither in courage nor conduct ; of both he had given a decided proof, when to relieve the pecuniary difficulties of his father, with a rapidity unparallelled, he passed through the midst of his foes, surprised and plundered Surat, and carried off a booty which was the means of protracting the evil days of his country. But for the exercise of the chief virtue of the Rajpoot, he had little scope throughout his reign, and fortunately for his country, the powerful esteem and friendship which Jehangir and Prince Khoorum evinced for his house, enabled him to put forth the talents he possessed to repair past disasters. He fortified the heights round the capital, which he strengthened with a wall and ditch, partly enlarged the noble dam which retains the waters of the Peshola, and built that entire portion of the palace called the Rawula, still set apart for the ladies of the court.

When Rana Umra made terms with Jehangir, he stipulated, as a salvo for his dignity and that of his successors, exemption from all personal attendance; and confined the extent of homage to his successors receiving, on each lapse of the crown, the firmaun or imperial decree in token of subordination, which, more strongly to mark their dependent condition, the Rana was to accept without the walls of his capital: accordingly, though the heirs-apparent of Mewar* attended the court, they never did as Rana. Partly to lessen the weight of his sacrifice to independence, and partly to exalt the higher grade of nobles, the princes of the blood-royal of Mewar were made to rank below the *sixteen*, a fictitious diminution of dignity, which, with similar acts peculiar to this house, enhanced the self-estimation of the nobles and made them brave every danger to obtain such sacrifices to the ruling passion of the Rajpoot, a love of distinction.† It is mentioned

* The contingent of Mewar was one thousand horse.

† During the progress of my mediation between the Rana and his nobles, in 1818, the conduct of the lineal representative of Jeimul, the defender of Cheetore against Akber, was striking. Instead of surrendering the lands which he was accused of usurping, he placed himself at the door of the threshold of the palace, whence he was immoveable. His claims were left to my adjudication: but he complained with great heat, of the omission of ceremonials, and especially of the prostration of honours by the prince. I incautiously remarked that these were trivial compared with the other objects in view, and begged him to disregard it. "Disregard it! why, it was for these things my ancestors sacrificed their lives: when such a band (*a*) as this on my turban was deemed ample reward for the most distinguished service and made them laugh at wounds and hardships

by the emperor that he placed the heir-apparent of Mewar immediately on his right hand, over all the princes of Hindusthan; consequently the superior nobles of Mewar, who were all men of royal descent, deemed themselves, and had their claims admitted, to rank above their peers at other courts, and to be seated almost on an equality with their princes.*

The Seesodia chieftains were soon distinguished amongst the Rajpoot vassals of the Mogul, and had a full share of power. Of these Bheem, the younger brother of Kurrun who headed the quota of Mewar, was conspicuous, and became the chief adviser and friend of Sultan Khoorum, who well knew his intrepidity. At his son's solicitation, the emperor conferred upon him the title of Raja, and assigned a small principality on the Bunas for his residence, of which Thoda was the Capital. Ambitious of perpetuating a name, he erected a new city and palace on the banks of the River, which he called Rajmahal, and which his descendants held till about forty years ago. The ruins of Rajmahal† bear testimony to the architectural taste

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Abashed at the inconsiderate remark which provoked this lofty reproof, I used my influence to have the omission rectified: the lands were restored and the enthusiastic reverence with which I spoke of Jeimul would have obtained even greater proof of the Bednore chief's regard for the fame of his ancestor than the surrender of them implied. Who would not honour this attachment to such emblems in the days of adversity?

(*a*) *Bala-bund* fillet or band, sometimes embroidered; often, as in the present case, of silk or gold thread knotted, and tassels tied round the turban. *Bala-bund* is synonymous with *diadem*.

* This was conceded as the following anecdote will attest. When the first Peshwa appeared at the Jeipur court he was accompanied by the Saloombra chieftain. The Jeipur prince divided his gadi *(cushion)* with the Peshwa, and the latter made room for the Saloombra chief upon it, observing that their privileges and rank were similar. The same Peshwa had the address to avoid all discussion of rank at Oodipur, by alleging the prerogative of his order to '*spread his cloth in front of the throne*,' a distinction to which every priest is entitled.

† The *Plate* represents Rajmahal, on the Bunas, now in the fief of Rao Chund Sing, one of the Jeipur nobles, whose castle of Doonee is in the distance. There are many picturesque scenes of this nature on the Bunas. Doonee made a celebrated defence against Sindia's army in 1808, and held out several months, though the Mahratta prince had an army of forty thousand men and a park of eighty pieces of cannon to oppose two hundred Rajpoots. They made sorties, captured his foragers, cut his batteries to pieces, and carried off his guns (of which they had none) and placing them on their walls, with his own shot, made the whole army change position, beyond matchlock-range. At last their inexpertness rendered them useless, and they obtained honourable terms. On one occasion the foragers of our escort were returning, and met Sindia's coming away without their guns and cattle, which had just been taken from them. Our lads from fellowship, volunteered to recover them, and returned on the captors, who gave them up (if my memory deceive me not) without a struggle, and from respect to the *red coat!*

his palace that he was first saluted by the title of 'Shah Jehan' by the satraps and tributary princes of the empire.* On taking leave, the new monarch restored five alienated districts, and presented the Rana with a ruby of inestimable value, giving him also permission to reconstruct the fortifications of Cheetore.

The twenty-six years during which Juggut Sing occupied the throne passed in uninterrupted tranquillity: a state unfruitful to the bard, who flourishes only amidst agitation and strife. This period was devoted to the cultivation of the peaceful arts, especially architecture; and to Juggut Sing Oodipur is indebted for those magnificent works which bear his name, and excite our astonishment, after all the disasters we have related, at the resources he found to accomplish them.

The palace on the lake (covering about four acres), called the Jugnewas, is entirely his work, as well as many additions to its sister isle on which is the Jugmunder.† Nothing but marble enters into their composition; columns, baths, reservoirs, fountains, all are of this material, often inlaid with mosaics, and the uniformity pleasingly diversified by the light passing through glass of every hue. The apartments are decorated with historical paintings in water-colours, almost meriting the term *fresco* from their deep absorption in the wall; though the darker tints have blended with, and in part obscured the more delicate shades, from atmospheric causes. The walls, both here and in the grand palace, contain many medallions, in considerable relief, in gypsum, pourtraying the principal historical events of the family, from early periods even to the marriage pomp of the present Rana. Parterres of flowers, orange and lemon groves, intervene to dispel the monotony of the buildings, shaded by the wide-spreading tamarind and magnificent ever-green kheenee; while the graceful palmyra and cocoa wave their plume-like branches over the dark cypress or cooling plantain. Detached colonnaded refectories are placed on the water's edge for the Chiefs and extensive baths for their use. Here they listened to the tale of the bard, and slept off their noon-day opiate amidst the cool breezes of the lake, wafting delicious odours from myriads of the lotus-flower which covered the surface of the water; and as the fumes of the portion evaporated, they opened their eyes on a landscape to which

* Ferishta, whose Geography is often quite unintelligible, omits this in his history, and passes the King direct to Ajmeer: but the annals are fuller, and describe the royal insignia conveyed by Mohabet Abdoola, Khan Jehan, and his Secretary Sadoola.

† 'The *minster* of the world'—See *Plate*.

not even its inspirations could frame an equal: the broad waters of the Peshola, with its indented and well-wooded margin receding to the terminating point of sight, at which the temple of Brimpoori opened on the pass of the gigantic Aravali, the field of the exploits of their forefathers. Amid such scenes did the Seesodia princes and Chieftains recreate during two generations, exchanging the din of arms for voluptuous inactivity.

Juggut Sing was a highly respected prince, and did much to efface the remembrance of the rude visitations of the Moguls. The dignity of his character, his benevolence of address, and personal demeanour, secured the homage of all who had access to him, and are alike attested by the pen of the emperor, the ambassador of England, and the Chroniclers of Mewar. He had the proud satisfaction of redeeming the ancient capital from ruin; rebuilding the "chaplet bastion,* restoring the portals, and replacing the pinnacles on the temples of Chutterkote." By a princess of Marwar he left two sons, the eldest of whom succeeded.

Raj Sing (the royal lion) mounted the throne in S. 1710 (A. D. 1654). Various causes over which he had no control, combined, together with his personal character to break the long repose his country had enjoyed. The emperor of the Moguls had reached extreme old age, and the abmition of his sons to usurp his authority, involved every Rajpoot in support of their individual pretensions. The Rana inclined to Dara,† the legitimate heir to the throne, as did nearly the whole Rajpoot race; but the battle of Futehabad silenced every pretension, and gave the lead to Arungzeb, which he maintained by the sacrifice of whatever opposed his ambition. His father, brothers, nay his own offspring, were in turn victims to that thirst for power, which eventually destroyed the monarchy of the Moguls.

The policy introduced by their founder, from which Akber, Jehangir, and Shah Jehan had reaped so many benefits, was unwisely abandoned by the latter, who of all had the most powerful reasons for maintaining those ties which connected the Rajpoot princes with his house. Historians have neglected to notice the great moral strength derived from this unity of the indigenous races with their conquerors; for during no similar period was the empire so secure, nor the Hindu race

*The *Mala Boorj*, a 'chaplet bastion' blown up by Akber, is a small fortress of itself

† I have copies of the original letters written by Dara, Sujah, Morad, and Arungzeb, on the occasion, each soliciting the Rana's aid.

so cherished, as during the reigns of Jehangir and Shah Jehan: the former born from a Rajpoot princess of Ambar, and the latter from the house of Marwar. Arungzeb's unmixed Tatar blood brought no Rajpoot sympathies to his aid; on the contrary, every noble family shed their best blood in withstanding his accession, and in the defence of Shah Jehan's rights, while there was a hope of success. The politic Arungzeb was not blind to this defect and he tried to remedy it in his successor, for both his declared heir. Shah Allum, and Azim, as well as his favourite grandson,* were the offspring of Rajpootnis; but uninfluenced himself by such predilections, his bigotry outweighed his policy, and he visited the Rajpoots with an unrelenting and unwise persecution.

We shall pass the twice-told tale of the struggle for power which ended in the destruction of the brothers, competitors with Arungzeb: this belongs to general history, not to the annals of Mewar; and that history is in every hand,† in which the magnanimity of Dara, the impetuosity of Morad, and the activity of Sujah, met the same tragical end.

It has seldom occurred that so many distinguished princes were cotemporary as during the reign of Arungzeb. Every Rajpoot principality had a head above mediocrity in conduct as in courage. Jey Sing of Ambar, surnamed 'the Mirza Raja;' Jesswunt Sing of Marwar, with the Haras of Boondi and Kotah; the Rahtores of Bikaneer, and Boondelas of Orcha and Duttea, were men whose prejudices properly consulted, would have rendered the Mogul power indissoluble: but he had but one measure of contumely for all, which inspired Sevaji with designs of freedom to Mahrashtra, and withdrew every sentiment of support from the princes of Rajasthan. In subtlety and the most specious hypocrisy, in that concentration of resolve which confides its deep purpose to none, in every qualification of the warrior or scholar,‡ Arungzeb had no

* Kam-buksh, (son of Jodpoori, not Udipoori) *the gift of Cupid.* Of this the Greeks made Cambyses.

† Bernier, who was an eye-witness of these transactions, describes them far better than the Mogul historians, and his accounts tally admirably with the Rajpoot annals.

‡ We possess a most erroneous idea of the understanding of Asiatic princes, and the extent of its cultivation. Arungzeb's rebuke to his tutor *Moolla Sale*, who beset him with a sycophantic intrusion on his coming to the throne, may correct this, and, with the letter of Rana Raj Sing, gave the European world juster notions of the powers of mind both of Hindu and Mahomedan. It is preserved by Bernier, who had ample opportunity to acquire a knowledge of them. (*From an edition in the Author's possession, A. D.* 1684, *only three years after these events.*)

"What is it you would have of me, Doctor? Can you reasonably desire I should make you one of the chief *Omrahs* of my court? Let me

superior amongst the many distinguished of his race; but that sin by which 'angels fell' had steeped him in an ocean of guilt, and not only neutralized his natural capacities, but converted the means for unlimited power into an engine of self-destruction. "This hypocrisy," says the eloquent Orme, "increased with his power, and in order to palliate to his Mahomedan subjects the crimes by which he had become their sovereign, he determined to enforce the conversion of the Hindus by the severest penalties, and even by the sword; as if the blood of his subjects were to wash away the stains from his hands,

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tell you, if you, had instructed me as you should have done, nothing would be more just; for I am of this persuasion, that a child well educated and instructed is as much, at least, obliged to his master as to his father. But where are those good documents you have given me? In the first place, you have taught me that all that Frangistan (so it seems they call Europe) was nothing but I know not what little island, of which the greatest king was he of Portugal, and next to him he of Holland, and after him he of England: and as to the other kings, as those of France and Andalusia, you have represented them to me as our petty Rajas; telling me that the kings of Indostan were far above them all together, and that they were the true and only Houmajons, the Ekbars, the Jehan-Guyres, the Chah-Jehans, the fortunate ones, the great ones, the conquerors and kings of the world; and that Persia and Usbec, Kachguer, Tartar and Catay, Pegu, China and Matchina did tremble at the name of the kings of Indostan. Admirable geography! You should rather have taught me exactly to distinguish all those different states of the world, and well to understand their strength, their way of fighting, their customs, religions, governments and interests; and, by the perusal of solid history, to observe their rise, progress, decay, and whence how, and by what accidents and errors those great changes revolutions of empires and kingdoms have happened. I have scarce learnt of you the name of my grandsires, the famous founders of this empire: so far were you from having taught me the history of their life, and what course they took to make such great conquest. You had a mind to teach me the Arabian tongue, to read and to write. I am much obliged to you, forsooth, for having made me lose so much time upon a language that requires ten or twelve years to attain to its perfection; as if the son of a king should think to be an honour to him to be a grammarian or some doctor of the law, and to learn other languages than those of his neighbours, when he cannot well be without them; he, to whom time is so precious for so many weighty things, which he ought by times to learn. As if there were any spirit that did not with some reluctancy, and even with a kind of debasement, employ itself in so sad and dry an exercise, so longsom and tedious, as is that of learning words.

"Thus did Arung-Zebe resent the pedantick instructions of his tutor; to which 'tis affirmed in that court, that after some entertainment which he had with others, he further added the following reproof:

"Know you not, that childhood well govern'd being a state which is ordinarily accompanied with an happy memory, is capable of thousands of good precepts and instructions, which remain deeply impressed the whole remainder of a man's life, and keep the mind always raised for great actions? The law, prayers, and sciences, may they not as well be learned in our mother-tongue as in Arabick? You told my father *Chah Jehan*, that

already encrimsoned with that of his family. Labour left the field and industry the loom, until the decrease of the revenues induced Arungzeb to substitute a capitation tax * as the balance of account between the two religions." The same historian justly characterizes this enactment as one so contrary to all notions of sound policy, as well as of the feelings of humanity, that reflection seeks the motive with amazement." In this amazement we might remain, nor seek to develop the motive, did not the ample page of history in all nations disclose, that in the name of religion more blood has been shed, and more atrocity committed, than by the united action of the whole catalogue of the passions. Mahomed's creed was based on conversion, which, by whatever means effected, was a plenary atonement for every crime. In obedience thereto Arungzeb acted: but though myriads of victims who

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you would teach me philosophy. 'Tis true, I remember very well, that you have entertain'd me for many years with airy questions of things that afford no satisfaction at all to the mind, and are of no use in humane society, empty notions and mere phancies, that have only this in them, that they are very hard to understand and very easie to forget, which are only capable to tire and spoil a good understanding, and to breed an opinion that is insupportable. I still remember, that after you had thus amused me, I know not how long, with your fine philosophy, all I retained of it was a multitude of barbarous and dark words, proper to bewilder, perplex, and tire out the best wits and only invented the better to cover the vanity and ignorance of men like yourself, that would make us believe that they know all, and that under those obscure and ambiguous words are hid great mysteries which they alone are capable to understand. If you had season'd me with that philosophy which formeth the mind to ratiocination, and insensibly accustoms it to be satisfied with nothing but solid reasons, if you had given me those excellent precepts and doctrines which raise the soul above the assaults of fortune, and reduce her to an unshakeable and always equal temper, and permit her not to be lifted up by prosperity nor debased by adversity; if you had taken care to give me the knowledge of what we are and what are the first principles of things, and had assisted me in forming in my mind a fit idea of the greatness of the universe, and of the admirable order and motion of the parts thereof; If, I say you had instilled into me this kind of philosophy, I should think myself incomparably more obliged to you than Alexander was to his Aristotle, and believe it my duty to recompense you otherwise than he did him. Should not you, instead of your flattery, have taught me somewhat of that point so important to a king, which is what the reciprocal duties are of a sovereign to his subjects and those of subjects to their sovereign; and ought not you to have considered, that one day I should be obliged with the sword to dispute my life and the crown with my brothers? Is not that the destiny almost of all the sons of Indostan? Have you ever taken any care to make me learn, what 'tis to besiege a town or to set an army in array? For these things I am obliged to others, not at all to you. Go, and retire to the village whence you are come, and let no body know who you are or what is become of you.'"

* The Jezeya.

clung to their faith were sacrificed by him at the fiat of this gladiatorial prophet, yet nor these, nor the scrupulous fulfilment of fanatic observances, could soothe at the dread hour the perturbations of the 'still small voice' which whispered the names of father, brother, son, bereft by him of life. Eloquently does he pourtray these terrors in his letters to his grandson on his death-bed, wherein he says, "whichever way I look, I see only the divinity,"—and that an offended divinity.*

* I deem it right, in order to further illustrate the cultivated understanding of Arungzeb, to annex the letters written to his sons a few days before his death. With such talents, with so just a conception as these and the rebuke to his tutor evince of his knowledge of the right, what might he not have been, had not fell ambition misguided him!

"To Shaw Azim Shaw.

"Health to thee! my, heart is near thee. Old age is arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, and for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power, hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling (conscience), but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting, there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes from futurity are lost. The fever has left me, but nothing of me remains but skin and bone. My son (Kaum Buksh), though gone towards Beejapore, is still near; and thou, my son, are yet nearer. The worthy of esteem, Shaw Aulum, is far distant; and my grandson (Azeem Ooshaun), by the orders of God, is arrived near Hindostan. The camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are like myself, full of affliction, restless as the quicksilver. Seperated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not.

"I brought nothing into this world,, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounty of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my vessel to the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavours of my sons are indispensably incumbent. Give my last prayers to my grandson (Bedar Bukht), whom I cannot see, but the desire affects me. The Begum (his daughter) appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts. The foolish thoughts of woman produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell! farewell! farewell!"

"To the Prince Kaum Buksh.

"My son, nearest to my heart. Though in the height of my power, and by God's permission, I gave you advice, and took with you the greatest pains, yet, as it was not the divine will, you did not attend with the ears of compliance. Now I depart a stranger, and lament my own insignificance, what does it profit me? I carry with me the fruits of my sins and imperfections. Surprising Providence! I came here alone, and alone I depart. The leader of this caravan hath deserted me. The fever which troubled me for twelve days, has left me. Wherever I look, I see othing but the divinity. My fears for the camp and followers are great;

Raj Sing had signalized his accession by the revival of the warlike *Teeka-dowr*, and plundered Malpoora, which though on the Ajmeer frontier, Shah Jehan, when advised to vengeance, replied "it was only a folly of his nephew."* An appeal to his gallantry made him throw down the gauntlet to Arungzeb in the plentitude of his power, when the valour of the Seesodias again burst forth in all the splendour of the days of Pertap; nor did the contest close till after a series of brilliant victories, and with the narrow escape from captivity of the Xerxes of Hindusthan. The Mogul demanded the hand of the princess of Roopnagurh, a junior branch of the Marwar house and sent with the demand (a compliance with which was contemplated as certain) a *cortege* of two thousand horse to escort the fair to court. But the haughty Rajpootni, either indignant at such precipitation or charmed with the gallantry of the Rana, who had evinced his devotion to the fair by measuring his sword with the head of her house, rejected with disdain the proffered alliance, and, justified by brilliant precedents in the romantic

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but, alas! I know not myself. My back is bent with weakness, and my feet have lost the powers of motion. The breath which rose is gone, and left not even hope behind it. I have committed numerous crimes and know not with what punishments I may be siezed. Though the protector of mankind will guard the camp, yet care is incumbent also on the faithful and my sons. When I was alive, no care was taken; and now I am gone, the consequence may be guessed. The guardianship of a people is the trust by God committed to my sons. Azim Shaw is near. Be cautious that none of the faithful are slain, or their miseries fall upon my head. I resign you, your mother and son, to God, as I myself am going. The agonies of death come upon me fast. Behadur Shaw is still where he was, and his son is arrived near Hindostan. Behadur Bukht is in Guzerat. Hyautal Nissa, who has beheld no affliction of time till now, is full of sorrows. Regard the Begum as without concern. *Oodiporee, (a) your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but every thing has its appointed time.*

"The domestics and courtiers, however deceitful, yet must not be ill-treated. It is necessary to gain your views by gentleness and art. Extend your feet no lower than your skirt. The Complaints of the unpaid troops are before. Dara Shekkoh, though of much Judgment and good understanding, settled large pensions on his people, but paid them ill and they were ever discontented. I am going. Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you. Take it not amiss, nor remember what offences I have done to yourself; that account my not be demanded of me hereafter. No none has seen the departure of his own soul; but I see that mine is departing." *Memoirs of Eradut Khan.*—See Scott's Hist. of the Dekhan.

* The emperor was the adopted brother of Rana Kurrun.

(*a*) Orme calls her a Cashmerian; certainly she was not a daughter of the Rana's family, though it is not impossible she may have been of one of the great families of Shapoora or Bunera (then acting independently of the Rana), and her desire to burn shews her to have been Rajpoot.

history of her nation, she entrusted her cause to the arm of the chief of the Rajpoot race, offering herself as the reward of protection. The family priest (her preceptor) deemed his office honoured by being the messenger of her wishes, and the billet he conveyed is incorporated in the memorial of this reign. "Is the swan to be the mate of the stork: a Rajpootni pure in blood, to be wife to the monkey-faced barbarian!" concluding with a threat of self-destruction if not saved from dishonor. This appeal, with other powerful motives, was seized on with avidity by the Rana as a pretext to throw away the scabbard, in order to illustrate the opening of a warfare, in which he determined to put all to the hazard in defence of his country and his faith. The issue was an omen of succees to his warlike and superstitious vassalage With a chosen band he rapidly passed the foot of the Aravali and appeared before Roopnagurh, cut up the imperial guards, and bore off the prize to his capital. The daring act was applauded by all who bore the name of Rajpoot, and his chiefs with joy gathered their retainers around the 'red standard,' to protect the queen so gallantly achieved.

The annalist of Rajpootana is but an indifferent chronologist, and leaves us doubtful of the exact succession of events at this period. It was not, however, till the death of those two powerful princes, Jesswunt Sing of Marwar and Jey Sing of Ambar, both poisoned by command of the tyrant, the one at his distant government of Cabul, the other in the Dekhan, that he deemed himself free to put forth the full extent of his long concealed design, the imposition of the *jeseya* or capitation-tax, on the whole Hindu race. But he miscalculated his measures, and the murder of these princes, far from advancing his aim, recoiled with vengeance on his head. Foiled in his plot to entrap the infant sons of the Rahtore by the self-devotion of his vassals,* the compound treachery evinced that their only hope lay in a deadly resistance. The mother of Ajit, the infant heir of Marwar, a woman of the most determined character, was a princess of Mewar: and she threw herself upon the Rana as the natural guardian of his rights, for sanctuary (*sirna*) during the dangers of his minority. This was readily yielded, and Kailwa assigned as his residence, where under the immediate safeguard of the brave Doorga-das, Ajit resided,† while she nursed the spirit of resistance at home. An union of interests was cemented between these the chief states of Rajpootana, for which they

* Two hundred and fifty Rajpoots opposed five thousand of the Imperialits at a pass, till the family of Jesswunt escaped.

† The Rana received the young Rahtore with the most princely hospitality, and among other gifts a diamond worth ten thousand dinars is enumerated.

never before had such motive, and but for repeated instances of an ill-judged humanity, the throne of the Moguls might have been completely overturned.

On the promulgation of that barbarous edict, the *jezeya*, the Rana remonstrated by letter, in the name of the nation of which he was the head, in a style of such uncompromising dignity, such lofty yet temperate resolve, so much of soul-stirring rebuke mingled with a boundless and tolerating benevolence, such elevated ideas of the Divinity with such pure philanthropy, that it may challenge competition with any epistolary production of any age, clime, or condition.* In this are contained the true principles of Christianity, and to the illustrious Gentile, and such

* This letter, first made known to Europe by Orme, has by him been erroneously attributed to Jesswunt Sing of Marwar, who was dead before the promulgation of the edict, as the mention of *Ramsing* sufficiently indicates, whose father, Jey Sing, was contemporary with Jesswunt, and ruled nearly a year after his death. My Moonshee obtained a copy of the original letter at Oodipur, where it is properly assigned to the Rana. It were superfluous to give a translation after the elegant production of Sir W. B. Rouse.

"Letter from Rana Raj Sing to Arungzeb,

"All due praise be rendered to the glory of Almighty, and the munificence of your majesty, which is conspicuous as the sun and moon. Although I your well-wisher, have separated myself from your sublime presence, I am nevertheless zealous in the performance of every bounden act of obedience and loyalty. My ardent wishes and strenous services are employed to promote the prosperity of the Kings, Nobles, Mirzas, Rajahs, and Roys, of the provinces of Hindustan, and the chiefs of Æraun, Turaun, Room, and Shawn, the inhabitants of the seven climates, and all persons travelling by land and by water. This my inclination is notorious, nor can your royal wisdom entertain a doubt thereof. Reflecting therefore on my former services, and your majesty's condescension, I presume to solicit the royal attention to some circumstances, in which the public as well as private welfare is greatly interested.

"I have been informed, that enormous sums have been dissipated in the prosecution of the designs formed against me, your well-wisher; and that you have ordered a tribute to be levied to satisfy the exigencies of your exhausted treasury.

"May it please your majesty, your royal ancestor Mahomed Jelaul ul Deen Akbar, whose throne is now in heaven, conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm security for the space of fifty-two years, preserving every tribe of men in ease and happiness, whether they were followers of Jesus or of Moses, of David, or Mahomed: were they Brahmins, were they of the sect of Dharians, which denies the eternity of matter, or of that which ascribes the existence of the world to chance, they all equally enjoyed his countenance and favour: insomuch that his people, for the indiscriminate protection he afforded them, distinguished appellation of *Juggut Gooroo* (Guardain of Mankind).

"His majesty Mahomed Noor ul Deen Jehan[illegible]ty-two years, the dwelling is now in paradise, ex[illegible]led, for a perio[illegible] people; successful by a shadow of his protection over t[illegible] heads of[illegible]tion of his arm in business. constant fidelity to his allies, and a vigo[illegible]

as acted as he did, was pointed that golden sentence of toleration, "those who have not the law, yet do by nature the things contained in the law shall be a law unto themselves."

This letter, the sanctuary afforded Ajit, and (what the historical parasite of the Mogul's life dared not indite),* the carrying off of his betrothed, made him pour out all the phials of his wrath against the devoted Mewar, and his preparations

"Nor less did the illustrious Shah Jehan, by a propitious reign of thirty-two years, acquire to himself immortal reputation, the glorious reward of clemency and virtue.

"Such were the benevolent inclinations of your ancestors. Whilst they pursued these great and generous principles, wheresover they directed their steps, conquest and prosperity went before them; and then they reduced many countries and fortresses to their obedience. During your majesty's reign, many have been alienated from the empire, and farther loss of territory must necessarily follow, since devastation and rapine now universally prevail without restraint. Your subjects are trampled under foot and every province of your empire is impoverished; depopulation spreads, and difficulties accumulate. When indigence has reached the habitation of the sovereign and his princes, what can be the condition of the nobles? As to the soldiery, they are in murmurs; the merchants complaining, the Mahomedans discontented, the Hindoos destitute, and multitudes of people, wretched even to the want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads throughout the day in rage and desperation.

"How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved, who employs his power in exacting heavy tributes from a people thus miserably reduced? At this juncture it is told from east to west, that the emperor of Hindustan, jealous of the poor Hindoo devotee, will exact a tribute from Brahmins, Sanorahs, Johhies, Berawghies, Sanyasees; that, regardless of the illustrious honour of his Timurean race, he condescends to exercise his power over the solitary inoffensive anchoret. If your majesty places any faith in those books, by distinction called divine, you will there be instructed, that God is the God of all mankind, not the God of Mahomedans alone. The Pagan and the Mussulman are equally in his presence. Distinctions of colour are of his ordination. It is he who gives existence. In your temples, to his name the voice is raised in prayer; in a house of images, where the bell is shaken, still he is the object of adoration. To vilify the religion or customs of other men, is to set at naught the pleasure of the Almighty. When we deface a picture, we naturally incur the resentment of the painter; and justly has the poet said, presume not to arraign or scrutinize the various works of power divine.

"In fine, the tribute, you demand from the Hindoos is repugnant to justice: it is equally foreign from good policy, as it must impoverish the country: moreover it is an innovation and an infringement of the laws of Hindostan. But if zeal for your own religion hath induced you to determine upon this measure, the demand ought, by the rules of equity, to have been made first upon Ramsing, who is esteemed the principal amongst the Hindoo princes. Then let your well-wisher be called upon, with whom you will [illegible] heroic [illegible] to encounter; but to torment ants and flies is unworthy [illegible] government should [illegible]ous mind. It is wonderful that the ministers of your rectitude and honour [illegible] neglected to instruct your majesty in the rules of

* It is well known [illegible] Aurungzeb forbade the continuation of the history of his life, subsequent to that [illegible]on comprehending the first ten years.

more resembled those for the conquest of a potent kingdom than the subjugation of a Rajpoot *zemindar*,* a vassal of that colossal empire on whose surface his domain was but a speck. In the very magnitude of these, the Suzerain of Hindusthan paid the highest tribute of praise to the tributary Rajpoot, for he denuded the very extremities of his empire to assemble a host which he deemed must prove irresistible. Akber was recalled from his province, Bengal ; Azim from the distant Cabul ; and even Mauzum (the Mogul's heir) from the war in the Dekhan. With this formidable array† the emperor entered Mewar, and soon reduced the low countries, which experience had taught them were indefensible, the inhabitants previously retiring with their effects to the hills. Cheetore, Mandelgurh, Mundisor Jeerun, and many other strong-holds were obtained after the usual form of opposition, and garrisoned by the Moguls. Meanwhile the Rana was animating the might of the Aravali, where he meditated a resistance proportioned to the peril which threatened every cherished prejudice of his race ; not the mere defence of dominion or dignity, but a struggle, *pro aris et focis*, around which rallied every Rajpoot with the most deadly determination. Even the primitive races of the western wilds, "the Palindas‡ and Palipats‡ (*lord of the passes*), with thousands of bows, and hearts devoted in the cause of Hinduput,"§ assemble round the red banner of Mewar. The Rana divided his forces into three bodies. His eldest son, Jey Sing, was posted on the crest of the Aravali, ready to act on the invaders from either side of the mountains. Prince Bheem was to the west, to keep up the communications with the outlets to Guzerat ; while the Rana, with the main body, took post in the Naen defile, unassailable by the enemy, and hanging on his left flank, ready to turn it, and cut off all retreat the moment the imperialists entered the mountains. Arungzeb advanced to Dobarri ; but instead of entering the valley of which it was the gorage, he halted, and by the advice of Tyber Khan sent on prince Akber with fifty thousand men to the capital. This caution of the wily monarch saved him from the ably planned scheme of the

* The epithet by which these Tatar sovereigns affected to call the indigenous (*bhumia*) princes.

† There were no such field trains in Europe as those of the Muguls. Seventy pieces of heavy ordnance, sixty of *horse artillery*, and a dromedary corps three hundred strong, mounting swivels, accompanied the emperor on an *excursion* to Cashmere. Bernier, who gives this detail, describes what he saw.

‡ Pal is the local term for those long defiles, the residence of the mountaineers : their chiefs are called *Indras*, *Pati*, in bhaka, *Put*.

§ Chief of the Hindus.

Rajpoot prince, who evinced a thorough knowledge* of the topography of this intricate and romantic portion of his domain. The *Girwo* emphatically '*the circle*,' from which the valley of the capital is named, has this form to the eye when viewing it from thence as a centre. It is, however an irregular ellipse of about fourteen miles in length from south to north, and about eleven in breadth from east to west, the capital being situated towards the extremity of the transverse axis, having only the lake Peshola between it and the base of the Aravali. The mountains of this circular (*Girwo*) valley ranging from eight to twelve hundred feet in height, are of primitive formation, and raise their fantastic pinnacles in every diversity of shape over each other. To the westward the grand chain rises two thousand feet above the plains, and might be termed the chord, of which the Girwo is an irregular segment of a circle, less in height, and far less compound in character. Towards the plains east, it has three practicable passes; one, the more northern, by Dailwarra; the other (central), by Dobarri; a third, leading to the intricacies of Chuppun, that of Naen. Of these three passes the emperor chose the most practicable, and encamped near the Ody-sagur lake, on the left of its entrance.

Prince Akber advanced. "Not a soul interrupted his progress to the city." Palaces, gardens, lakes and isles, met his eye, but no living thing: all was silence." Akber encamped. Accustomed to this desertion from the desire of the people to avoid a licentious soldiery, and lulled into a hardy security, he was surprised by the heir of Mewar. "Some were praying, some feasting, some at chess: they came to steal and yet fell asleep," says the annalist, and were dispersed with terrific and unrelenting slaughter. Cut off from the possibility of a junction with the emperor by a movement of a part of the Rana's personal force, Akber attempted a retreat to the plains of Marwar by the route of Gogoonda. It was a choice of evils, and he took the worst. The allodial vassals of the mountains, with the Bhil auxiliaries, outstripped his retreat, and blocked up farther egress in one of those long-extended valleys termed *Nal*, closed by a natural rampart or *Col*, on which they formed *abbatis* of trees and manning the crests on each side, hurled destruction on the foe; while the prince, in like manner, blocked up the entrance and barred retrogression. Death

* The Suktawut leader, Gureeb Das, has the merit of having prompted this plan. His speech on the advance of Arungzeb is given in the Annals; and his advice, "let the king have free entrance through the "passes, shut him in, and make famine his foe," was literally followed, with the hard knocks, which being a matter-of-course accompaniment, the gallant Suktawut deemed it unnecessary to specify.

menaced them in every form. For several days they had only the prospect of surrender to save them from famine and a justly incensed foe, when an ill-judged humanity on the part of Jey Sing saved them from annihilation. He admitted overtures confided in protestations to renounce the origin of the war, and gave them guides to conduct them by the defile of Jilwarra, nor did they halt till protected by the walls of Cheetore.*

Another body of the imperialists, under the celebrated Delhire Khan, who entered by the Daisoori Pass from Marwar (probably with a view of extricating Prince Akber) were allowed to advance unopposed, and when in the long intricate

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* Orme, who has many valuable historical details of this period, makes Aurengzeb in person to have been in the predicament assigned by the Annals to his son, and to have escaped, from the operation of those high and gallant sentiments of the Rajoot, which make him no match for a wily adversary.

"In the mean time Arungzeb was carrying on the war against the Rana of Cheetore, and the Raja of Marwar, who on the approach of his army at the end of the preceding year, 1678, had abandoned the accessible country, and drew their herds and inhabitants into the valleys, within the mountains; the army advanced amongst the defiles with incredible labour, and with so little intelligence, that the division which moved with Arungzeb himself, was unexpectedly stopped by insuperable defences and precipices in front; whilst the Rajpoots in one night closed the streights in his rear, by felling the overhanging trees; and from their stations above prevented all endeavours of the troops either within or without, from removing the obstacle. Udeperri, the favourite and Circassian wife of Aurengzeb, accompanied him in this arduous war, and with her retinue and escort was enclosed in another part of the mountains; her conductors, dreading to expose her person to danger or public view, surrendered. She was carried to the Rana, who received her with homage and every attention. Meanwhile the emperor himself might have perished by famine, of which the Rana let him see the risque, by a confinement of two days; when he ordered his Rajpoots to withdraw from their stations, and suffer the way to be cleared. As soon as Aurengzebe was out of danger, the Rana sent back his wife, accompanied by a chosen escort, who only requested in return, that he would refrain from destroying the sacred animals of their religion which might still be left in the plains; but Aurengzeb, who belived in no virtue but self-interest, imputed the generosity and forbearance of the Rana to the fear of future vengeance, and continued the war. Soon after he was again well nigh enclosed in the mountains. This second experience of difficulties beyond his age and constitution, and the arrival of his sons, Azim and Akbar, determined him not to expose himself any longer in the field; but to leave its operations to their conduct, superintended by his own instructions from Azmir; to which city he retired with the households of his family, the officers of his court, and his body guard of four thousand men, dividing the army between his two sons, who each had brought a considerable body of troops from their respective governments. They continued the war each in a different part of the country, and neither at the end of the year had forced the ultimate passes of the mountains."

gorge were assailed by Bikram Solanki* and Gopinath Rahtore† (both nobles of Mewar), and after a desperate conflict entirely destroyed. On each occasion a vast booty fell into the hands of the Rajpoots.

So ably concerted was this mountain warfare, that these defeats were the signal for a simultaneous attack by the Rana on Arungzeb, who with his son Azim watched at Dobarri the result of the operations under Akber and Delhire. The great home-clans had more than their wonted rivalry to sustain them, for the gallant Doorga-das with the Rahtore swords (*tulwar Rahtoran*) whetted by an accumulation of wrongs, were to combat with them against their common oppressor; and nobly did they contest the palm of glory. The tyrant could not withstand them; his guns though manned by *Franks* could not protect him against just cause and avenging steel of the Rajpoot, and he was beaten and compelled to disgraceful flight, with an immense loss in men and equipment. The Rana had to lament many brave leaders, home and auxiliary: and the imperial standard, elephants, and state equipage fell into his hands, the acquisition of Mohkim and the Suktawuts. This glorious encounter occurred in the spring month of Falgoon, S. 1737.‡

The discomfited forces formed a junction under the walls of Cheetore, whence the emperor dictated the recall of his son, Prince Mauzum, from Dekhan, deeming it of greater moment to regain lost importance in the north than to prevent the independence of Sevaji. Meanwhile the activity of Sawuldas (descended from the illustrious Jeimul) cut off the communications between Cheetore and Ajmeer, and alarmed the tyrant for his personal safety. Leaving, therefore, this perilous warfare to his sons Azim and Akber, with instructions how to act till reinforced,—foiled in his vengeance and personally disgraced, he abandoned Mewar, and at the head of his guards repaired to Ajmeer. Thence he detached Khan Rohilla, with twelve thousand men, against Sawuldas, with supplies and equipments for his sons, The Rahtore, joined by the troops of Marwar, gave him the meeting at Poor Mandel, and defeated the imperialists with great loss, driving them back on Ajmeer.

While the Rana, his heir and auxiliaries, were thus triumphant in all their operations, Prince Bheem with the left division was not idle, but made a powerful diversion by the invasion of Guzerat, captured Edur, expelling Hussun and his garrison, and proceeding by Birnuggur, suddenly appeared

* Chief of Roopnagurh.
† Chief of Ganora, in Godwar now alienated from Mewar.
‡ March 1680-1.

before Puttun, the residence of the provincial satrap, which he plundered. Sidpur, Mohurasso, and other towns, shared the same fate; and he was in full march to Surat, when the benevolence of the Rana, touched at the woes of the fugitives who came to demand his forbearance, caused him to recall Bheem in the midst of his career.

Contrary to the Rajpoot character, whose maxim is *parcere subjectis*, they were compelled by the utter faithlessness of Arungzeb (chiefly vulnerable through his resources) to retaliate his excesses; and Dyal Sah, the civil minister, a man of high courage and activity, headed another flying force, which ravaged Malwa to the Nerbudda and Betwa. Sarangpur, Dewas, Saronj, Mandoo, Oojein, and Chanderi were plundered, and numerous garrisons put to the sword; and, to use the words of the chronicle "husbands abandoned their wives and children, and whatever could not be carried off was given to the flames." For once, they avenged themselves, in imitation of the tyrant, even on the religion of their enemies: "the Kazees were bound and shaved, and the Korans thrown into the wells." The minister was unrelenting and made Malwa a desert, and from the fruits of his incursions repaired the resources of his master. Flushed with success, he formed a junction with the heir of Mewar, and gave battle to Azim near Cheetore. On this occasion the flower of Mewar, with the Rahtore and Kheetchee auxiliaries,* were engaged, and obtained a glorious victory, the Mogul prince being defeated and persued with great slaughter to Rinthumbor, which he entered. This was a just revenge, for it was Azim who surprised Cheetore the year preceding. In Mewar the contest terminated with the expulsion of the imperialists from the country; when the Rana, in support of the rights of the minor prince of Marwar, united his arms to the forces of the state, and opened the campaign at Ganora, the chief town of Godwar. The heroic mother of the infant Rahtore prince, a daughter of Mewar, had, since the death of her husband, well supported his rights, having resisted every aggression and regained many lost advantages over their antagonist. Prince Bheem commanded the Seesodias, who formed a junction with the Rahtore, and gave battle to the royal forces led by Akber and Tyber Khan, whom he entirely defeated. The victory is chiefly attributed to a stratagem of a Rajpoot chief, who, having carried off five hundred camels from the imperialists, conceived the idea of

* Mokhim and Gunga Suktawuts, Rutten Chondawut Saloombra, Chandrasen Jhala of Sadri, Subbul Sing Chohan of Baidla, Berri-Sal Puar of Bijolli. Four of the chiefs made speeches on the eve preceding the battle, which are recorded in the Chronicle.

fixing torches to them and letting them loose in the royal camp; and, in the confusion produced by charge of such a body, the Rajpoots assaulted them. On their continued successes, the Rana and his allies meditated the project of dethroning the tyrant, and setting up his son Akber. The pernicious example of his father towards Shah Jehan was not lost upon Akber, who favourably received the overture; but he wanted the circumspection which characterized Arungzeb, whose penetration defeated the scheme when on the eve of execution. Already had the Rajpoot armies united with Akber, and the astrologer had fixed the day which was to exalt him; but the revealer of secrets baffled his own prediction by disclosing it to the emperor. Arungzeb, attended only by his guards at Ajmeer, had recourse to the same artifice which raised him to empire, in order to ward off this danger. Akber was but one day's march distant; his elder sons, Mauzum and Azim, yet far off. Not a moment was to be lost: he penned a letter to his son, which by a spy was dropped in the tent of the Rajpoot leader Doorga Das. In this he applauded a pretended scheme by which Akber was to fall upon them when they engaged the emperor. The same scheme had saved Shere Shah in this country from Maldeo, and has more recently been put in practice, and with like success, in the war with Sevaji. It succeeded. The Rajpoots detached themselves from the prince who had apparently betrayed them. Tyber Khan, in despair, lost his life in an attempt to assassinate the emperor, and before the artifice was discovered, the reinforcements under Mauzum and Azim arrived, and Arungzeb was saved. The Rajpoots still offered *sirna* (refuge) to Akber; but aware of his father's vigour of character, he deemed himself unsafe in his vicinage, and accepted the escort of five hundred Rajpoots led by Doorga Das,* who cut their way through every opposition by the defiles of Mewar and Dongerpur, and across the Nerbudda, to the Mahratta leader Sambaji, at Palergurh, whence he was shortly after conveyed in an English ship to Persia.

"The escape of Akber" (observes an historian,† who

* A portrait of this Rahtore hero, given to the author by his descendants, is engraved for this volume. He was chief of Droonara, on the Looni. He saved his young sovereign's life from the tyrant, and guarded him during a long minority, heading the Rahtores in all the wars for the independence of his country. A bribe of forty thousand *gold suns* was sent to him by Azim *without stipulation*, when conveying Akber out of danger. The object was obvious, yet the Mogul prince dared not even specify his wishes. It is needless to say that Doorga spurned the offer.

† "We are not without hopes that some of the many in India who have the means, will supply the portions of information which are deficient in these fragments, and must otherwise always continue out of our reach,

appreciated the importance of the transactions of this period) to Sambaji, oppressed Arungzeb with as much anxiety, as formerly the phantom of his brother Sujah amongst the Pathans; and the consequence of their alliance became a nearer care than the continuance of the war against the Rajpoots, whose gallant activity prevented a speedy decision by the sword; but the dignity of the throne precluded any overtures of peace to a resistance which had attempted the deposal, if not the life, of the monarch. A Rajpoot officer, who had long served with distinction under Delhir Khan, solved the difficulty: he quitted the army under pretence of retiring to his own country and visited the Rana as from courtesy on his journey. The conversation turned on the war, which the Rajpoot perhaps really lamented, and he persuaded the Rana that though Arungzeb would never condescend to make, he might accept overtures of peace: upon which he was empowered by the Rana to tender them." The domestic annals confirm this account, and give the name of this mediator, Raja Shiam Sing of Bikaneer; but the negotiation was infamously protracted to the rains, the period when operations necessarily cease, and by which time Arunzeb had recruited his broken forces, and was again enabled to take the field; and it was concluded "without assertion or release of the capitation tax, but with the surrender of the districts taken from Cheetore, and the state of Jodhpur was included in the treaty." How correctly this elegant historian had obtained a knowledge of those events, a translation of the treaty evinces.* But these occurren-

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The knowledge is well worth the inquiry; for, besides the magnitude of the event and the energy of the characters which arise within this period, there are no states or powers on the continent of India, with whom our nation has either connection or concern, which do not owe the origin of their present condition to the reign of Arungzeb, or to its influence on the reigns of his successors." *Orme's Fragments*, p. 165.

* "*Jewab-sowal (a) of Soor Sing (uncle of Rana Raj Sing and Nurhur Bhut with the Emperor.*

Punja, or impress of the Emperor's hand, with the word '*Munzoori*, (agreed) written by himself.

"Your servants, according to your royal pleasure and summons, have been sent by the Rana to represent what is written underneath. We hope you will agree to these requests, besides others which will be made by Puddum Sing.

(*a*) Treaties or engagements are thus designated; literally *stipulation* and *answers*.

"1st. Let Cheetore, with the districts adjacent appertaining thereto when it was inhabited, be restored."

"2nd. In such temples and places of Hindu religious resort as have been converted into mosques, the past cannot be recalled, but let this practice be abolished.

ces belong to the succeeding reign, for the Rana died about this period,* from wounds and vexation.

Once more we claim the reader's admiration on behalf of another patriot prince of Mewar, and ask him to contrast the indigenous Rajpoot with the emperor of the Moguls; though to compare them would be manifestly unjust, since in every moral virtue they were antipodes to each other. Arungzeb accumulated on his head more crimes than any prince who ever sat on an Asiatic throne. With all the disregard of life which marks his nation, he was never betrayed, even in the fever of success, into a single generous action; and, contrary to the prevailing principle of our nature, the moment of his foe's submission was that chosen for the malignant completion of his revenge: witness his scourging the prostrate king of Golconda. How opposite to the beneficence of the Rajpoot prince, who, when the most efficient means of self-defence lay in the destruction of the resources of his enemy, feeling for the miseries of the suffering population of his persecutor, recalled his son in the midst of victory! As a skilful general and gallant soldier, in the defence of his country, he is above all praise. As a chivalrous Rajpoot, his braving all consequences when called upon to save the honour of a noble female of his race, he is without parallel. As an accomplished prince and benevolent man, his dignified letter of remonstrance to Arungzeb on the promulgation of the capitation edict, places him high in the scale of moral as well as intellectual excellence; and an additional evidence of both, and of his taste for the arts, is furnished by the formation of the inland lake, the Rajsumund, with a slight account of which, and the motives for its execution, we shall conclude the sketch of this glorious epoch in the annals of Mewar.

LAKE RAJSUMUND.—This great national work is twenty-five miles north of the capital, and is situated on the declivity

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"3rd. The aid hitherto afforded to the empire by the Rana shall be continued, but let no additional commands be imposed."

"4th. The sons and dependants of the deceased Raja Jesswunt Sing, so soon as enabled to perform their duties, we hope will have their country restored to them. (*a*)

"Respect prevents inferior demands. May the splendour of your fortune, like the sun illuminating the world, be for ever increasing and never set.

"The Arzi (requests) of your servants, Soor Sing and Nurhur Bhut."

* S. 1737, A. D. 1681.

(*a*) It was to defend the rights of the heir of Marwar, as well as to oppose the odious *jezeya*, that the Rana took to arms. 'Ajit was still under the Rana's safeguard.

of the plain about two miles from the base of the Aravali. A small perennial stream, called the *Gomtee* or 'serpentine,' flowing from these mountains, was arrested in its course, and confined by an immense embankment, made to form the lake called after himself, *Rajsumund*, or 'royal sea.' The *bund* or dam forms an irregular segment of a circle, embracing an extent of nearly three miles, and encircling the waters on every side except the space between the north-west and north-east points. This barrier, which confines a sheet of water of great depth, and about twelve miles in circumference, is entirely of white marble, with a flight of steps of the same material, throughout this extent, from the summit to the water's edge; the hole buttressed by an enormous rampart of earth, which, had the projector lived, would have been planted with trees to form a promenade. On the south side are the town and fortress built by the Rana, and bearing his name, Rajnuggur, and upon the embankment stands the temple of Kunkeraoli, the shrine of one of the seven forms (*saroop*) of Crishna. The whole is ornamented with sculpture of tolerable execution for the age; and a genealogical sketch of the founder's family is inscribed in conspicuous characters. One million one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling* contributed by the Rana, his chiefs and opulent subjects, were expended on this work, of which the material was from the adjacent quarries. But, magnificent, costly, and useful as it is, it derives its chief beauty from the benevolent motive to which it owes its birth: to alleviate the miseries of a starving population, and make their employment conducive to national benefit, during one of those awful visitations of providence, famine and pestilence, with which these states are sometimes afflicted.

It was in 1717,† only seven years after the accession of Raj Sing, that these combined evils reached Mewar, less subject to them, owing to its natural advantages, than any other state in India;‡ and on Tuesday the 8th of Pos, *Hasti Nakhetra* (constellation of the elephant), as fixed by the astrologer, the first stone was laid. "The chief of Mewar, deeply meditating on this extreme distress, determined to raise a monument, by which the wretched might be supported and his own name

* Ninety-six lacks of rupees.

† A. D. 1661.

‡ From all I could learn, it was the indentical pestilence which has been ravaging India for the last ten years, erroneously called *cholera morbus*. About thirty-five years ago the same disease carried off multitudes in these countries. Orme gives notice of something similar in A. D. 1684, in the imperial camp near Goa, when five hundred victims daily fell its prey. Mewar was not free from the last visitation of 1818, and the only son of the Rana was the first person attacked.

perpetuated. This was seven years in constructing, and at its commencement and termination all the rites of sacrifice and oblation were observed.

"The Rana went to implore favour at the temple of the *'four-armed ;'* for though Asar (1) was over, not a drop of rain fell from the heavens ; and, in like manner, the months of Sawun, (2) and Bhadoon, (3) passed away. For want of water the world was in despair, and people went mad with hunger. Things unknown as food were eaten. The husband abandoned the wife, the wife the husband—parents sold their children—time increased the evil ; it spread far and wide : even the insects died : they had nothing to feed on. Thousands of all ages became victims to hunger. Those who procured food to day, ate twice what nature required. The wind was from the west, a pestilential vapour. The constellations were always visible at night, nor was there a cloud in the sky by day, and thunder and lightning were unknown. Such portents filled mankind with dread. Rivers, lakes, and fountains were dried up. Men of wealth meted out the portions of food. The ministers of religion forgot their duties. There was no longer distinction of caste, and the Soodra and Brahmin were undistinguishable. Strength, wisdom, caste, tribe, all were abandoned, and food alone was the object. The *Charburrun* * threw away every symbol of separation ; all was lost in hunger. Fruits flowers, every vegetable thing, even trees were stripped of their bark, to appease the cravings of hunger : nay, *man ate man* ! Cities were depopulated. The seed of families was lost, the fishes were extinct, and the hope of all extinguished."†

Such is the simple yet terrific record of this pestilence, from which Mewar was hardly freed, when Arungzeb commenced the religious warfare narrated, with all its atrocities, still further to devastate this fair region. But a just retribution resulted from this disregard to the character and prejudices of the Rajpoots, which visited the emperor with shame, and his successors with the overthrow of their power.

(1, 2, 3.) The three months of rain, termed the *Bursat*.

* The four castes, sacredotal, military, mercantile, and servile.

† From the *Raj Velas*, the chronicle of the reign of Raj Sing.

CHAPTER XIV.

Rana Jey Singh.—Anecdote regarding him and his twin brother.—The Rana and Prince Azim confer.—Peace.—Rupture.—The Rana forms the Lake Jeysumund.—Domestic broils.—Umra, the heir-apparent, rebels.—The Rana dies.—Accessions of Umra.—His treaty with the heir of Arungzeb.—Reflections on the events of this period.—Imposition of the Jezeya or Capitation Tax.—Alienation of the Rajpoots from the Empire.—Causes.—Arungzeb's death.—Contests for Empire.—Buhadoor Shah, Emperor.—The Sikhs declare for independence.—Triple alliance of the Rajpoot State of Mewar, Marwar and Amber.—They commence hostilities.—Death of the Mogul Buhadoor Shah.—Elevation of Ferocksere.—He marries the Daughter of the Prince of Marwar.—Origin of the British Power in India.—The Rana treats with the Emperor.—The jats declare their independence.—Rana Umra dies.—His Character.

RANA JEY SING took possession of the *Gadi** in S. 1737 (A. D. 1681). A circumstance occurred at his birth, which as descriptive of manners may deserve notice. A few hours only intervened between his entrance into the world and that of another son called Bheem. It is customary for the father to bind round the arm of a new-born infant a root of that species of grass called *amirdhob*, the 'imperishable' *dhob*, well known for its nutritive properties and luxuriant vegetation under the most intense heat. The Rana first attached the ligature round the arm of the youngest, apparently an oversight, though in fact from superior affection for his mother. As the boys approached to manhood, the Rana, apprehensive that this preference might create dissension one day drew his sword, and placing in the hand of Bheem (the elder), said, it was better to use it at once on his brother, than hereafter to endanger the safety of the state. This appeal to his generosity had an instantaneous effect, and he not only ratified, "*by his father's throne*,"† acknowledgment of the sovereign rights of his brother, but declared, to remove all fears, "he was not his son if he again drank water within the pass of Dobari;" and, collecting

* "*The Cushion*," by which a Rajpoot throne is designated.

† *Gadi ca An.*

his retainers, he abandoned Oodipur to court fortune where she might be kinder. The day was sultry, and on reaching the barrier he halted under the shade of a sacred fig-tree to bestow a last look upon the place of his birth. His cup-bearer (*Panairi*) brought his silver goblet filled from the cool fountain, but as he raised it to his lips, he recollected that his vow was incomplete while within the portal; he poured the libation on the earth in the name of the Supreme, and casting the cup as an offering to the deity of the fountain, the huge gates closed upon the valley. He proceeded to Buhadoor Shah, who conferred upon him the dignity (*munsub*) of a leader of three thousand five hundred horse, with the *Bawnna*, or fifty-two districts for their support: but quarrelling with the imperial general, he was detached with his contingent west of the Indus, where he died.*

Let us return to Jey Sing (*the lion of victory*). He concluded a treaty with Arungzeb, conducted by prince Azim and Delhir Khan, who took every occasion to testify his gratitude for the clemency of Rana Raj Sing, when blockaded in the defiles of the Aravali. At the conference, the Rana was attended by ten thousand horse and forty thousand foot, besides the multitude, collected from the mountains to view the ceremony, above one hundred thousand souls, who set up a shout of joy at the prospect of revisiting the plains, which disconcerted Azim, while Delhir expatiated on the perils from which the Rana's generosity had liberated him. Azim, who said he was no stranger to the Rana's illustrious house, concluded a treaty on the spot, in which as a salvo for the imperial dignity, a nominal fine and surrender of three districts were inserted for aiding Akber's rebellion, and a hint that the regal colour (*crimson*) of his tents and umbrella should be discontinued. That advantages were gained by the Rana, we may infer from Delhir's sons being left as hostages for Azim's good faith; a fact we learn from his farewell address to the Rana: "your nobles are rude, and my children are the hostages

* I give these anecdotes as related to me by his descendant and representative the Raja of Bunera, while seated in a balcony of his castle overlooking the plains of Mewar. Often have I quenched my thirst at the fountain, and listened to their traditionary tales. It is a spot consecrated to recollections; every altar which rises around it is a text for the '*great ancients*' of the clans to expatiate on; and it is, moreover, a grand place of rendezvous, whether for the traveller or sportsman.

Bheem dislocated his spine in a feat of strength. He was celebrated for activity, and could, while his steed was urged to his speed, disengage and suspend himself by the arms from the bough of a tree; and to one of these experiments he owed his death.

of your safety; but if at the expense of their lives, I can obtain the entire restoration of your country, keep your mind at ease, for there was friendship between your father and me."

But all other protection than what his sword afforded was futile; and though Delhir's intentions were noble, he had little control over events: in less than five years after his accession, the Rana was again forced to fly the plains for the inaccessible haunts of Kamori. Yet, in spite of these untoward circumstances and uninterrupted warfare, such were the resources of these little state, that the Rana completed a work which perpetuates his name. He drew a dam across a break in the mountains, the channel of an ever-flowing stream, by which he formed the largest lake in India, giving it his own name, the Jeysumund, or *sea of victory*. Nature had furnished the hint for this undertaking, for there had always existed a considerable volume of water; but the Rana had the merit of uniting these natural buttresses, and creating a little sea from the *Dheybur pool*, its ancient appellation. The circumference cannot be less than thirty miles, and the benefits to cultivation, especially in respect to the article of rice, which requires perpetual irrigation, were great. On this huge rampart he erected a palace for his favourite queen, Comala-devi, a princess of the Pramara race, familiarly known as the *Roota Ranee*, or "testy queen."

Domestic unhappiness appears to have generated in the Rana inaptitude to state affairs; and unluckily, the favoured queen estranged him from his son. Umra, a name venerated in Mewar, was that of the heir of Jey Sing. His mother was of the Boondi house, a family which has performed great services to, and brought great calamities upon, the ancient sovereigns of Mewar. To the jealousies of the rival queens, one of them mother to the heir, the other the favourite of the sovereign, are attributed dissensions, which at such a juncture were a greater detriment than the loss of a battle, and which afford another illustration, if any were wanting, of the impolicy of polygamy. The annals of Mewar seldom exhibit those unnatural contentions of power, from which no other Hindu state was exempt; this was owing to the wholesome regulation of not investing the princes of the blood with any political authority; and establishing as a counterpoise to natural advantages, an artificial degradation of their rank which placed them beneath the sixteen chief nobles of the state; which, while it exhalted these in their own estimation, lessened the national humiliation, when the heirs-apparent were compelled to lead their quota in the *arriereban* of the empire.

Rana Jey Sing, who had evinced such gallantry and activity in the wars of Arungzeb, now secluded himself with Comala in the retreat at Jeysumund, leaving Umra under the guidance of the Pancholi minister, at the capital. But he having personally insulted his chief officer of the state, in consequence of receiving a rebuke for turning loose an infuriated elephant in the town, the Rana left his retreat, and visiting Cheetore in his tour, arrived at Oodipur. Umra awaited not his father's arrival, but adding his mother's resentments to a feeling of patriotic indignation at the abasement his indolence produced, fled to Boondi, took up arms, and joined by many of his own nobles and Hara auxiliaries, returned at the head of ten thousand men. Desirous of averting civil war, the Rana retired to Godwar beyond the Aravali, whence he sent the Ganora chieftain, the first feudatory of that department, to expostulate with his son. But Omra, supported by three-fourths of the nobles, made direct for Komulmer to secure the state treasure, saved by the Depra the governor for his sovereign. A failure in his project, the knowledge that the Rahtores fostered the quarrel with a view to obtain Godwar, and the determination of the few chiefs yet faithful* to the Rana, to defend the Jilwarra pass to the last, made the prince listen to terms, which were ratified at the shrine of Eklinga, whereby the Rana was to return to the capital, and the prince to abide in exile at the new palace during the life of his father, which closed twenty years after his accession. Had he maintained the reputation he established in his early years, the times were well calculated for the redemption of his country's independence; but documents which yet exist afford little reason to doubt that in his latter years a state of indolence, having all the effects of imbecility, supervened, and but for the formation of 'the victorious sea,' would have left his name a blank in the traditional history of Mewar.

Umra II., who succeeded in S. 1756 (A. D. 1700), had much of the gallantry and active turn of mind of his illustrious namesake; but the degrading conflict with his father had much impaired the moral strength of the country, and counteracted the advantages which might have resulted from the decline of the Mogul power. The reigns of Raj Sing and Jey Sing illustrate the obvious truth, that on the personal character of the chief of a feudal government every thing depends. The former, infusing by his talent and energy patriotic sentiments into all his subordinates, vanquished in a series of conflicts the

* Beri Sal of Bijolli, Kandul of Saloombra, Gopinath of Ganora, and the Salanki of Daisoori.

vast military resources of the empire, led by the emperor, his sons, and chosen generals; while his successor, heir to this moral strength, and with every collateral aid, lowered her to a stage of contempt from which no talent could subsequently raise her.

Umra early availed himself of the contentions amongst the sons of Arungzeb to anticipate events, and formed a private treaty * with the Mogul heir-apparent, Shah Alum,

* "*Private Treaty between the Rana and Shah Alum Buhadoor Shah, and bearing his sign-manual.*

"Six articles of engagement, just, and tending to the happiness of the people, have been submitted by you, and by me accepted, and with God's blessing shall be executed without deviation:

"1st. The re-establishment of Cheetore as in the time of Shah Jehan.

"2nd. Prohibition of kine-killing.(*a*)

"3rd. The restoration of all the districts held in the reign of Shah Jehan.

"4th. Freedom of faith and religious worship, as during the government of him whose *nest is Paradise* (Akber).

"5th. Whoever shall be dismissed by you shall receive no countenance from the king.

"6th. The abrogation of the contingent for the service of the Dekhan." (*b*)

(*a*) From the second of these articles, which alternate between stipulations of a temporal and spiritual nature, we may draw a lesson of great political importance. In all the treaties which have come under my observation, the insertion of an article against the slaughter of kine was prominent. This sacrifice to their national prejudices was the subject of discussion with every ambassador when the states of Rajasthan formed engagements with the British government in 1817-18, "the prohibition of kine-killing within their respective limits." From the construction of our armies we could not guarantee this article, but assurances were given that every practical attention would be paid to their wishes: and kine are not absolutely slain within the jurisdiction of any of these Rajpoot princes. But even long habit, though it has familiarized, has not reconciled them to this revolting sacrifice; nor would the kine-killer in Mewar be looked upon with less detestation than was Cambyses by the Egyptians, when he thrust his lance into the flank of Apis. But in time this will be overlooked, and the verbal assurance will become a dead letter; men of good intention will be lulled into the belief that, because not openly combated, the prejudice is extinct, and that homage to our power has obliterated this article of their creed. Thus Arungzeb thought, but he avowedly and boldly opposed the religious opinions of his tributaries; we only hold them in contempt, and even protect them when productive of no sacrifice. Yet if we look back on the early page of history, we shall find both policy and benevolence combined to form this legislative protection to one of the most useful of domestic animals, and which would tempt the belief that Triptolemus, the lawgiver of Sparta, had borrowed from Menu, or rather from the still greater friends of dumb creatures, the Jains, in the law which exempted not only the lordly bull from the knife, but "every living thing."

(*b*) The Mewar contingent had been serving under Azim in the south, as the following letter from him to the Rana discloses: "Be it known to

when commanded to the countries west of the Indus, on which occasion the Mewar contingent* accompanied him, and fought several gallant actions under a Suktawut chieftain.

It is important to study the events of this period, which involved the overthrow of the Mogul power, and originated that form of society which paved the way to the dominion of Britain in these distant regions. From such a review a political lesson of great value may be learned, which will shew a beacon warning us against the danger of trusting to mere physical power, unaided by the latent, but more durable support of moral influence. When Arungzeb neglected the indigenous Rajpoots, he endangered the key-stone of his power; and in despising opinion, though his energetic mind might for a time render him independent of it, yet long before his death the enormous fabric reared by Akber was tottering to its foundation: demonstrating to conviction that the highest order of talent, either for government or war, though aided by unlimited resources, will not suffice for the maintenance of power, unsupported by the affections of the governed. The empire of Arungzeb was more extensive than that of Britain at this day—the elements of stability were incomparably more tenatious: he was associated with the Rajpoots by blood, which seemed to guarantee a respect for their opinions; he possessed the power of distributing the honours and emoluments of the state, when a service could be rewarded by a province,† drawing at will supplies of warriors from the mountains of the west, as a check on his indigenous subjects, while these left the plains of India to control the Afghan amidst the snows of Caucasus. But the most devoted attachment and most faithful service were repaid by insult to their habits, and the imposition of an obnoxious tax; and to the *jezeya*, and the unwise pertinacity

Rana Umra Sing, your arzee arrived, and the accounts of your mother gave me great grief, but against the decrees of God there is no struggling. Pray for my welfare. Raja Rae Sing made a request for you; you are my own: rest in full confidence and continue in your obedience. The lands of your illustrious ancestors shall all be yours—but this is the time to evince your duty—the rest learn from your own servants—continue to think of me.

"Your Rajpoots have behaved well."

* It consisted of twenty-two *Nagarbund* chiefs, *i.e.*, each entitled to a kettle-drum, and fifteen *Tooraes*, or chiefs, entitled to brass trumpets.

† In lieu of all, what reward does Britain hold out to the native population to be attached? Heavy duties exclude many products of their industry from the home market. The rates of pay to civil officers afford no security to integrity; and the faithful soldier cannot aspire to higher reward than £120 per annum, were his breast studded with medals. Even their prejudices are often too little considered, prejudices, the violation of which lost the throne of India, in spite of every local advantage, to the descendants of Arungzeb.

with which his successors adhered to it, must be directly ascribed the overthrow of the monarchy. No condition was exempted from this odious and impolitic assessment, which was deemed by the tyrant a mild substitute for the conversion he once meditated of the entire Hindu race to the creed of Islam.

An abandonment of their faith was the Rajpoot's surest road to the tyrant's favour, and an instance of this dereliction in its consequences powerfully contributed to the annihilation of the empire. Rao Gopal, a branch of the Rana's family, held the fief of Rampura, on the Chumbul,* and was serving with a select quota of his clan in the wars of the Dekhan, when his son, who had been left at home, withheld the revenues, which he applied to his own use instead of remitting them to his father. Rao Gopal complained to the emperor; but the son discovered that he could by a sacrifice not only appease Arungzeb, but attain the object of his wishes: he apostatized from his faith, and obtained the emperor's forgiveness, with the domain of Rampura. Disgusted and provoked at such injurious conduct, Rao Gopal fled the camp, made an unsuccesful attempt to redeem his estate, and took refuge with Rana Umra, his suzerain. This natural asylum granted to a chief of his own kin, was construed by the tyrant into a signal of revolt, and Azim was ordered to Malwa to watch the Rana's motions: conduct thus characterized in the memoirs of a Rajpoot chieftain,† one of the most devoted to Arungzeb, and who died fighting for his son. "The emperor shewed but little favour to his faithful and most useful subjects the Rajpots, which greatly cooled their ardour in his service." The Rana took up arms, and Malwa joined the tumult; while the first irruption of the Mahrattas across the Nerbudda,‡ under Neema Sindia, compelled the emperor to detach Raja Jey Sing to join Prince Azim. Amidst these accumulated troubles, the Mahrattas rising into importance, the Rajpoot feudatories disgusted and alienated, his sons and grandsons ready to commit each individual pretension to the decision of the sword, did Arungzeb, after a reign of terror of half a century's duration, breathe his last on the 28th Zekaud A. D. 1707, at the city bearing his name—Arungabad.

At his death his second son Azim assumed the imperial dignity, and aided by the Rajput princes of Duttea and Kotah,§

* Rampura *Bhanpura* (city of the sun) to distingnish it from Rampura, *Tonk*. Rao Gopal was of the Chaderawut clan.

† Rao Dulput Boondela of Duttea, a portion of whose memoirs were presented to me by the reigning prince, his descendant.

‡ A. D. 1706-7.

§ Rao Dulput (Boondela), and Rao Ram Sing (Hara).

who had always served in his division, he marched to Agra to contest the legitimate claims of his eldest brother Mauzum, who was advancing from Cabul supported by the contingents of Mewar, and Marwar and all western Rajwarra. The battle of Jajow was fatal to Azim, who with his son Bedar-bukt and the princes of Kotah and Duttea was slain, when Mauzum ascended the throne under the title of Shah Alum Buhadoor Shah. This prince had many qualities which endeared him to the Rajpoots, to whom his sympathies were united by the ties of blood, his mother being a Rajpoot princess. Had he immediately succeeded the beneficient Shah Jehan, the race of Timoor, in all human probability, would have been still enthroned at Delhi, and might have presented a picture of one of the most powerful monarchies of Asia. But Arungzeb had inflicted an incurable wound on the mind of the Hindu race, which for ever estranged them from his successors; nor were the virtues of Buhadoor, during the short lustre of his sway, capable of healing it. The bitter fruit of a long exprience had taught the Rajpoots not to hope for amelioration from any graft of that stem, which, like the deadly Upas, had stifled the vital energies of Rajasthan, whose leaders accordingly formed a league for mutual preservation, which it would have been madness to dissolve merely because a fair portion of virtue was the inheritance of the tyrant's successor. They had proved that no act of duty or subserviency could guarantee them from the infatuated abuse of power, and they were at length steeled against every appeal to their loyalty, replying with a trite adage, which we may translate "*quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*,"—of common application with the Rajpoot in such a predicament.

The emperor was soon made to perceive the little support he had in future to expect from the Rajpoots. Scarcely had he quashed the pretensions of Kambuksh, his youngest brother, who proclaimed himself emperor in the Dekhan, than he was forced to the north, in consequence of an insurrection of the Sikhs of Lahore. This singular race, the discipless (*sikhs*) of a teacher called Nanuk, were the descendants of the Sythic Gete * or jit, of Transoxiana, who so early as the fifth century were established in the tract watered by the five arms (*Punjab*) of the Indus. Little more than a century has elapsed since their conversion from a spurious Hinduism to the doctrines of the sectarian Nanuk, and their first attempt to seperate themselves, in temporal as well as spiritual matters, from all control, and they are now the sole independent power within the limits of

* See History of the Tribes, article "Jits, page 110.

the Mogul monarchy. On this occasion* the princes of Ambar and Marwar visited the emperor, but left his camp without permission, and, as the historian † adds, manifested a design to struggle for independence. Such was the change in their mutual circumstances, that the Mogul sent the heir-apparent to conciliate and conduct them to him ; but they came at the head of all their native bands; when "they were gratified with whatever their insolence demanded:"‡ a splenetic effusion of the historian, which well paints their altered position. From the royal *oordoo*,§ or camp, they repaired to Rana Umra at Oodipur, where a triple league was formed, which once more united them to the head of their nation. This treaty of unity of interests against the common foe was solemnized by nuptial engagements, from which those princes had been excluded since the reigns of Akber and Pertap. To be re-admitted to this honour was the basis of this triple alliance, in which they ratified on oath the renunciation of all connexion, domestic or political, with the empire. It was moreover stipulated that the sons of such marriage should be heirs, or if the issue were females, that they should never be dishonoured by being married to a Mogul. ...

But this remedy, as will be seen, originated a worse disease; it was a sacrifice of the rights of primogeniture (clung to by the Rajpoots with extreme pertinacity), productive of the most injurious effects, which introduced domestic strife, and called upon the stage an umpire not less baneful than the power from whose iron grasp they were on the point of freeing themselves: for although this treaty laid prostate the throne of Baber, it ultimately introduced the Mahrattas as partizans in their family disputes, who made the bone of contention their own.

The injudicious support afforded by the emperor to the apostate chief of Rampura, first brought the triple federation into action. The Rana, upholding the cause of Himmut Sing, made an attack on Rampura, which the apostate usurper Ruttun Sing, now *Raja Mooslim Khan*, defeated, and was rewarded for it by the emperor. ‖ But the same report conveyed to the king, "*that the Rana determined to lay waste his country, and retire to the hills*," ¶ which was speedily confirmed by the

* A. D. 1709-10.

† Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 58 ; also autograph letters of all those princes, with files of the regular newspapers (*akhbars*) of the day, in my possession, dated from the emperor's camp.

‡ Memoirs of Eradut Khan.

§ Hence the corruption of *horde*.

‖ Newspapers, dated 3d Rejib, sun, 3— (3d year of his reign).

¶ Newspapers, 10th Regib, Sun. 3.

unwelcome intelligence that Sawuldas, an officer the Rana's, had attacked Feeroz Khan, the governor of Poorh Mandel, who was obliged to retreat with great loss to Ajmere;* on which occasion this loyal descendant of the illustrious Jeimul lost his life.† The brave Doorga Das, who conveyed the rebellious Akber through all opposition to a place of refuge, again appeared upon the stage—his own prince being unable to protect him, he had found a safe asylum at Oodipur, and had the sum of five hundred rupees daily paid for his expenditure,—a princely liberality. But the result of this combination was reserved for the following reigns, Shah Alum being carried off by poison.‡ ere he could correct the disorders which were rapidly breaking up the empire from the Hindu-Koosh to the ocean. Had his life been spared, his talents for business, his experience, and courteous manners, might have retarded, the ruin of the monarchy, which the utter unworthiness of his successor sunk beyond the power of man to redeem. Every subsequent succession was through blood; and the sons of Shah Alum performed the part for which they had so many great examples. Two brothers,§ Syeds from the town of Bareh in the Doab, were long the Warwicks of Hindusthan, setting up and plucking down its puppet kings at their pleasure; they had elevated Ferocksere when the triumvirs of Rajasthan commenced their operations.

Giving loose to long-suppressed resentment, the Rajpoots abandoned the spirit of toleration which it would have been criminal to preserve; and profiting by the lessons of their tyrants, they overthrew the mosques built on the sites of their altars, and treated the civil and religious officers of the government with indignity. Of these every town in Rajasthan had its *moolah* to proclaim the name of Mohammed, and its *cazi* for the administration of justice,—branches of government entirely wrested from the hands of the native princes,‖

* Newspapers, 5th Shaval, Sun, 3.

† The following edict, which caused this action, I translated from the archieves; it is addressed to the son of Sawuldas.

"Mahrana Umra Sing to Rahtore Rae Sing *Sawuldasote* (race of Sawuldas):

Lay waste your villages and the country around you—your famiiies shall have other habitations to dwell in—for particulars consult Dowlut Sing Chondawut: obey these."—Asoj, S. 1764 (Dec. A. D. 1708-9.)

‡ A. D. 1712.

§ Housein Alli and Abdoolla Khan.

‖ Next to kine-killing was the article inhabiting the introduction of the *Adawlet*, or British courts of justice, into the Rajpoot states, in all their treaties with the British government in A. D. 1817-18, the very name of which is abhorrent to a native.

abusing the name of independence. But for a moment it was redeemed, especially by the brave Rahtores, who had made a noble resistance, contesting every foot of land since the death of Jeswunt Sing, and now his son Ajit entirely expelled the Moguls from Marwar. On this occasion the native forces of the triple alliance met at the salt lake of Sambur, which was made the common boundary of their territory, and its revenues were equally divided amongst them.

The pageant of an emperor, guided by the Syeds, or those who intrigued to supplant their ministry, made an effort to oppose the threatening measures of the Rajpoots; and one of them, the Ameer-ool Omra,* marched against Raja Ajit, who received private instructions from the emperor to resist his commander-in-chief, whose credit was strengthened by the means taken to weaken it, which engendered suspicions of treachery. Ajit leagued with the Syeds, who held out to the Rahtore an important share of power at court, and agreed to pay tribute and give a daughter in marriage to Ferocksere.

This marriage yielded most important results, which were not confined to the Moguls or Rajpoots, for to it may be ascribed the rise of the British power in India. A dangerous malady,† rendering necessary a surgical operation upon Ferocksere, to which the faculty of the court were unequal, retarded the celebration of the nuptials between the emperor and the Rajpoot princess of Marwar, and even threatened a fatal termination. A mission from the British merchants at Surat was at that time at court, and, as a last resource, the surgeon attached to it was called in, who cured the malady, and made the emperor happy in his bride.‡ His gratitude was displayed with oriental magnificence. The emperor desired Mr. Hamilton to name his reward, and to the disinterested patriotism of this individual did the British owe the first royal grant or *firman*, conferring territorial possession and

* The title of Hussein Alli,—as Kootub-ool Moolk (*the axis of the state*), was that of his brother Abdoolla.

† A white swelling or tumour on the back.

‡ The ceremony is described, as celebrated, with true Asiatic pomp. "The Ameer-ool Omra conducted the ceremonies on the part of the bride, and the marriage was performed with a splendour and magnificence till then unseen among the princes of Hindusthan. Many pompous insignia were added to the royal *cortege* upon this occasion. The illuminations rivalled the planets, and seemed to upbraid the faint lustre of the stars. The nuptials were performed at the palace of the Ameer-ool Omra, whence the emperor conveyed his bride with the highest splendour of imperial pomp to the citadel, amidst the resoundings of musical instruments and the acclamations of the people."—Page 132, vol. i., Scott's History of Arungzeb's successors.

great commercial privileges. These were the objects of the mission, which till this occurrence had proved unsuccessful.

This gorgeous court ought to have been, and probably was, impressed with a high opinion of the virtuous self-denial of the inhabitants of Britain; and if history has correctly preserved the transaction, some mark of public gratitude should have been forthcoming from those who so signally benefited thereby. But to borrow the phraseology of the Italian historian, "obligations which do not admit of being fully discharged, are often repaid with the coin of ingratitude:" the remains of this man rest in the church-yard of Calcutta, without even a stone to mark the spot!

This marriage, which promised a renewal of interests with the Rajpoots, was soon followed by the revival of the obnoxious *jezeya*. The character of this tax, though much altered from its original imposition by Arungzeb, when it was at once financial and religious, was held in unmitigated abhorrence by the Hindus from the complex association; and although it was revived chiefly to relieve pecuniary wants, it kindled a universal feeling of hatred amongst all classes, and quenched the little zeal which the recent marriage had inspired in the Rajpoots of the desert. The mode and channel of its introduction evinced to them, that there was no hope that the intolerant spirit which originally suggested it would ever be subdued. The weak Ferocksere, desirous of snapping the leading-strings of the Syeds, recalled to his court Enayet Oolla Khan, the minister of Arungzeb, and restored to him his office of *Dewan*, who, to use the words of the historian of the period, "did not consult the temper of the times, so very different from the reign of Arungzeb, and the revival of the *jezeya* came with him." Though by no means severe in its operation, not amounting to three-quarters per cent. On annual income,* —from which the lame, the blind, and very poor were exempt,—it nevertheless raised a general spirit of hostility, particularly from its retaining the insulting distinction of a "*tax on infidels.*" Resistance to taxation appears to be a universal feeling, in which even the Asiatic forgets the divine right of [illegible]ty, and which throws us back on the pervading [illegible]ishness which governs human nature. The [illegible] stamp tax, which preceded the *jezeya*, would appear to have been as unsatisfactory as it was general, from the solemnity of its renunciation by Baber on the field of battle after the victory over *infidels*, which gave him the crown of India; and though we have no record of the jezeya

* 13 rupees on every 2,000 rupees.

being its substitute, there are indications which authorize the inference.

Rana Umra was not an idle spectator of these occurrences; and although the spurious thirst for distinction so early broke up the alliance by detatching Ajit, he redoubled his efforts for personal independence, and with it that of the Rajpoot nation. An important document attests his solicitude, namely, a treaty,* with the emperor, in which the second article stipulates emancipation from the galling *jezeya*. It may be well to analyze this treaty, which attests the altered

† "*Memorandum of Requests.*

"1st. The *Munsub* (*a*) of 7,000.

"2nd. Firman of engagement under the *punja* private seal and sign that the jezeya shall be abolished—that it shall no longer be imposed on the Hindu nation; at all events, that none of the Chagitai race shall authorize it in Mewar. Let it be annulled.

"3rd. The contingent of one thousand horse for service in the Dekhan to be excused.

"4th. All places of Hindu faith to be rebuilt, with perfect freedom of religious worship.

"5th. If my uncles, brothers, or chiefs, repair to the presence, to meet no encouragement.

"6th. The Bhomias of Deola, Banswarra, Dongerpur, and Sirohi, besides other zemindars over whom I am to have control, they shall not be admitted to the presence.

"7th. The forces I possess are my chiefs—what troops you may require for a given period, you must furnish with rations (*paiti*), and when the service is over, their accounts will be settled.

"8th. Of the Hukdars, Zemindars, Munsubdars, who serve you with zeal and from the heart, let me have a list—and those who are not obedient I will punish; but in effecting this no demand is to be made for *Paemali*." (*b*)

"List of the districts attached to the *Punj-hazari*, (*c*) at present under sequestration to be restored—Phoolia, Mandelgurh, Bednor, Poorh, Bassar, Ghiaspur, Purdhar, Banswarra, Dongerpur. Besides the 5,000 of old, you had on ascending the throne granted an increase of 1,000, and on account of the victory at Sinsini 1,000 more of two and three horse." (*d*)

Of three crores of *dams* (*e*) in gift (*enam*), *viz.* two according to firman, and one for the payment of the contingent in the Dekhan, and of which two are immediately required, you have given me in lieu thereof Sirohi.

"Districts now desired—Eidur, Kekri, Mandel Jehajpur, Malpur, (and another illegible)."

(*a*) The dignity (*munsub*) of commander of a legion of 7,000 horse, the highest grade of rank.

(*b*) Destruction of property, alluding to the crops which always suffered in the movements of disorderly troops.

(*c*) Munsub of 5,000.

(*d*) It was usual to allow two and three horses to each cavalier when favour was intended.

(*e*) 40 dams to the rupee.

condition of both parties. Its very title marks the subordination of the chief of the Rajpoots; but while this is headed a "Memorandum of Requests," the eighth article discloses the effective means of the Rana, for there he assumes an air of protection towards the emperor. In the opening stipulation for the *munsub* of 7,000, the mind reverts to the great Umra, who preferred abdication to acknowledgment of a superior; but opinion had undergone a change as great as the mutual relations of the Rajpoots. In temporal dignities other states had risen to an equality with Mewar, and all had learned to look on the Mogul as the fountain of honour. The abolition of the jezeya, freedom from religious restraint, control over the ancient feudatories of his house, and the restoration of all sequestrations, distinguish the other articles, and amply attest the improving attitude of Mewar, and the rapid decay of the Mogul empire. The Mahrattas under Raja Sahoo were successfully prosecuting their peculiar system in the south, with the same feelings which characterized the early Gothic invaders of Italy; strangers to settled government, they imposed the taxes of *chouth* and *desmookie*, the *fourth* and *tenth* of all territorial income, in the countries they overran. The Jat tribes west of the Chumbul likewise bearded their oppressors in this reign, by hoisting the standard of independence at the very threshold of their capital; and from the siege of Sinsini (mentioned in this treaty) to the last storm of Bhurtpur, they maintained the consequence thus assumed.

This treaty was the last act of Rana Umra's life; he died in A. D, 1716, leaving the reputation of an active and high-minded prince, who well upheld his station and the prosperity of his country, notwithstanding the anarchy of the period. His encouragement of agriculture and protection of manufactures are displayed in the edicts engraved on pillars, which will hand down his name to posterity. His memory is held in high veneration; nor do the Rajpoots admit the absolute degradation of Mewar till the period of the second prince in succession to Umra.

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